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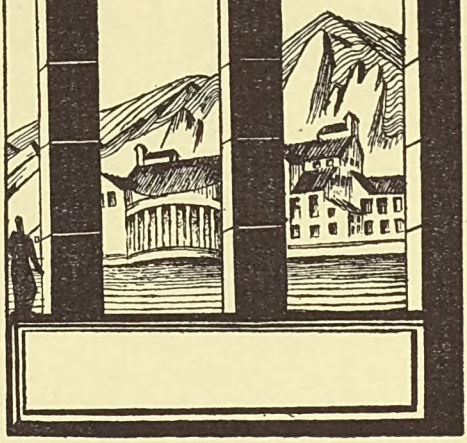

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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1923

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NOTICES

MEMBERS are asked to notify any change of address to the Assistant-Secretary, 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

Journals have been returned by the G.P.O. as "gone away" from Captain E. Castells, 6th Gurkha Rifles, Mr. Bassett Digby, Mr. C. Empson, Major Garland, Major R. B. L. Garbett, Miss Nina Mylne, Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Parker, Sir Wilfred Peek, Mr. P. B. Vanderbyl. The Assistant Secretary would be glad if these members would kindly send a new address, when their Journals and lecture cards will be forwarded.

The following lectures will be given in the Spring Session:

January 18.—"Central Asia: its Rise as a Political and Economic Factor," by Lieut.-Colonel P. T. Etherton. (Lantern Illustrations.)

February 8.—"The South Persian Littoral during the War," by Major-General J. A. Douglas, C.M.G.

March 8.—"China and the Powers," by the Right Hon. Sir John Jordan, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

March 22.—Major-General Sir Edmund Ironside, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. (Particulars to be announced later.)

The lectures will be given at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall.

The telephone number of the Society has been omitted from the present directory through an error on the part of the telephone office. It is, Mayfair 4025.

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BRITAIN AND ISLAMIC ASIA

THE Central Asian Society met at the Royal Society's Lecture Room, Burlington House, Piccadilly, on Tuesday, October 10, 1922, the Right Hon. Lord Carnock presiding, to hear and discuss a lecture by Major Arthur Moore, entitled "Britain and Islamic Asia."

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by calling on the Honorary Secretary (Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate) to read the names of members who had been elected since the last meeting, and to announce gifts made to the Library.

The HONORARY SECRETARY: Since the last meeting the total number of members elected is thirty-four. I will not trouble you with all the names. I will simply mention that among them are included General Sir William Birdwood, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine Dew, Sir Patrick Fagan, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Lady Constance Milnes-Gaskell, and Major Arthur Moore, our lecturer of to-day. I also wish to mention that we have since July received some valuable gifts for the Library: from Sir Percy and Miss Ella Sykes several of their own books; from Miss Tanner a very valuable gift of books, including Lord Curzon's "Persia" and Sir Percy Sykes's "History of Persia" in both editions; and, lastly, from Mr. E. R. P. Moon a number of books on China and a complete set of the *Journals* of the Central Asian Society. The latter is most valuable because up to the present we have had only one set in the possession of the Society.

The LECTURER: Lord Carnock, Colonel Yate, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When Colonel Yate wrote to me, and was good enough to ask me to address the Society, I begged to be allowed to choose the larger subject of "Britain and Islam" or "Britain and Islamic Asia" rather than a particular country like Afghanistan or Persia, and that I did because I was so deeply impressed with the importance of the question. That was in the month of May, and I certainly could not then realize that when the day came round, instead of being merely a question which experts might remember that this Society was alive to, it would be a question which had forced itself upon the attention of everyone in the crude form of an issue of peace or war. That must add to the sense of responsibility that we all feel at a time like this in discussing such a question. And first of all I would like to appeal to the more senior, more expert members of this Society, to realize

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that the mere fact that they have very often served the Crown in very distinguished positions in the East in the past, or travelled extensively outside the Empire in the East, may blind them to the extraordinary change that has taken place in the East—since they left it—because, let us make no mistake at all about it, the East has changed out of knowledge. The Russo-Japanese War, although it was outside the limits of Islam, was a signpost, and all those various movements like the constitutional movement in Turkey, the constitutional movement in Persia, and the Chinese Revolution — the political developments that took place between the Russo-Japanese War and the Great War were further signposts. But the change that has come over the East in the second half of the war, and since the war, should be a very thunderclap of warning in our ears. It is merely to delude ourselves to suppose that the East is really very much the same, and that we have only got to deal with the work of agitators. The East is now quite definitely awake, and one may say crudely that it is awake against the West. The Western business brain, Western capital, Western push, and, above all—and this is the vital point—the Western underlying assumption that the Asiatic is an inferior being, Western patronage, in short, have definitely produced a phenomenon in the East with which we have got to take account. Now, can that hatred of the West have any result? you may ask. Is the East strong enough to challenge the West? Well, that would be a larger question, and I certainly do not propose to go into an issue that would take us outside Islam, and drag in the very vital question of the Far East. But what is certain is that if a clash or crash is to be avoided the British Empire is in the very centre of the picture. The interests that we have got you can represent shortly in two words, India and Islam. India stands for some 400,000,000 of people; and it stands for the deep abiding permanence of Hinduism, which is a real force, and for Islam, which in India represents a powerful and warlike minority who have been loyal to us in the past and a prop of our power. Outside India Islam stands for a great common cord of sympathy that stretches from the heart of Central Asia, from China and Chinese Turkestan, through Bokhara and Samarcand, right across to the Atlantic Ocean at the Straits of Gibraltar in North Africa, and to the Danube in Europe. Now, unless we, the British Empire, the British Commonwealth of Nations, can in some way act as mediators, and in some way provide a common platform for East and West, I cannot see how that clash is ever to be avoided. Islam was for long a harmonious colour in the mosaic that made what we call the British Empire overseas—made by a combination of commerce, arms, and destiny. Islam was with us because we British were strong, and carried with us respect for religion and respect for custom. Also, in foreign policy we were very fortunate

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throughout the nineteenth century. On two occasions, as you know, it was we who came forward as the champions of the Sultan, and in the eyes of India, or the greater part of India, in the nineteenth century, even if we allow that the Khilafat movement has now greater strength than then, the Sultan was certainly recognized as Khalif in the mosques of India. There is no doubt that all Indian Mussulmans looked upon Turkey as a thing to be proud of, because it was still an independent Moslem empire. It was we who came forward and took arms as against Russia to champion Islam. Islam accepted British rule, and when the war came that loyalty held, despite the fact that Turkey came into the war against us. That was regretted, but the fact that we were at war with the Kaiser was good enough for the Indian Mussulman soldier, who was a loyal subject of the King, and the Indian Moslem soldier saw the world. He went to France, to Salonika, to Palestine, to Mesopotamia, to Africa, and he wrote home letters. Those letters went home to the villages in the Indian plains, and in the folds of the valleys; and he saw a great deal that he did not put into his letters, but which he talked about when he got home. Then came the period of the Armistice. We had reached it, and still the bond held. It had been strained, and it had been proved. Since then we have had four years pass, and at the end of it all we find ourselves universally hated and universally distrusted. It is the plain fact throughout Islam that we are regarded as people whose word is not their bond, as a restless and greedy Asiatic power, and if we do not recognize that we are blinding ourselves to the truth. Since the Armistice, as it has happened, I have had opportunities of visiting Constantinople, Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Tehran, Tiflis, Kabul, and Delhi and other Indian cities, and wherever you go throughout the world of Islam you find a universal feeling. They are firmly convinced that since the Armistice France has shown herself a friend, and Italy has shown herself a friend, and that we have not. I am not at the moment arguing the rights or wrong of it; but if we do not recognize that that is the real opinion of Islam, I am perfectly certain it is because we have not informed ourselves of what they are saying. The reason for that, it seems to me, the basic fact for all this complete *volte face*, is the disappearance of Imperial Russia. The Eastern question, broadly, for about 150 years has painted itself to Islam as the balance of forces between England in the South and Russia in the North. Islam was perfectly well aware that it was a decaying military power. After the Turks were turned back at the gates of Vienna there was a steady withdrawal towards the Maritza in Europe, and the signs of decay were perfectly evident to themselves amongst the Turks, the Persians, and the Afghans. They knew, however much they might not admit the knowledge—they

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knew that they could not deal with Russia singlehanded, or with England singlehanded. Always it had to be a balance, and they had to maintain their existence by walking between the two and playing one off against the other. There was never any serious competitor for long. Napoleon was sick of Europe, but he did not figure much in Asia. The Kaiser became a factor—he became a very serious factor, of course, at the time of the War—but then he disappeared. Suddenly there was no one but Russia and England, and the extraordinary thing was that there was not Russia. There was only England. Well, I propose later on to return to a consideration of how that impressed the Oriental, and how during the Armistice period we utterly failed to realize the way in which he was soliloquizing. But first of all I want to apply to this question of the balance between Russia and Britain the consideration of modern Turkish history. I read this morning in the paper one statement by the Prime Minister to a Labour deputation about Turkey, and he has also recently used the word treachery in reference to Turkey's coming into the war against us. This morning he said that Turkey closed the Straits against us in 1914 because two or three Turkish Ministers were in German pay. Now, that is how it appears to the British Cabinet, but I submit that that is an utterly superficial and misleading reading of modern Turkish history. I think it is very deplorable that at the present moment we should appear before the world as if we are still in the period of war propaganda and war talk. The statement that two or three Turkish Ministers were in German pay and closed the Straits against us was all very well during the war, when we all flung about any statement like that that would help us. But to continue those statements in peace-time is not going to help us, any more than it helps Mustapha Kemal, with whom we are negotiating, to state publicly in an interview that the real trouble was that nobody trusted Mr. Lloyd George. If both sides are making that kind of statement about each other it does not seem to me that we can get very far with negotiations about Islam, and we have got to realize the things that Islam writes about us, and the things they believe about us. The Prime Minister makes a statement like that about Turkish Ministers. I do not know what his evidence is, and personally I do not believe it, and I propose presently to submit what I believe are the real reasons why the Straits were closed. But is he aware that this country is practically the only country that is not aware of an allegation—where the Press has never said what all the Constantinople papers have said—that the British offered a large sum of money to the Turkish Commander to buy off the British garrison at Kut? That has been published with the most circumstantial details in the Constantinople papers, and is universally believed in Turkey. The sum is mentioned; I have forgotten it now,

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but it is over a million sterling. It was said to be offered to the Turkish Commander, and the Turkish Commander turned it down. It may be a mistake to suppose that in dealing with Turks you are dealing with bribable people. You can bribe Orientals as you can bribe people all over the world, but you cannot bribe nations, and to assume that we as a Western Christian nation can pose in a superior moral attitude is to make ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of Islam. We know that we flung money right and left during the war, and were willing to buy up support wherever we could find it. All those things are perfectly well known, but they are not published in our papers. Our people do not know it, but Islam does. The point, it seems to me, as regards Turkey coming into the war, goes much deeper. It was not a question of buying two or three Turkish Ministers; it was simply a question of Russia. For the first time Russia and England were acting together, and for Turkey that fact was vital. It dominated the whole situation, and it is perfectly idle to talk of Turkish treachery because Turkey went in against Russia and England. Never in her history had she been faced with the two of them together, and when she saw the possibility of bringing in a third party as a counterpoise to the united power of Russia and England, naturally and inevitably she came to the conclusion that that was the thing for her to do. If we look to the events that led up to that decision of Turkey in 1914 we shall see the whole question, I think, quite clearly. It seems to me that the safest rule of all in considering our relations with Islam is not to set out with accusations against Islamic people or their conduct to us. Their conduct, doubtless, is frequently full of mistakes, and frequently it is not what we consider either just or honourable to us, or with a full recognition of our merits, or of what we do for them. But I am perfectly certain that we shall never get back to a basis of friendship with Islam till we start looking for our own mistakes, and if we get far enough back we shall very often find that we have originally caused subsequent decisions which distressed us very much when they came, and which we then dubbed with hard names. Turkey at the beginning of the century was universally recognized as a decaying power. Then came in 1908 the Young Turkish movement at Salonika and Monastir, and it aroused a great deal of sympathy in the West to see that attempt at reform. That was the first feeling. Then the Young Turks immediately got into difficulties. Their effort at reform had, in fact, come too late, and had aroused the exasperation of all the candidates for portions of the decaying Turkish Empire which we had all been watching at that time. Consequently they immediately got into trouble with Austria and with Bulgaria. Austria embarrassed the Young Turks by declaring that Bosnia and Herzegovina were no longer under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but were part of the

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Austrian Empire. Bulgaria, by arrangement with Austria, did the same thing. That was in October, 1908, the revolution having taken place at the end of the previous July. That was the first blow struck; then came the Italians in 1911: they declared war on the Turks in Tripoli; and next year came the Balkan Federation. They attacked the Turks with the results that we know. The Turks lost practically all their land in Europe, and that was the state of affairs when we got to the eve of the Great War. The Young Turks in six years had done practically nothing. They had all the time been engaged in a struggle with foreign enemies, and the era of great reforms that they had promised had never been introduced. The Parliamentary régime had not brought popular freedom, nor was there any great freedom of the Press. Nevertheless, it is true that at that time throughout Islam there was the very greatest sympathy felt for the struggle of the Young Turks against Abdul Hamid first, and secondly against these blows of fortune that rained upon them. I well remember when the first Balkan War was declared in the autumn of 1912, and news reached me on my way down to the Persian Gulf at a village near Persepolis. There was an old Persian there who was a Shiah, and one might not have expected great sympathy for Turkey from him, but I remember him sitting in my tent, and when I told him that Greece, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Serbia, had all got together for the first time, and had attacked Turkey, his distress was the most unexpected and genuine thing I had seen for a long time. "Oh, God," he said, "they have all hurled themselves on Turkey." I went to Aligarh, the Mussulman University in India, a month later, and there I found a most real feeling amongst all the students, and they were running a fund for the Red Crescent, a fund of which we have heard a good deal since owing to the allegations made as to the way in which the money was diverted. But that fund was being run by Mohammed Ali under the patronage and with the approval of the Viceroy, and that period, I think, that pre-war period, does definitely mark a crystallizing of sympathy in the East for Turkey in a series of misfortunes. Then the war came, and the Turks, although they had had all this series of misfortunes, and were almost, apparently, beaten to the ground, nevertheless made what was superficially the very astonishing choice of plunging into a new struggle, and plunging in against us. It puzzled us very much, and made many of us indignant, but it is worth while to consider what was the reason. The reason briefly is in that word Russia. In a sense you may put all your other reasons, such as the buying of Ministers, into the waste-paper basket. Through our rapprochement with Russia we had for the previous five years been alienating Turkey from France and ourselves, and I hope it will be understood that I am not in the least criticizing our entente with Russia, or the alliance of France

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with Russia. I am not for a moment suggesting that it was open for Sir Edward Grey to seek insurance against Germany in the form of Turkey rather than Russia; what I am trying to do is merely to trace cause and affect, and to state facts. I am not at all suggesting that the policy of Sir Edward Grey in cultivating an insurance with Russia was wrong, because, as a matter of fact, we all know that he was proved right in 1914, when the moment came and our insurance with Russia proved a valuable asset. But we insured with Russia at the expense of our friendship with Turkey. The Young Turks when they came into power in 1908 were all of them Germanophobes. Marshal Von Biberstein, the German Ambassador, fell, overnight, from the top of the diplomatic ladder to the bottom. He was Abdul Hamid's friend, and regarded as his adviser by the Young Turks, and he was the least considered member of the Diplomatic Corps the day after the revolution. Izzet Pasha, who had been one of the Sultan's principal creatures, and is supposed to have done very well out of the construction of the Hadjaz Railway, had to fly from the Young Turks. He took refuge in the German Embassy, but from the German Embassy he was smuggled on board a British boat in the Golden Horn, and I well remember—I was at Salonika at the time—I remember Enver Bey coming to me and asking me whether the British Consul at Salonika could be induced to get the ship stopped at the Dardanelles. They wanted Izzet. Naturally, that was a thing that could not be done once he had taken refuge on the British boat. Enver Bey then said: "Of course, we do not bear the British any malice. We clearly understand what has happened. This is the parting kick of Germany. She has put the unpopular person that took refuge with her on a British boat." That was their general attitude. They were very enthusiastic about France, because they regarded her as the mother of the revolution. A great many of the Young Turks also had been in exile in Paris; and they were very enthusiastic about Britain, because they regarded Britain as the mother of Parliaments. When they opened their first Parliament in the following winter it was the occasion of an extraordinary demonstration outside the British Embassy. Sir Nicholas O'Connor had died in the summer of 1908, and the new Ambassador, Sir Gerald Lowther, had just arrived. After that things continued to change very rapidly. The German Ambassador was a man of outstanding ability. He had greater ability, I think, than his colleagues at the Bosphorus at that time, and he set himself to begin again at the beginning and to cultivate the Young Turks. Our policy was very unfortunate. In March, 1909, you will remember, the counter-revolution took place in Turkey, engineered by Abdul Hamid himself. Enver hurried from Berlin, and put himself at the head of the Salonika Young Turk army, and they marched on Constantinople. The British

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Embassy did a thing then which has never been forgotten, and which finished us in twentieth-century Turkey for a long time after. The British Ambassador sent the First Dragoman of the Embassy out to San Stefano to ask these troops not to enter the city—an act which was taken, of course, as siding with the counter-revolution. That request was disregarded, the army entered, and there was fighting. Sultan Abdul Hamid was removed from the throne, and the Young Turks obtained their triumph; but, as I say, it completely altered our relations, which the previous July had been so wonderfully friendly. The following year, in the spring of 1910, Enver made his first visit to London. He was then at the Embassy in Berlin. He made it perfectly clear to me that Turkish policy at that time was undergoing a completely new orientation. Enver stated in conversation in London that Marshal Von Biberstein had convinced the Young Turks that, although Abdul Hamid had been a despot internally, he had been a wise and farseeing patriot in foreign policy; that Russia was the enemy; that Germany was their support against Russia; and that England would not support them. Enver stated that the Turks regarded this new policy with the greatest aversion and the greatest unwillingness. To them it seemed that the power that held India should be allied with Turkey against Russia, and he said that if Britain would agree to that, Turkey would at all times be willing to enter into a hard-and-fast treaty, so that whenever there was war between Russia and Britain Turkey would fight on the Caucasian front against Russia. That was impossible. I am not criticizing that. I do not think that Turkey would have been an adequate insurance against Germany. But it explains how Turkey was thinking. Then came the war itself. Now, there was an incident that happened at the beginning of the war which the Prime Minister should remember before making those remarks about closing the Straits. At the beginning of the war there was another war about to begin, and it was only prevented by the Great War. Mr. Venizelos, representing Greece, had gone up to Vienna to meet the Turkish Foreign Minister in a last desperate attempt to come to an agreement. If they did not come to an agreement there would undoubtedly have been war between Greece and Turkey at the end of July, 1914. There was a naval race. Greece had bought two cruisers from the United States, and Turkey had ordered two dreadnoughts in England. The Turks had had it brought home to them in the Balkan War that they must have some sea power, that the Greeks otherwise were too much for them. They had not any money, so they had a whip-up. The Turkish Navy League made a great commotion, and it was made a question of religion, and so on; everybody came forward, and enough money was subscribed by the faithful to pay for the dreadnoughts. Those two dreadnoughts were no ordinary ships in the eyes

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of the Turks. They represented to them a great crusade, if we may use the word, and a great hope. The meeting in Vienna never came off, because of the complications over the Sarajevo murder. Mr. Venizelos got as far as Trieste, and had to turn back, and never met his colleague. The race went on, and Greece drew ahead. At the very last moment, just when the Great War was breaking out, the two Greek cruisers got through the Straits of Gibraltar—that is to say, the two cruisers which Greece had bought from the United States. The two Turkish dreadnoughts were still in British yards, and not quite complete. That was the situation. One of the first things we did the moment war was declared was to impound those two dreadnoughts, and give Turkey a huge cheque which she could not cash. In the light of subsequent history we can see that it would have been a good deal cheaper to have merely left those two dreadnoughts in the yards, and announce, as was perfectly true, that we could no longer, owing to the war, spare the labour to complete them. The events that happened with Turkey were certainly not worth the windfall of two dreadnoughts to the Admiralty. Unfortunately, however, there was no one to put those facts in that light to the Admiralty, and they quite brusquely seized those two dreadnoughts. There was a storm of indignation in Turkey, and when in the same week the *Göben* and the *Breslau* came racing to the Dardanelles to get away from the British Admiral, the Straits were opened to them, because everybody in Turkey regarded it as a kind of intervention of Providence to compensate them with the German ships for the dreadnoughts which the British Government had confiscated. The German vessels were not equal to two dreadnoughts, but they were two ships. Those two German ships, of course, became a vital factor in the situation. The Turks very soon realized that if they came into the war on the German side they would have the *Göben* and *Breslau* with them, and that, on the other hand, if they did not come into the war on the German side, the *Göben* and the *Breslau* would be very unpleasant customers indeed, dominating Constantinople. Those are facts that I believe ought to be borne in mind when we consider why it was that Turkey entered the war against us. The Allies came to Turkey, and they gave her assurances. No assurances were really any good to her. Nothing would convince her. We told her that Russia would not attack Constantinople, and that if she would only remain neutral she would be guaranteed possession, undisturbed possession, of the Turkish Empire as it was at that moment. The Turks did not accept those assurances, and it is difficult to see how they could have complete confidence in them, although they were given in complete sincerity. Supposing the Allies had won the war, with an Imperial Russia playing a great part in victory, it seemed almost certain that sooner or later, and much sooner rather

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than later, a conquering Russia would have turned South. France and Britain would no doubt, in view of the assurances they had given Turkey, have tried to prevent that, but it is difficult to see how they could have done so. The promised liberties of Poland would have left Russia without any great compensation on the west, and it would have suited the Czar very much better to expand his Empire in the South and in the East amongst Mussulmans, whom he might hope to win over to allegiance much more readily than the industrial populations of Western Europe; and, of course, there was always the trend towards warm water. So those assurances were not accepted by the Turks at all at their face value. Then came the war itself. Before the war we had told Turkey that if she would remain neutral she would possess Constantinople, but the moment we came in we said Russia should possess Constantinople, and in January, 1917, we made a further statement in which we definitely put Turkey outside the pale of civilization, and said that whoever had Constantinople Turkey must not have it. In January, 1918, we said that certainly Turkey, if she was prepared to deal with us and leave Germany, might have the Thracian homelands and Constantinople. Turkey, although very nearly down and out, struggled on on the other side till the defection of Bulgaria at the end of September, 1918. Then she made peace. But she got no mercy at all, and it was not natural that we should give her full consideration in that moment of victory. But it seems to me that the Allies made two great errors at that time. One was that they used the sufferings of the Armenians as a stick to beat the Turk with, when they themselves were utterly incapable of doing anything whatever for Armenia. The only people who have ever done anything for Armenia are the Russians, who have set up a small Armenian Republic. All the Allied talk has ended in nothing whatever being done for Armenia. The second point was that they utterly underrated the reality of the Kemalist movement. We regarded the Kemalists simply as desperadoes outstanding from the war, a mess that would have to be tidied up presently when things more important would leave time for it. We utterly failed to see that the Kemalist movement was the real seat of the Turkish National spirit, and that the Government in Constantinople had been deprived of all weight and influence by the fact of the Allied Army sitting over it. Up to that point we had acted with our Allies. There was no particular reason why we should be criticized individually, but after that the situation changed. France up till then had been more drastic towards the Turks than we had. In Cilicia she had very vigorously championed the cause of the Armenians, but she disentangled herself from Cilicia, and at the fall of Venizelos, when the Greeks brought Constantine back, France took a definite stand. From that day she has gained prestige with the Turks, and we have

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lost it. It is easy for us to criticize the French for treating with Kemal, but remember that the French were very unpopular in Syria, and that they were surrounded by enemies in Palestine and Trans-Jordania, and that if they had persisted in the attitude which they took up first when in Cilicia, and had the Turks against them, it would have been impossible for them to stay safely in Syria after we had taken Feisal, who was their known enemy, and put him in Mesopotamia; when we put Feisal in Mesopotamia and Abdullah in Trans-Jordania we forced France to seek reinsurance in Angora. In Arabia we have been unfortunate. We selected for support a family which has been unfavourably known in Islam for a very long time, because of their exactions at Mecca from pilgrims. I do not think it is true to say that the Sherifian family has in any sense the Arab world behind it, not to mention other races of Islam. Islam is aware that the Sultan in name is Khalif, but in fact no longer Khalif. The Sultan is at Constantinople, but we have set up a King in Mecca to recognize us as overlord. The essence of the Khilafat is to protect the holy places at Mecca and Medina. The Arabs before the war, to a large extent, kept their own end up, but in times of crises they have always recognized the authority of Constantinople. Now there is no question of authority at Constantinople. There is no actual Khalif left at all in Islam, and we can only rid ourselves of the Khilafat problem by refusing to intervene in Arabian politics. The Khilafat problem will have to be settled by Islam itself, and it does not matter who is set up. Probably someone will emerge from the struggle by force of arms; the Khilafat has always been settled in that way, and Islam recognizes force as an arbitrator; but the present grievance is that the arbitration in the matter rests with us. This brings me back to the real point, when Russia dropped out, and we were left alone with Islam, or rather Islam was left alone with us. Now, at the Armistice we unfortunately saw in that only a favourable moment for ourselves. We said: "We have always been friendly with Islam, and it has always regarded us as being the people on the side of liberty and Constitutions, whereas Russia has been the friend of despots. Now is our time. Let us increase our prestige in Islam." But Islam was thinking about the whole subject in a totally different manner. Moslems saw that if Britain should become restless they had no counterpoise. At that very moment we decided to be extremely restless; we came into Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Persia. We had our line of communications right up to North-West Persia. We were in the Caucasus at Tiflis and Baku, and across the Caspian in Merv and Meshed and Northern Persia. At the same time we embarked on a policy, in the approved Russian style, of using our Political Officers to settle tribal affairs, and the result was that we raised against us right throughout Islam an

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enormous wave of distrust. At the same time the Bolsheviks absolutely renounced all the old Imperial ambitions of Russia. They said: "We renounce all concessions, we renounce all privileges." Consequently, instead of the old position in which Russia was the great advancing land-grabbing power, while England, on the whole, might be looked upon as a support, the Bolsheviks were regarded by the Turks as the last word in liberalism and advanced thought—in fact, as fools—whereas England had become the dangerous power. It was a natural conclusion. Bolshevism as a creed or social theory—and I think most members here who have been longer in particular districts of the East than I have will agree with me—Bolshevism as a social theory I do not think is likely to establish a hold on Islam at all. "But here at our side," thought the Turks, "are the Russians, who are making a mess of their own country, and are now willing to ally themselves with us. They do not want any concessions or any privileges, and, in fact, are our only support against the Allies." Therefore, they naturally expect in a diplomatic tussle with the Allies to have their supporters with them. In the whole of our history I do not think it has ever occurred to us before that we can possibly settle the question of the Straits without reference to Russia. There is no real point in attempting a settlement unless both the Power that holds Constantinople and the Black Sea Powers are consulted. A settlement arrived at under such conditions could never be a stable one. I have talked too long, and I only wish in conclusion to point to the fact that we are now being driven by an argument about prestige into an impasse. We have been told that we are sitting in Chanak because we are preventing the Turks there from crossing into Europe. Well, now, that statement of facts does not at all seem borne out by the events that have happened in the last fortnight. We have to make concession after concession, and we have told the Turks that they can have Adrianople and Eastern Thrace. As late as last Friday morning we were told in the Press that the newest terms from the Turks were utterly unacceptable, but the very same afternoon Lord Curzon went to Paris to accept them. Why was that? There can be only one reason. It seems to me that if we had had no force at Chanak, and had acted with our Allies, we should have been in a position to discuss matters in Europe with the Turks. But all through these four years we have been misled by the word "prestige," and have utterly failed to see that the real prestige in the East depends upon a policy which has been thought out, which has the nation behind it, and which will not involve us in contradictions or the desertion of our friends. We have not had that policy. We have been entangled in that way at Smyrna, in Persia, and in Russia through lack of co-ordination, and through a post-Armistice movement forward in which the nation has never been taken into

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confidence. I submit that as long as we go on in the same way we shall never get right with Islam. We have got to go back to the beginning, and start humbly and sincerely; get back to our own Empire, and prove that we have not got a restless adventurous spirit, and that we really wish to be friendly with Islam. Our restlessness is now making us feared as Imperial Russia was feared, and if the Government at the present moment were to resign I do not see, unless something drastic is done, that we have any guarantee that we shall get that policy from either a Liberal or Labour Government. As you will remember, my Lord, there was a time when, with Lord Lansdowne at the Foreign Office, we had a policy which a Government, although it was losing every by-election, was able to carry forward with the united support of the whole nation. Although we are not likely ever again to have a Foreign Minister allowed a free hand as Lord Lansdowne was—that is to say, not forced to consult the nation—it is the fact that unless we get that basis of national policy we shall not be able to speak any longer with outside nations at all, because policy depends both upon arms and the men, and we now see that the instrument upon which policy depends has broken in the Cabinet's hand. They have not got the country behind them in their policy towards Islam, and that would be an impossible position for a Liberal Government, or a Labour Government equally. That is the fault. It seems to me that the whole question of our policy in the East, the whole question of our various adventures in Arabia, Constantinople, and the East, should be liquidated at an all-party conference. In that way we should get a national policy for whatever Government or Cabinet came into power, a policy that could be explained to the men of military age in this country, who, after all, are the cannon fodder upon whom we have to look in the last resort to carry out a policy. Unless you have the men of military age behind you in this country it is quite impossible for any Government to carry on a foreign policy, and you can only be sure of that if you remove your Imperial and foreign policy from the sphere of party politics. (Applause.)

Sir ALFRED HAMILTON GRANT: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is very seldom that one can listen to any person speaking for over an hour, and at the end of it be able to say that one has agreed with practically every word that has been said. But that is my own feeling with regard to the extraordinarily interesting lecture we have just heard. I congratulate Major Moore not only upon the lucidity and the courage with which he has stated the case for Turkey, but I congratulate him also on the amazing temperance with which he has referred to the policy of the present Government. (Hear, hear.) As one who has had some twenty-five years' experience of Moslems in

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Northern India, on the North-West Frontier of India and in Afghanistan, I should like to mention one or two of the more popular fallacies which seem to me to be at present liable to mislead popular opinion upon this very vital question in the Near East. The first popular fallacy is that the Moslem is an unreliable person, that he is perfidious, and that you cannot trust his word. My own experience has been otherwise. I do not say that all Moslems are truth-tellers, any more than I say, in the words of the old Greek philosopher, "all Cretans are liars" (laughter); but I do say this, that a Moslem, whether a Moslem barbarian or a civilized Moslem, when he enters upon an engagement, does so with the intention of carrying it out, and, as a rule, does carry it out. We have had ample experience of that in Afghanistan. In 1857 the Amir Dost Mohammed was true to his bond. During the Great War the Amir Habiballah was true to his bond when he might have embarrassed us very seriously, and he died a martyr to his good faith to us. The second popular delusion is that generosity is mistaken by Moslems for weakness; that is not the case—far from it. His Highness the Agha Khan lately emphasized this point in a letter to *The Times*. The Moslem is perfectly wide awake. He knows that when a strong Power is lenient it is not necessarily because it is frightened. He does not misinterpret things. But in my own experience in India I have seen so many foolish things done through fear of appearing weak that I can only trust that this error will not again lead us into disaster in the present crisis. We could easily have retired from Chanak when the French did, or, better still, after the French did, and issued a dignified manifesto at the time that we were doing so in the interests of world peace, because there was a risk that a small force located there might lead to incidents and collisions which might lead to more deplorable results in the end. We could have done so without risk of misinterpretation, without being called weak, with great dignity, and obviously acting in the interests of the world's peace. We did not do so, but probably shall do so yet. The present Government are to my own personal knowledge the more to blame in that at the time immediately after the Armistice when these questions came up, many of the evils which Major Arthur Moore has so ably presented, and other considerations chiefly connected with our Indian Empire, were most forcibly pressed upon the Government. The case was presented with the greatest clearness, and the dangers were foreshadowed with amazing accuracy. We predicted troubles in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Afghanistan, and they came about almost up to time; and the Government—the responsible members of the Government—had laughed at our warnings. They said that the whole Moslem business was a bogie, and that any Khilafat agitation was fictitious and nonsense. What is the result? We have had the Treaty of Sèvres torn

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up and thrown in our faces. We have eaten dirt, and been led to the verge of a fresh war for no adequate reason. We have great interests and great obligations from the Mediterranean to the China seaboard, and if we are to safeguard those interests it is important that Islam should be a friend and not an enemy. Turkey is the leader of Islam, and unless and until we can arrive at a *modus vivendi* with Turkey and establish reasonable relations with what is left of the Turkish Empire, we shall not be able to safeguard those interests or, what I think more important, discharge those obligations.

Sir WILFRID MALLESON: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I regret that I am unable entirely to agree with either the lecturer or my friend Sir Hamilton Grant in what they have said on this interesting subject. The lecturer has given us an imposing list of places visited, and one might infer, if one did not know better, that in each and all the places mentioned there was not only virulent hatred of the British, but also passionate devotion for the Turks. I submit any such inference would be grossly misleading. The lecturer has put the Turkish case in an extremely favourable light, but in his endeavours to show how his countrymen were always wrong he has been less than just and by no means impartial. Whilst including amongst Turkish grievances the annexation of Bosnia in 1908 and the Tripolitan War of 1911, he has omitted to say that neither of these events had any countenance from the Government of this country, and that in each case the aggressor was the close ally of the German ruler who posed as being Turkey's powerful protector. When, too, I heard the lecturer definitely including Roumania as being in the Balkan coalition which attacked Turkey in 1912, I felt less confidence in the accuracy of some of his other statements.

I confess that I am left in some astonishment as to what exactly the lecturer and Sir Hamilton Grant want. The latter told us we had eaten dirt; both apparently desire that we should go on eating unlimited dirt in order to placate the Turks, to surrender everything, to place Turkey in a position even more favourable than that she occupied before the war, and thus to appease the Muslim world. I cannot agree with any such policy. That the appetite comes in eating is peculiarly true of the Eastern world, and were we to indulge in the orgy of surrender and self-abasement apparently recommended I make no doubt that our relations with our Mahomedan fellow-subjects would end by being infinitely worse than they are now.

What are the facts? We are all familiar with the argument, apparently favoured by the previous speakers, that Turkey, a poor, innocent, helpless country, was coerced into the war by Germany, and that the arrival in the Bosphorus of the *Göben* and *Breslau* left her no option in the matter. I believe any such notion to be a mere travesty of the facts. The three Turkish leaders of 1914 were Jemal,

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Talaat, and Enver. In the recently published memoirs of the first named it is definitely recorded that Turkey had signed an offensive and defensive alliance with the Central Powers long before the war actually started. I have no doubt this was the case. When war broke out in August, 1914, I was in Simla for the purpose of initiating the censorship. One of my first acts was to place a rigorous censorship on everything coming from Turkish, Egyptian, and Arabian ports. In this way, two or three months before Turkey actually declared against us, we obtained a great mass of absolutely conclusive evidence that Turkey was in it up to the neck with our enemies. From the very beginning—that is, from August, 1914—a perfect deluge of most inflammatory Pan-Islamic propaganda was issued under Turkish authority, and by the promptness with which this stuff was despatched it is fair to infer that elaborate arrangements for its issue had been made long before. So much for the fiction that Turkey was an innocent country coerced by stronger powers into the war.

I am prepared to agree with the lecturer and with Sir Hamilton Grant that in our handling of the somewhat delicate situation *vis-à-vis* our Mahomedan fellow-subjects consequent on Turkey joining our enemies we have not always been happy. But if at times our actions may have jarred on Indian opinion, at other times we have surely gone to the opposite extreme, and in our endeavour to curry favour—there is no other word for it—we have only earned contempt and ridicule. At the beginning of the war, for instance, the Viceroy himself cut out of the news telegrams, which had already passed the censor in London, practically every reference to Turkey and her increasingly hostile attitude. What was to be expected from this ostrich-like attitude it is difficult to imagine. After the war was over and the Treaty of Sèvres signed, another Viceroy issued what can only be described as an abject apology to Indian Mahomedans. I submit that that apology acted as a direct incitement to Indian seditionists to intensify their unscrupulous and inflammatory campaign against us.

What, after all, is the real character of this supposed Pan-Islamic feeling against us? From the lecturer one might infer that there is a solid *bloc* of Mahomedan countries against us and in favour of the Turks. Ask the Arab, the Persian, or any of the inhabitants of Central Asia, whether they want Turkish rule, whether they would join a *jihad* for the purpose of restoring to Turkey her lost dominions, or whether they would subscribe even the smallest coin of their currency in favour of Turkey. The result would be extremely disappointing from the Turcophil point of view. I know, because I have made on the spot, with the help of an admirable staff of officers, many of them Mahomedans, such inquiries. There was a time, both before

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and after the fall of Baku in 1918, when a Turkish irruption into Central Asia seemed imminent. Turkish agents swarmed throughout Russian Turkistan and Northern Persia. Caucasian Turks with apparently unlimited money actually came and bought up huge supplies for that "Army of Islam" which was to cross the Caspian, descend on Afghanistan, and, carrying with it myriads of eager martyrs for the faith, was to free India from the cursed rule of the infidel. All this inflammatory speaking and writing had not the slightest result on the peoples of Khorassan, Turkistan, or Western Afghanistan. No one wanted the Turk. His reputation as a ruthless and rapacious ruler had preceded him. I say without hesitation that the idea that all Mahomedans, or even the bulk of them, are in favour of Turkey and against England is a gigantic myth.

By all means let us endeavour, as far as is possible, to bear in mind the legitimate feelings of Indian Mahomedans. But unless we are careful we shall find that Indian Mahomedans, or rather those who pose as their leaders, or those who manipulate those leaders, will demand to control the policy of the Empire. It must not be forgotten how thoroughly artificial, to a large extent, is all this talk of Indian Mahomedan feeling. Islamic grievances in India are largely used as sticks with which to beat the British Government, and as fast as one removed one cause of complaint half a dozen others would immediately arise.

The lecturer has mentioned the present situation in the Straits. I am not a follower of the Government, and distrust all politicians. But although it seems almost dangerous for anyone to express opinions contrary to those daily trumpeted forth by the biggest circulations, I should like to say that I think that in this present matter the Government is right, and that to have withdrawn from Chanak or elsewhere would have had deplorable results. Every day we have the screaming headlines, "Get rid of the war-makers!" My Lord, in my opinion the real war-makers are those who on the platform and in the Press are daily encouraging the Turk to increase his preposterous demands, and who, by seeming to show that at this crisis we are a disunited nation, definitely invite the Turkish forces to take action which could only result in war.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is interesting to notice that in spite of the sharp division of opinion between the speakers, so far all are agreed on one point, that in our relations with Islamic Asia at present we are in a terrible mess, and that our present Government is mainly responsible for that mess. That is a conclusion which all seem unanimous about. Well, while I do not accept certain statements of the lecturer, I am entirely at one with his main thesis, that it is the duty of Great Britain, in view of her long and close connection with Islam, to act as the interpreter

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of Islam in the difficulties which are facing the world at present, and which Islam has to deal with as well as ourselves. I am also in agreement with his final conclusion, that to enable us to perform that duty it is essential we should have a national policy, and that we cannot have a national policy until we have lifted this question out of the domain of party politics. (Applause.) From the very beginning of our dealings with Turkey—indeed, with all Islamic nations—the fact that we have had no national policy has been our bane. At one time we have had the Liberals under Mr. Gladstone denouncing the Turk and saying that he must be turned out of Europe bag and baggage. We have had Mr. Gladstone appealing to the divine figure from the North to execute that pleasant but rather difficult task. On the other hand, we have had the Conservative party condoning the various atrocities on the Christian peoples, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, by Turkey, and saying the Turk must be supported even in Europe as a counterpoise against Russia. The root of our trouble with Islamic nations is that we have had no national policy. There is a Persian proverb which I am sure will appeal to the lecturer:

"Ním Mullah, khatra-i-imán,
Ním Hakím, khatra-i-ján."

"If you learn your theology from a man who is only half priest or half mullah, your religion will be in danger; and if you allow yourselves to be treated by a half-fledged doctor, your life will be in danger."

I think our politicians who have been dealing with this question are in the position of the half priest and half doctor; they only know one-half of their business; they have never tried to learn it all; and that, after all, is inseparable from party politics. The party politician only wants to know one side of the case—that side of the case which he can most favourably present in the Press or Parliament or on the platform; he does not trouble to get to know all the case; all he wants is enough to enable him to answer a question and make the best cry he can for his party. Until we secure that this system is done away with, and that this country is able to rely, not on the "ním Mullah" and the "ním Hakím," but on people who have no political axe to grind, on trained diplomats and trained administrators, we cannot, I believe, expect any real improvement in dealing with important foreign problems. There are only two remarks on points of fact connected with the lecture which I wish to say a word about. I agree with Sir Wilfrid Malleson that the lecturer, and I think Sir Hamilton Grant, fall into error through having a conception that Islam is synonymous with the Angora Turks. But the Angora Turks represent only a very small section, though at present a powerful section, in Islam, and their dominance, if there is any disposition to extend it, will be resented not only by Arabs, but by Persians,

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Afghans, and the Mahomedans of Central Asia. I also agree to a large extent with what Sir Wilfrid Malleson said about the bogey of the Khilafat movement. As it started it was a bogey. Owing to very effective propaganda and to errors of the British authorities in tackling it, and, above all, to the three years' delay in the decision of the peace terms with Turkey, it has become a real danger. But in its inception it was a bogey, and it has become a danger only through our mishandling. We mishandled it through fear—fear of the unknown. I was in Simla when the Sherifian revolution took place in 1916, and I was asked by those in authority, would not there be dangerous excitement among the Mahomedans in the Punjab over the revolt of the Sherif against the Sultan? My reply was this: "There will probably be one meeting held this evening at Lahore, attended by no more than ten people, and it will be the first and the last held in Punjab." That meeting was held and attended by five people. It was the first and the last in my time. To give you a further proof—I have told it once before—of how essentially this thing was originally a bogey, I would quote the words used by one of the Khilafat leaders, Fazl-ul Hakk, at Dacca. In 1920 he said that several leaders of the Khilafat movement had admitted that they did not care one brass farthing for the Khilafat, but that their sole desire was, under cover of the Khilafat agitation, to revive the days of rebellion and revolution in India. (Applause.) They have succeeded very largely in that desire owing to our mistaken tolerance of their methods, and our delay in the settlement with Turkey. (Renewed applause.)

Sir VALENTINE CHIROL: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—There are one or two points of history which I think the lecturer in his very interesting address has rather overlooked. The first is that the practical alliance between Turkey and Germany began long before there was any rapprochement between England and Russia. It began in the days of Abdul Hamid, and it reached its apogee after the German Emperor went to Damascus in 1898, after masquerading a few days before as a crusader at Jerusalem and, at the tomb of Saladin, paid homage to the Sultan as Khalif, as the spiritual head—he said, with his usual exaggeration—of three hundred million Mahomedans. That was the first recognition of the Sultan's Pan-Islamic claims—the first recognition by any European potentate—and from that moment the alliance between Germany and Turkey ripened steadily. It suffered a momentary eclipse at the time of the Turkish revolution, but it was revived rapidly, the Young Turks carrying on exactly on the same lines as the Old Turks with Germany; and according to a mass of German and Turkish evidence, the war-treaty of alliance was signed some time before Turkey came into the war, and before even the British Admiralty foreclosed on those two cruisers. I would ask

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Major Moore whether really he can make it a grievance that at the beginning of a war which strained all our naval resources—we have it on the highest authority that our naval resources were frightfully strained during the whole war—can he make it a grievance for Turkey that we should have detained, as it was absolutely our right to detain, and as other Powers have done before in similar circumstances, two powerful ships that were almost ready and in our dockyards? There is no real case for Turkey. Turkey entered wantonly into the war. One other remark I will make. He speaks of the feeling of Mahomedan Indians, of their sympathy for Turkey and of their gratitude towards us formerly for having saved Turkey. I would remind him that it was only one year after the end of the Crimean War, where we saved Turkey, that a large part of Mahomedan India rose against us in the Mutiny, and wanted to restore the King of Delhi against us! With regard to Enver, of whom the lecturer speaks with surprising friendliness, I would ask him whether he has read Liman von Sanders's book, one of the best of war books, written by the head of the German staff in Turkey during the war. He has produced a book quite like the old German military books, wonderfully dispassionate, and with no bitterness against the Allies. His only bitterness is against Enver, whom he denounces as having lost the war for Turkey by his corruption, venality, tyranny, and the way in which he starved his soldiers in order to fill his own pockets. That is the Turk that we have in general to deal with. Kemal, I admit, is a much finer type of man, and von Sanders pays him, and him only, a great tribute as being an honest man. But what has he got behind him? The same men that Enver had. The whole theory that Islam is united round Turkey I cannot accept. In Egypt there was no feeling of the kind unless out of resentment of our treatment of Egypt—no love of Turkey. In Arabia there is certainly none, and I do not see why we should be asked to sacrifice the King of the Hejaz—whatever may be said against him—who rendered us very valuable services during the war, to placate the Turks who went into the war against us and certainly prolonged it for two years. I have nothing against Islam itself. I have never had. But as I said not long ago in an address to this Association, I regard Turkey as the Power which has been a blight upon Islam since she first appeared upon the scene, long after the finest period of Islamic history, and a blight on every country she has ruled over.

The LECTURER: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not detain you very long. Sir Wilfrid Malleson criticized my speech on the ground of inaccuracy in details, and he brought two instances against me. One was that of Bosnia in 1908. I cannot have made myself clear if I have been understood in that sense. I was not suggesting that we did any wrong against Turkey in 1908 when Aus-

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tria acted in that way in Bosnia. I was giving a history of the failures of the Young Turks between 1908 and 1914, and showing how they had to withstand blow after blow from outside. I can only remember two cases in which we penalized them; one of these was when the British Ambassador tried to prevent their army entering Constantinople. The other was when, in order to please our French allies, we refused to allow a British bank, the National Bank of Turkey, to make a loan to the Young Turks. The National Bank of Turkey had undercut the Ottoman Bank. The French were very much annoyed about it, and Sir Edward Grey, to please the French, made the National Bank withdraw. The Turks were so extremely annoyed that they paid a higher rate to get the money from Germany. His other instance was when he said that when enumerating the States of the Balkan Federation in 1912, Greece, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Serbia, I mentioned Roumania. If Sir Wilfrid Malleson is correct, I was unaware I had done so. I am very well aware that Roumania was not a member of the Balkan Federation, and did not come into any war until July, 1913, the second war, when she came in against Bulgaria. But I do not see that that affects the course of my argument very seriously. His third point was that he represented me as saying that Arabia was in sympathy with Turkey, and Persia in sympathy with Turkey. I was not aware of saying that; my point is not that there is natural sympathy between Arabia or Persia and Turkey, but that we have made a bond of sympathy in a most disastrous way. There is a chord of sympathy in a common hostility to Great Britain which exists in Persia, Mesopotamia, Turkey, and, unfortunately, in India; I would go further, and say that it is a chord of sympathy throughout the East. I speak with all respect, but I think that if Sir Michael O'Dwyer is counting on the differences inside Islam, of which I am well aware, or the differences in the East, he is banking on something not reliable. I was extremely struck in Kabul, in conversing with certain Sirdars there, when they said to me that they entirely approved of a rapprochement between Moslems and Hindus in India. They said: "Islam is desperate; we are like people shut up in a room and forced to break down the door. We do not want to work with Hindus because we love them, but because it is our duty to make friends and work together until we are able to accomplish something." Their feeling is a feeling of desperation. Some cannot believe it; others believe in it, and, like Sir Hamilton Grant, agree with me. I do not think there is any way of resolving that difficulty; but, as regards Sir Valentine Chirol's point, I am, of course, perfectly well aware—and I think I stated it—that Abdul Hamid and the Kaiser through Marshal von Biberstein were closely together, but there was a distinct break when the Young Turkish revolution came in 1908. At that time Sir Edward Grey

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very vigorously championed the Young Turks, and there was a definite rapprochement with us, all of which came to an end in the following spring, when the incident happened over the army entering Constantinople. Again I am not saying that our policy was wrong; I think I said that I agree with our insurance with Russia, but, knowing that this was so, I see no point at all in accusing Turkey of treachery, or being surprised that Turkey came into the war against us, if she had this old and long alliance with Germany of which Sir Valentine Chirol speaks. Why Ministers should say that Turkish Ministers were bribed . . .

Sir VALENTINE CHIROL: I did not say that.

The LECTURER: I know you did not, Sir Valentine, but my point is that we were all, or should have been, perfectly well aware that the Turkish entente with Germany existed, and therefore it is not right that representatives of the British Government should publicly make these statements. As to its being considered reasonable to suppose that Turkey would appreciate the position of the British Admiralty—if we suppose that, we are utterly incapable of putting ourselves in the other fellow's place. It is impossible to suppose that Turkey should appreciate any such thing. The money had been collected by the Turkish Navy League, and was suddenly seized by England; we had a right to do it, I agree, but to say that Turkey should appreciate and understand it—it seems to me beyond the power of human nature. We might have kept those ships until the following November, and then, when Turkey was in against us, the whole question would have been settled. But instead of that we confiscated them at the beginning. I think that deals with all the points that have been brought against me, except one last point. I did not suggest that we should desert the King of the Hejaz. I think we have done extremely well for the Sherifian family; we have provided them with three thrones; we have put them there. Sir Valentine thinks that we should keep them there by British bayonets; but I think that if they represent the Arabs, let us get out, and let them remain if they can.

The CHAIRMAN: I have no desire to contribute views of my own to the most interesting discussion which we have listened to; I shall only ask you to join with me in conveying our best thanks to Major Moore for his very lucid and excellent lecture.

A hearty round of applause was given, and this ended the meeting.

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THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN RHODES AND ASIA MINOR

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Tuesday, October 31, 1922, when Dr. Gilbert Bagnani lectured on "The Knights of St. John in Rhodes and Asia Minor." The Right Hon. Lord Carnock presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am happy to say we are honoured this afternoon with the presence of the Italian Ambassador, and I am sure we welcome His Excellency with all cordiality. It is now my pleasure to introduce to you Dr. Bagnani, who will lecture to us this afternoon upon "The Knights of St. John in Rhodes and Asia Minor." I think perhaps it will be a pleasant relaxation, in the political turmoil in which we are at present living, to go back for awhile to the Middle Ages, and listen to a recital by so competent an authority as Dr. Bagnani on the deeds of the Knights of St. John in the Eastern Levant. (Applause.)

THE LECTURE

I think that few of those who generously contributed to the appeal on behalf of the Red Cross and the Order of St. John a few weeks ago realized that the Order of St. John is the most ancient and illustrious order of chivalry in Europe. All are familiar with the splendid work it has done, few with the fact that it is the sole surviving link with the Crusades. Early in the eleventh century some merchants of Amalfi were allowed by the Caliph of Egypt to found within the walls of Jerusalem a church and a hospice for pilgrims. This hospice was tended by a body which called itself the Poor Brethren of the Hospital of St. John. It was then, even as it is now, a purely healing and humanitarian fraternity, and to-day the Order, having lost its Sovereign and Military character, may well lay claim to have returned to the Apostolic simplicity of its earliest years. But the events of the Crusades caused the Brethren to assume a strong military organization similar to that of the Knights Templar.* Pope Pascal II. formally established the Brotherhood as a Military and Religious Order of Knighthood, governed according to the rule of St. Augustine, with Raymond du Puy as Grand Master. Since the Order was international, its members were divided into seven nations or *tongues*—Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Spain, England, Ger-

* There is fair evidence that the Hospitallers assumed a military organization in 1118-19, and that the Templars did not do so till 1128-30. *Vide* Whitworth Porter's "History of the Knights of Malta," edition 1883, p. 28.—A. C. Y.

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many. In 1462 the Tongue of Spain was divided into the two Tongues of Arragon and Castille. The Tongue of Provence took precedence of all the others, since from it had come the founder of the Order, and to this day the west wind, the wind that brought the galleys of the Religion to the shores of Anatolia, is called in Rhodes *Provenza*. The Knights of each Tongue were commanded by a Bailly, who had also charge of some special branch of the administration: the Bailly of Provence was the Grand Preceptor and ruled the Order in the absence of the Grand Master; that of Auvergne the Marshal; that of France the Grand Hospitaller in charge of the Hospital; that of Italy the Admiral; that of Spain the Draper in charge of the stores of clothing. The Bailly of England was called the Turcopolier, and was in command of the Turcopolæ, a body of light cavalry recruited locally among the natives of the Islands; it was his duty, in Rhodes, to police the coasts of the island and to prevent piratical raids. One Turcopolier, Sir William Dawnay, in 1456 was charged with what we would call *la police des mœurs*, so the office can have been no sinecure. Finally, the Baillies of Germany and Castille were the Grand Bailly and Grand Chancellor. It is curious to find in an institution of the Middle Ages such a well defined international organization, and the Order can claim to have preceded Mazzini with the doctrine of language as a test of nationality. Moreover, in each country the numerous and wealthy possessions of the Order were administered locally by separate Priories. In battle the arms of the Order were the white cross on the red ground which, bordered with azure, are still the arms of the House of Savoy; the eight-pointed cross, which stands for the eight Beatitudes, was the religious and civil emblem of the Order.

In 1187 Jerusalem fell before Saladin, and the Sovereign and Military Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem withdrew to Acre, which has ever since then been known as St. John of Acre. Despite prodigies of valour, in 1291 Acre was captured by the Saracens, and the Order took refuge in the Castle of Kolossi, in the Island of Cyprus, a Castle still owned in part by the Grand Priory of England. But the Knights thought that they would be in a far stronger position as independent sovereigns than as guests in a country that might not always be friendly, and so in 1306 the Grand Master, Foulques de Villaret, bought Rhodes and some other islands from a Genoese Admiral, who incidentally did not own the place and had no right to sell it, a kind of contract not unknown even at the present day. Two years later the Grand Master was able to secure by force of arms the islands of Rhodes, Nisiros, Kos, Leros, and some other smaller ones. The Order had got a home only just in time. Had they not done so, there is little doubt that they would have suffered the terrible fate of the Order of the Temple, which was

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suppressed a few years later. Eventually a considerable part of the riches of the Knights Templar were devolved to the Order of St. John, whose power greatly increased in consequence. But the first years in Rhodes proved to be very difficult, and in 1321 the Florentine bankers Perruzzi and Bardi lent the Order, at 6 per cent., 324,000 gold florins, corresponding to about half a million sterling. The Knights took a leading part in the Crusade of Pope John XXII., which in 1344 captured Smyrna, whose defence was in 1375 entrusted by Europe to the Order alone. In 1402 the hordes of Timour the Lame overwhelmed the small but valiant garrison of Smyrna. At once the Grand Master, Philibert de Naillac, decided that the Order had to have a base on the mainland of Anatolia, both for offensive and defensive measures. He chose the abandoned Acropolis of the famous Carian city of Halicarnassos, and there built the formidable Castle of St. Peter, which, corrupted by the Greeks into Petrunion, gave to the town its modern Turkish name of Budrum. A German Knight, Henry Schlegelholt, at that time Captain of the Castle of Kos, was charged to build it. The position of the Castle of St. Peter, about an hour and a half's sailing north of the Castle of Kos, was of the greatest strategic importance. These two Castles, both in the hands of the Order, commanded the channel of approach to Rhodes itself, and thus in 1522 Suleyman was forced to gather his army and fleet for the attack on Rhodes in the Bay of Marmariza, and did not dare proceed directly from Constantinople.

The Castle of Kos (it is a curious coincidence that the Order of the Hospital should have held the birthplace of Hippocrates, the father of medicine) is a magnificent example of a fortress built for defence against attacks both from the sea and from the land.

The harbour itself is small, but was quite sufficient at that time for the galleys of the Order, which cannot have been much larger than the caiques which use it at the present day. The approach from the land is dominated by the great round bastion built by Grand Master Del Carretto, which has three orders of casemates for large cannon, with a very extensive angle of fire. In the distance are seen the hills of the Carian mainland, at the foot of which stands the Castle of Budrum.

The latter is certainly one of the most imposing monuments in the East. Rising on the high ground of the promontory separating the two bays, and dominated by the two Towers of France and Italy, it stands out prominently on the bleak coast of Anatolia. For many years before the war it was the great State prison of the Ottoman Empire, and many disgraced dignitaries were enclosed within its walls. When Newton visited it seventy years ago for his fortunate excavations at Halicarnassos, the Castle was still in a perfect state of preservation. But it has been one of the victims of the Great

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War. In 1916 a French cruiser bombarded it severely, and for the next two years hardly any French or English ship that cruised before it failed to send a shell into the walls that their ancestors had raised.

The Castle itself only occupies a small portion, the Acropolis, of the ancient city. The port is still protected by the ancient subaqueous mole, and the line of the walls and the site of the theatre can still be distinguished. But the Knights were practical people, not archæologists, and only saw in the ruins of the Carian capital a vast stone quarry which they could utilize to build their stronghold.

The Mausoleum, one of the seven wonders of the world, is now but a fig-garden, and the site itself is only recognizable by the slight rise in the ground. It may be a fancy, but I do not think I have ever tasted such good figs as those I picked on the grave of Mausolus.

But if the Knights destroyed the ancient monuments, they employed their booty well. The Castle rose upon the site of a small Seljuk stronghold, certain portions of which, notably the northern tower and the water-gate, were incorporated in the later defences. A deep moat cut through the narrow neck which joined it to the mainland rendered it almost impregnable from that side from which an attack was most to be feared. The main part of the Castle probably dates from the time of the founder, Grand Master de Naillac, who built it between 1402 and 1421, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century such defences were insufficient to meet the improvements in artillery, and so Grand Master Del Carretto built all across the north side, the only side where an attack with heavy artillery could be feared, a formidable series of bastions of immense thickness, full of casemates for powerful batteries. His predecessor, Blanchefort, built an enormously strong casemate to protect the moat and the landing-stage at the water-gate.

The bastions skirting the moat are noteworthy for the number of the coats of arms with which they are decorated, and for their artistic excellence. On the great round tower which forms the centre of the defences landwards four medallions are grouped round the octagonal cross, which was afterwards called Maltese. It is one of the very rare instances in the monuments of the Knights in the East where this type of cross was used, since it was their emblem in peace and not in war. It is surmounted by the half-figure of St. John the Baptist, protector of the Order, a rough but singularly impressive piece of sculpture; while on the right is the more usual military cross of the Order, and on the left the coat of Grand Master Fluvian; below is a private coat.

Of even greater artistic merit is the group on the bastion to the west of this tower, in which two angels support the arms of the Kingdom of France surmounted by the Royal crown. As a rule the few attempts of the Knights at sculpture were not a great success.

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The sculptors were usually soldiers who were quite good at carving the heraldic devices with which they were well familiar, but were quite hopeless at anything else. It is curious to note that the same explanation can be given for the artistic peculiarities of the numerous monuments built by the Roman legions, notably the Arch of Augustus at Susa and the Trophy at Adamklissi.

The most ambitious piece of sculpture attempted by the Knights, and one in which these defects are very evident, is to be seen inside the Castle. Above, the Virgin and St. Peter, patron of the Castle, support the arms of Grand Master Orsini quartered with the cross of the Order. Underneath is the date 1472. In the lower half St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine of Alexandria support those of Francisco Boxols, who was several times Captain of the Castle. A shield of this knight has, strangely enough, migrated from Budrum Castle to England, and was found a few years ago in a Sussex village by Mr. G. F. Hill, in whose possession it now is.

On the inner side of the gateway that leads through the glacis into the moat is written the defiant inscription which summarizes briefly the aims of this last bulwark of Christianity in Asia, *Propter catholicam fidem tenetur locum istum*, and below the name of the Captain of the Castle, James Gatineau, with the date 1513. The inscription proves that Brother Gatineau was greater as a soldier than as a Latin scholar. Above are the arms of the Order, Gatineau and De Blanchefort. To the left is an ancient lion, probably from some tomb, which has escaped the attentions of Newton.

Gatineau also built the casemate which, with its gun emplacements at the water-line, was able to sweep both the moat and the harbours, and could have put a stop to any naval attempt against the Castle. This casemate was used by the Germans as a storehouse for supplies for their submarines, and when we occupied Budrum for a few months in 1919 we found many empty cans of petrol inside. Protected alike by the immense thickness of the masonry and by its northerly position, it escaped unscathed from the bombardments, and it is melancholy to consider that these bombardments, that wrought irreparable damage to the southern sea-wall and to the loftier towers, did not accomplish any military damage whatsoever.

The main entrance to the Castle was by the water-gate, protected by a strong tower, which probably dates back to the early Seljuk fortifications. Ancient columns, walled up into the tower, still do office as mooring-posts. This was the point of safety to which the numerous Christian slaves and other "oppressed minorities" fled for refuge. There is a story that the Knights used to keep in the Castle a number of fierce bloodhounds which would welcome and assist, like St. Bernard dogs, a Christian refugee, but would tear to pieces an infidel, however well disguised.

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One of the most charming pieces of architecture in the Castle is the little chapel of the Knights. The fully developed Gothic style of the building, together with the decorative details, point to the beginning of the sixteenth century, a date confirmed by some recently discovered inscriptions on the façade. During the brief Italian occupation of Budrum we were able to undertake a restoration of the building, which had been turned into the prison mosque. Stripped of its coating of whitewash, the walled-up windows were reopened and their beautiful mouldings were found almost intact. When Newton visited the Castle the beautifully carved Gothic rood-screen was still in its place.

On the highest point in the interior of the Castle rise the two magnificent Towers of France and Italy, identified by means of the shields which still decorate them. Together with the intervening building, they form a kind of keep which was probably used for the residence of the Captain of the Castle. Characteristic is the little look-out on the French Tower from which one can dominate the whole of the surrounding country. These two towers were the ones to suffer most severely from the effects of the Allied bombardments, and when we occupied Budrum they threatened instant ruin. Our attention was at once directed to the task of their preservation, and, though we had but little means and still less time at our disposal, we were able to patch them up sufficiently to ensure their stability.

The Italian Tower is decorated with what must be a shield unique in heraldry. A fine Ionic capital, very probably from the Mausoleum, has been walled up into the tower; on its lower surface, where the hole for the clamp which bound it to the column is plainly visible, Angelo Muscettola, Captain of the Castle from 1431 to 1436, has carved his coat of arms. Above it, as it were in melancholy remembrance of his distant country, he wrote the word "ITALIA," and it was with no little emotion that I read the name of my country written nearly 500 years ago in that desolate corner of Anatolia. It should be noticed how, here and elsewhere, the Turks have respected the symbols and images of the Order.

But the most severe damage which the Castle had to suffer from the Allied bombardment is on the south wall, which faces the sea. Along all its length the effect of the shells are only too visible. At the extreme end of the wall rises the imposing Tower of England, which has also suffered serious damage, and which, unfortunately, we did not have time to repair.

The entrance, which is on the north or land side, has escaped serious injury. A shell, bursting inside the tower, displaced some of the courses of the masonry, but not in a vital part. Across the whole of the façade runs a continuous frieze of English coats of arms, twenty-eight in all. They are protected by a drip moulding and form an

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heraldic *ensemble* of unique magnificence and interest. In the centre are the arms of England, the Leopards quartered with the Lilies of France and surmounted by the helmet with a lion's crest. It is probably to be ascribed to King Henry IV. On either side are shields bearing the cross of the Order, and below six shields, three on each side, of English Royal Princes, and, as a matter of fact, just before the death of Henry IV. there were living just six Princes of the Blood. The identification of the other shields is not always certain. Beginning from the left, they appear to be Lord Grey, Lord Zouche, De la Pole quartering Wingfield, the Earl of Westmorland, the Earl of Northumberland, the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Warwick, Sir John Burley, a K.G. and a staunch adherent of Bolingbroke. On the other side are Lord Strange of Knokyn, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Stafford, Vere, Earl of Oxford, Courtnay, Earl of Devon, Lord Fitzhugh and Cresson. The three coats below the Royal arms cannot be identified with any certainty; one may belong to Grand Master de Naillac, and another to the Wolfe family. The names are those of the greatest families of the time. When Henry V., in his speech to Westmorland before the Battle of Agincourt, says:

> "Then shall our names,
> Familiar in his mouth as household words—
> Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,
> Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloster—
> Be in their flowing cups freshly remembered,"

he probably did not think of the distant Castle in another continent which bears the memory of those warriors' valour. Of course, these shields do not mean that any of their owners was ever at Budrum: they simply mean that they have contributed to the expense of building it.

There is in the British Museum an indulgence, dated 1414, granted to Sir William Fitzhugh and to Margery his wife by the Proctors of Pope Alexander V., for contributing to the fortifying of the Castle of St. Peter. Taking into consideration the date and the fact that the arms of Fitzhugh appear on the frieze, I think there can be little doubt that this indulgence is to be connected with the building of the tower we have just seen. In 1480 the Turcopolier, Sir John Kendal, the hero of the first siege of Rhodes, and whose medal, the work of some Italian medallist, is the earliest portrait medal struck in commemoration of an Englishman, went to Ireland with letters patent of Edward IV. to collect money for the Castle of Budrum by selling indulgences granted by Sixtus IV.

A particularly fine example of the arms of England is to be seen on the western side of the tower in a little niche above an ancient marble lion. Here, as nearly everywhere else, the Leopards of

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England are found quartered with the Lilies of France, and I always wonder what the French Knights, who had, after all, the preponderant share in the administration of the Order, said about this action of their English colleagues. On this side the effects of the bombardment are very apparent. The bursting of a shell has destroyed several courses of the corner, and the cracks that already appear in the superstructure show that before long all this corner will collapse, including this beautiful heraldic group. If this is allowed to occur, the north front, with its wonderful frieze of arms, will not be able to survive for long. Still greater damage was done on the south side, for a shell struck one of the small windows which illuminated the hall, and has produced a breach in the masonry about 14 feet high and destroyed the last traces of the floor in the interior. Placed as it is right on the sea, it suffers still further from being exposed to the full fury of the wind and of the winter seas, which in the Kos Channel are sometimes of considerable violence. Two more shell-holes are to be seen on the eastern side, but they have done comparatively little damage, nor have they impaired the stability of the whole building. Could one have the money to restore the Castle thoroughly it would almost have gained through the Allied bombardment, since all the Turkish additions and prison buildings have been swept away; but in its present state the Tower of England is in imminent danger of collapse.

Another pathetic English victim of the bombardment is the corner-stone of a cornice which decorated another tower. The shield was so disposed that the angle of the tower divided it exactly in half: the shell, striking one face, destroyed it completely and hurled the other side on to a heap of debris, where I was fortunate enough to find it. Luckily, it is the side which bears the motto *Drede Shame*, a translation of the Latin motto *Time Pudorem*, of Sir William Dawnay, who was Captain of the Castle in 1468. Other English Knights have held the same post, notably Sir Thomas Docwra, later Grand Prior of England and builder of St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, the present seat of the Order of St. John in England. In one place he surrounds the shield of the Order with the Garter, the only example I know of this Order in the East. Another Englishman who held this office was Sir Thomas Sheffield, who in 1521 narrowly missed being elected Grand Master instead of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, his great personal wealth recommending him to the electing body. In fact, the Castle of Budrum, from the indulgence granted to build it to the shells that have so seriously damaged it, has always been closely connected with Englishmen, and I hope that even now Englishmen will join in its preservation.

And now I must speak about Rhodes itself, a subject which would be sufficient for many lectures. Of all mediæval cities I have ever

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seen, Rhodes surpasses them all both for the grandeur of the monuments themselves and for their excellent state of preservation. Exactly 400 years have elapsed since the Knights left Rhodes for ever, yet the city is almost exactly in the state they left it. The port is still crowded with small sailing-vessels which cannot be very different to the boats that used it in those days; the round, tower-like windmills which must have been introduced by the Northern Knights into the East still dominate the city, and only a few minarets have taken the place of the original church spires. But before anything else the perfectly preserved fortifications claim the interest of the visitor, both on account of the deeds of heroism which are associated with them and for their great importance in the history of fortification. They were built at a time when the capture of Constantinople in the East and the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. in the West had shown but too clearly that the mediæval type of walled town was unable to sustain a prolonged bombardment. The walls of Rhodes show the new system of fortification applied to a town of the earlier type. The whole circuit of the walls, some six kilometres in length, was divided into eight sectors or posts, each entrusted to one of the Tongues of the Order.

Those skirting the port belong still to the early fifteenth-century type, nor were they ever bastioned, since they could be beaten by no artillery, but are strengthened by several advanced ramparts. Such was probably the type of the fortifications landwards in 1480, when the Knights of St. John defeated the great Turkish forces and compelled their general, the renegade Greek Paleologus, to raise the siege. It was in this heroic and fortunate enterprise that Sir John Kendal held high among the other nations of the Order the name of England, and for this victory the Grand Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, one of the ablest and most valiant soldiers of the time, received the Cardinal's hat. But the defeat of the enemy was due more to the valour of the Knights than to the strength of the defences, and after the siege d'Aubusson and his successors almost entirely rebuilt the fortifications landwards.

In some points, however, the older constructions were allowed to remain, especially in places where the nature of the ground still further strengthened the ingenuity of man. The work of fortification was still further carried on by the Italian Grand Master, Fabrizio Del Carretto, since the Turkish menace was ever on the increase. He was aided by the best military engineers of the age, and had practically completed his work when he died in 1521. He was only just in time. The following year the storm broke. For six months, from June to December, 1522, exactly 400 years ago, the new Grand Master, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam, at the head of about 600 Knights and some 5,000 soldiers, held at bay a Turkish army of not

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less than 100,000 men. This great host was commanded in person by the greatest soldier of the day, Suleyman, surnamed the Magnificent, flushed by his victory at Belgrade. And yet the city was not captured by storm. On Christmas Eve the Grand Master capitulated with all the honours of war, when the ammunition was almost entirely exhausted, when the forces at his command were reduced to about 100 Knights and 1,000 soldiers, and when the Greek inhabitants of the city threatened to rise were the Knights to attempt to put into action their desire of burying themselves under the ruins of the city.

Had the Christian powers sent the least aid to the besieged there is little doubt that all this heroism would not have been in vain. But Europe was at the time occupied with the struggle between Charles V. and Francis I. The Crusading spirit was dead, and the Knights of St. John must have been considered as a rather objectionable society of Die-Hards. Rhodes fell, and the following act of the struggle between Europe and Asia was fought round the walls of Vienna, not in the Mediterranean; but the Crusades could not have had a more glorious ending, and I hope that you will allow me to touch upon two or three of the principal episodes in the history of the siege.

For Englishmen the interest must culminate at the Post of England, which is one of the most imposing sectors of the fortifications. Here one can see at a glance the general principle of the fortifications as they were in 1522. The front of the wall itself, strengthened with square towers connected at a lower level by a barbican or *fausse-bray*, belongs to the earliest period, and is in many respects similar to the walls of the harbour. But Del Carretto rendered this wall almost unassailable by the artillery of the time by heaping up an enormous bastion of earth all along the inner face, and so for almost the whole length of the wall it is some 25 feet in thickness. Instead of the previous narrow *chemin-de-ronde*, a broad platform runs along the top of the wall, where can still be seen the emplacements for the heaviest ordnance, and by means of which it was easy to bring reinforcements to any menaced point. The two fosses are divided by an imposing *terre-plein* or ravelin, built in order to protect the foundations of the wall from the enemy's fire. It is so placed that the batteries posted on the wall could dominate the glacis, while reducing the angle of fire of the opposing batteries almost to a minimum. The fosses are disposed in a manner similar to our modern wire entanglements, to detain the enemy in a position which can be swept by enfilading fire from opposite redoubts. Each sector of the walls is bounded on either side by great bulwarks or *boulevards*, also entrusted to the different Tongues. In 1522 the Captain of the Post was Sir William Weston, who later had the melancholy distinction of being the last Grand Prior of England, dying of a broken heart when Henry VIII. suppressed the Order. The family to which

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he belonged from a very early date has been, and, in the person of Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston, still is, closely associated with the history of the Order, to which it has furnished some of its most distinguished members. The Captain of the Bastion was Sir Nicholas Hussey, while the Turcopolier, Sir John Burke,* as Captain of Succour, commanded the reserve for the whole sector.

The walls and bastion of England were among the points most violently attacked, so much so that during the siege the Grand Master, who had at first taken his station at the walls of Italy, moved with his guard behind the walls of England. On the 4th of September, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the Turks exploded a mine at the point where the bastion joins on to the wall. The violence of the explosion was so great that all the city was shaken by it, and the enemy, attacking in force, were able to seize the breach and plant seven standards on it. At the moment the Grand Master was in a church close by. The choir had just arrived at the verse *Deus, in adjutorium meum intende*, when the clamour of the attack was heard. At once, seizing a pike and calling to the Knights of his guard to profit by the fortunate omen, Villiers de l'Isle Adam rushed to the breach, which, after a most obstinate engagement, was retaken from the enemy. Five days later another mine was sprung under the wall, which collapsed with such noise that at first it was supposed that the whole of the Post had been destroyed, and the garrison were about to retire before the violent assaults of the enemy, when again the Grand Master appeared on the scene with the Standard of the Crucifix, and after three hours of struggle the Turks were forced to retire. A third assault was delivered by surprise on the 17th of the same month at midday. This attack also was unsuccessful, but some of the bravest Knights fell in the engagement, including the Turcopolier, Sir John Burke.* The great general assault took place on the 24th of September, when the four breaches which had been made by them in the walls of Italy, Provence, England, and Arragon were attacked simultaneously. The troops were massed under cover of a smoke screen created by all the numerous batteries that had been posted on the very glacis itself, which only stopped firing a few moments before the attack. Although at first the attack was successful, by nightfall the Knights were left in complete possession of all the points attacked, and the Turks were forced to retire, having lost, it is calculated, some 15,000 men. This failure came as a great disappointment to Suleyman, who had been confident of taking the town by storm, and had supervised the attack from a scaffold erected on a commanding position near the walls.

One of the most interesting features of the siege was the great use of mining operations, for which the Sultan had brought some 50,000 Bosnian miners. Fifty-four mines were dug under the walls,

* English historians quote the name as "Booth, Bouch, or Buck."—A. C. Y.

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but most of these were intercepted by the skill of the great military engineer, Gabriele Tadino da Martinengo, to whose courage and ability is chiefly due the prolonged resistance of the fortress. He is usually believed to have been the inventor of the countermine, and also of the various systems of detecting and calculating the course of the enemy's galleries. He dug long galleries parallel to the walls, in which he suspended barbers' pannikins, which vibrated at the approach of the hostile miners. The task of the besieging forces must have been greatly facilitated by the fact that the Knights, in digging their fosses, had cut through many of the drains and aqueducts of the ancient Greek city. There are numerous ancient galleries that run right through the ravelin and under the wall of the Post of England.

In the walls of England there was originally a gate, called the Gate of St. Athanasius. Through it at the beginning of the siege the English Knights made a successful sortie. There is a tradition that Suleyman entered the city by this gate, and rode down the street, which cannot have had an appearance very different from that which it bears at present. He afterwards ordered it to be closed, and closed it has remained up to the present year, when the Government of Rhodes ordered it to be reopened and the bastion of England restored in commemoration of the great siege. It is a curious fact that Mustapha Pasha, Suleyman's Chief of Staff, who was disgraced and exiled after the failure of the general attack on the 24th of September, in his old age led the unsuccessful Turkish force at the great Siege of Malta which has immortalized the name of Philippe de la Vallette.

Within the city the Latin civilization of the Order finds its greatest expression in the famous Street of the Knights. In it are the Auberges of the various Tongues, which were their headquarters and the residence of their Baillies. We have been able through the interest and generosity both of the Government and of private individuals to restore nearly all these historic buildings. First comes the Auberge of Italy, the work of Grand Master Del Carretto, and, higher up, the Auberge of France, the finest and most imposing of them all. It has been restored at the expense of H.E. M. Bompard, late French Ambassador at Constantinople, who presented it to his Government. Further up, the great arch spanning the road belongs to the Auberge of Spain, one of the largest, as it held the Knights of Arragon, Castille, Navarre, and Portugal. At the very end of the road, near the Turkish hospital, towered the Palace of the Grand Master, which was also the central keep of the city. It is the intention of the present Governor of the island, Count Bosdari, to restore the Palace and make it again the seat of the Government. Most of the other buildings along the road have also been restored, and I hope that in

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a few years' time the whole street will have returned to the state it was in when the Knights used to hold their reviews along it, before going into battle.

The Auberge of England, which stands just opposite the Hospital, has been thoroughly restored through the interest of Colonel Yate and the generous munificence of Colonel Gabriel.

No lecture on Rhodes would be complete without any mention of the wonderful Hospital, *raison d'être* of the Order, and finest of the Latin monuments in the Levant. When we occupied Rhodes we found it in a truly deplorable condition. Turned into a Turkish barrack, the second story ruined by the opening of large and shapeless windows, everything covered over with whitewash, it showed but little of its original grandeur. From 1914 to 1918, notwithstanding the great difficulties caused by the war, the work of restoration was carried on, and now the museum of Rhodes is housed in a building which for strength, simplicity, and grandeur has few rivals in the world. The simplicity of the façade clearly proclaims its early date, and we have been fortunate enough to discover the original inscription of the founder. From it we learn that it was built, in substitution of an early building, by Grand Master Lastic, who dedicated it on the 17th of July, 1440, as executor of a legacy of 10,000 gold florins left for the purpose by his predecessor, Antonio Fluvian. This early date is proved by the absence of those great windows with their beautifully decorated mouldings, or of the numerous coats of arms which are so characteristic of the Rhodian architecture at the end of the fifteenth century. The whole building is modelled on the Cistercian architecture of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. The beautiful carved cypress-wood doors are still in existence, but, alas, no longer in their original place. In 1836 a Vali gave them to the Prince de Joinville, and they are now at Versailles. Our sorrow at their loss is tempered by the reflection that, had they remained, they would probably have perished completely.

No less simple and imposing is the interior. The great low two-storied cloister is well in keeping with the monastic and military character of the Order. The wide and comfortable staircase, with no parapet, is typical of the Rhodian architecture. Near by is the covered well which ensured the purity of the water-supply for the guests. All the ground floor was probably exclusively used as store-rooms, the upper floor being set apart for the sick and the pilgrims. All about are the innumerable stone and marble cannon balls, many of which were probably fired into the town during the siege. The imperfection of ancient artillery is well illustrated by the Siege of Rhodes. The Turks started to bombard the houses inside the city in order to impress the inhabitants with their frightfulness. The Knights placed watchmen on the steeples of the churches, who rang

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the bells when they saw a gun being loaded, upon which signal all the inhabitants took refuge in the cellars, and nobody felt any the worse. After firing into the city a couple of thousand stone cannon balls, the Turks learnt from traitors inside the town that the casualties to date were some twenty-five killed and wounded, so they stopped, since it seemed rather a waste of gunpowder.

The great hall of the Infirmary itself occupies the whole of the width of the front. It is a great hall divided into two aisles by a row of pillars down the middle. These pillars are an addition of d'Aubusson, as the capitals are formed by shields alternately bearing the simple cross of the Order and the cross ancrée of d'Aubusson. In the middle, over the entrance-door of the building, is the little chapel, so placed that every day the sick from their beds could assist at Mass, as was ordered by the Rule. Some one hundred cots could be normally contained in the hall, but in times of war or pestilence a great many more could be accommodated. In the thickness of the wall are many little rooms which probably served as cupboards for the Hospital necessaries.

And now, in conclusion, I hope I may be allowed to say a few words on the moral significance of the monuments I have had the privilege to show you. At the present moment, when many believe that the future of the world lies in some form of Internationalism, it may not be useless to study the history and the ideals of the mediæval International. Gone are the glorious conquests in the East, but the East has faithfully preserved, more durable than bronze, the memory of that glory. At a time when Europe was seething with war and with hatred, when the Renaissance and the Reformation were laying the foundations of the modern world, the ideals of the Order of St. John could find but little sympathy and get but little help from the ambitions of the warring Princes. It should be remembered to the honour of the Order of St. John that it tried to carry out an international ideal. Men, young, wealthy, noble, belonging to rival and often conflicting nationalities, their pride of race increasing their pride of birth, were yet ready to take solemn vows of eternal poverty, chastity, and obedience, and undergo a life of almost incredible hardship and danger, in order to make of Rhodes, in the words of an ancient chronicler, "a harbour for the shipwrecked, a refuge for the unfortunate, and a resting-place for the weary." And though now the Order of St. John is no longer a formidable military power, it is still an international organization which still carries on the ideal expressed in its motto, a motto which might be recommended to the League of Nations: *Pro fide, pro utilitate Hominum.*

The CHAIRMAN: I would ask Colonel Yate, who, I believe, is a Knight of Justice of the Order of St. John, to say a few words.

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Colonel A. C. YATE: Your Excellency, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel that the lecturer has most thoroughly covered the subject in his lecture. I congratulate not only myself, but this audience, I think, if they will allow me, on the fact that a pure accident—a couple of letters written in the *Morning Post* about three months ago—brought the lecturer and myself into communication, and thus led up to the admirable lecture to which we have listened. (Applause.) Among the noblemen mentioned as having their arms on the English Tower at Budrum, I think there is one, perhaps, not familiar to Englishmen, that of Lord Strange of Knokyn (as spelt to-day, "Knockin"). I believe you must be a Salopian, as I am, to know Lord Strange of Knokyn. I have often been at Knockin, near Oswestry, and in that neighbourhood his name is well known and remembered. The remnant of the old Castle still stands there. All the other names mentioned are familiar to any student of English history. Now, we heard mentioned by the lecturer that an armorial tablet from Rhodes had been discovered in Sussex. It is a curious fact that a certain General Fox, a son of the third Lord Holland, who held a high military appointment in his day—*i.e.*, about eighty years ago—found his way in the course of his duty or pleasure to Rhodes, and brought away from the Auberge d'Angleterre the armorial tablet of Sir John Kendal, whose medallion you saw pictured upon the screen.* We have been able, curiously enough, to trace home that tablet, and at this moment, to the best of my belief, it is still standing in the entrance-hall of Workington Hall, in Cumberland, the seat of the Curwens; and the explanation of its having found its way there is that the Kendals and the Curwens, Westmorland or Cumberland families, are one and the same originally. It is difficult to trace how exactly it came there, but anyhow there it is; and Colonel Gabriel, whose name has been mentioned to you as the man who found the funds for restoring and purchasing the Auberge d'Angleterre, and at this moment is the owner thereof, has told me that the present Mr. Curwen of Workington Hall has informed him that at a convenient season he will hand over that tablet, provided it is restored to the Auberge d'Angleterre at Rhodes. (Applause.) That we sincerely hope will some day be done. I found, as I left my Club to-day, that Colonel Gabriel, who would have very much liked to be here, had taken the trouble to send to both my Clubs a letter—which I have in my hand—expressing his deep regret that a political engagement prevents his being present. He is a retired Indian Civil Servant, and possibly meditates standing for Parliament.

* **Colonel Hugh Rose, afterwards Lord Strathnairn, brought away from Rhodes in 1854 the fireplace of the Hall of the Grand Master's Palace. (See "Rhodes of the Knights," by Baron de Belabre, p. 103.) Nothing is now known of this fireplace.—A. C. Y.**

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Had he been here, he wished particularly to acknowledge his debt, first of all, to the help which he received from the Italian authorities at Rhodes in acquiring the Auberge and in carrying out the repairs, and secondly to the great and precise care which the archæological authorities there exercised in carrying them out. He says that only the old has been restored, and nothing new introduced.

I think that it is hardly necessary for me to say anything more at present, except, perhaps, to mention something that I have brought here, in order that you may see that English people have not altogether neglected the English Tower of Budrum. Sir Charles Newton* began between the fifties and the sixties of the last century, assisted by Lieutenant (later Major-General Sir Robert) Murdoch Smith, R.E., and an architect of the name of Pullan, to thoroughly overhaul the tower, while a non-commissioned officer of the Royal Engineers was employed to most accurately copy the armorial designs, etc.; and, curiously enough, although Lord Amherst of Hackney—in his day a well-known Knight of Justice of the English Grand Priory—had all these drawings prepared for reproduction and publication in 1884, by some extraordinary oversight those reproductions appear to have remained in the hands of the publishers until last year, when their existence became known to our Assistant Librarian at St. John's Gate, Mr. Fincham; and he has been so kind as to give me a set, which is here. I may also add that a Masonic Lodge, known as the Quatuor Coronati, and the Society of Antiquaries, have published in their Transactions monographs by the very well known President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Clements Markham, by Admiral Sir Albert Markham, and by Mr. Andrew Oliver, on the Castle of Budrum and its Heraldry. I wish it to be known that Englishmen have shown interest for the last seventy or eighty years at least in a tower which I have seen spoken of by an English archæologist as one of the finest monuments of English chivalry in the Near East. (Applause.) The Central Asian Society has done well to-day—I speak as a Knight of St. John—in advocating the repair and preservation of that monument.†

* See his "Travels in the Levant," and "Halicarnassos," and also "The Life of Sir Robert Murdoch Smith," by his son-in-law, Mr. Dickson.

† It is of interest to put on record that on December 31, 1919, among the members of the Central Asian Society were numbered seven Knights of Justice, one Lady of Justice, and eleven Knights of Grace of the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England. These are, in order of seniority:

Knights of Justice.—Lieut.-General Sir A. Hunter-Weston; Mr. Edmund Fraser; Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate; Lieut.-Colonel Sir R. C. Temple; the Lord Sydenham of Combe; the Lord Chelmsford; the Earl of Donoughmore.

Lady of Justice.—The Lady Constance Milnes-Gaskell.

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The Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM BULL (Maltravers Herald-Extraordinary): My Lord, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I was abroad when these two letters appeared in the *Morning Post*, and I think we owe a debt of gratitude to the editor of the *Morning Post* for his patriotism in publishing them, and attracting attention to this remarkable and interesting ruin. We are all deeply grateful to Signor Bagnani for his kindness in giving us this lecture here this afternoon. (Applause.) Some of you may be aware of the fact that I am the Vice-Principal of the Imperial Society of Knights Bachelor; when the letters were sent out to me with a request that my Society should undertake the cost of repair, I telegraphed home at once suggesting that we might help, and would be proud, as far as we are able, to contribute towards the restoration of the tower. The Imperial Society of Knights Bachelor, who represent the oldest order of chivalry in the world, feel a very great pride in taking part in such a work. The amount to be collected is comparatively small—some five or six hundred pounds will do it, I am told—but we have had difficulties in the way. Some of you may be aware that there is "a certain liveliness" in politics both in England and in Italy; a great many of us have been busy and not able at the moment to devote the attention we should like to this subject. Other things have also interfered with my activities in the matter, but I sent round a circular to all the Knights Bachelor who belong to the Society. I have had a good response up to date, have many more promises, and, without being too optimistic, hope we shall collect the sum without very much difficulty in the near future. I am very pleased to be here this afternoon, and am grateful to Signor Bagnani for bringing it to the attention of so distinguished an English audience. (Applause.)

Mr. H. W. FINCHAM, F.S.A. (Assistant Librarian of the Order): May I say, with regard to the papers on the Heraldry at Budrum which

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Knights of Grace.—Colonel Sir Charles Yate; Lieut.-Colonel J. T. Woolrych Perowne; Lieut.-Colonel E. V. Gabriel; H. E. the Lord Willingdon; Sir H. S. King; Lieut.-Colonel Sir A. H. McMahon; the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen; Sir Michael O'Dwyer; Field-Marshal the Viscount Allenby; General Sir C. C. Monro; General Sir F. Reginald Wingate.

In view of the interest which it was felt the Grand Priory of England must take in restoring a Tower constructed with funds provided during the fifteenth century by the King, nobility, and gentry of the land, and to this day still known as the English Tower, the Council of the Central Asian Society offered to place at the disposal of the Chancery of the Order one hundred tickets of admission to this lecture. The offer was accepted. Among those present were: Lord Ranfurly, Lord and Lady Shaftesbury, Sir Dyce Duckworth, Mr. Edwin Freshfield, Surgeon-General Sir R. C. Charles, Lady Perrott, Lieut.-Colonel Ewen Cameron (Secretary), Mr. H. W. Fincham (Assistant Librarian), and many more.—A. C. Y.

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Sir Clement Markham read at the Society of Antiquaries in 1893, that he expressed considerable difficulty in explaining why those coats of arms were placed upon the Castle of St. Peter, seeing that none of them represented Hospitallers, and as Sir W. H. St. John Hope pointed out, seventeen of the twenty-eight were Knights of the Garter, and he put it down to the enthusiasm of the English wanting to be reminded of their famous men at home. But to-day, after seeing that beautiful indulgence manuscript that the lecturer has shown us, there is no doubt whatever that those arms represent the principal contributors to the cost of building. I have found just lately another indulgence to another person: "To all who shall see the present letters, Brother John Seyvill, Knight of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, Proctor of the Indulgence of the Castle of Saint Peter, sends greeting. Know ye that the Most Holy Father Alexander, by Divine Providence Pope, granted an indulgence to all who stretch forth their hands for the defence of the faith, the fortification and ward of the said castle. And because our Beloved in Christ Richard Mauncell and Margaret his wife, John Mauncell and Agnes his wife, and all their children, and Agnes Mauncell, have given the subsidies of charity to the said castle, they have by apostolic authority license to choose a confessor. Given at Temple Bruer in the Year of Our Lord 1413." This document is a year earlier than the one Dr. Bagnani shows us. I am inclined to think this Mauncell is one of those coats unidentified. The coat is very similar to one—not quite the same, but near enough for a rough sketch sent out from England, say, in the early fifteenth century. Also I might mention that when the Order of St. John built its new chapter hall in 1903 it placed in the stained glass of the lantern twelve of the coats of arms from the Castle of St. Peter. The intention was to put up the whole twenty-eight: the present twelve were put up at the expense of Lord Amherst of Hackney, the late Lord Knutsford, and Dr. Edwin Freshfield. There were no further contributors, possibly because there was no chance of indulgences. (Laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think, if nobody else wishes to address the meeting, it only remains for me to echo, I am quite sure, all your feelings, by expressing our very best thanks to Signor Bagnani for the full and ample justice he has given to a most fascinating and interesting subject, and also expressing our admiration of those very beautiful plates with which he has illustrated the paper he has read. (Applause.) I only hope that the anticipations of Sir William Bull will be realized, and that he will collect funds sufficient to restore the English Tower of Budrum, which was so unfortunately damaged during the war. I now convey in your name the best thanks to Signor Bagnani. (Renewed applause.)

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APPENDIX

R. SCUOLA ITALIANA DI ARCHEOLOGIA

1, Ὁδὸς Διονισίου τοῦ Ἀρειοπαγίτου,
ATHENS,
August 4, 1922.

DEAR SIR,

My attention has only now, on my return from the Dodecanese, been drawn to your letter in the *Morning Post* of July 4 on the Auberge d'Angleterre in Rhodes. Both as the writer of the article to which you refer and as a Fellow of the Italian School of Archæology, I wish at once to assure you that the omission of any mention of the restoration of that Auberge was due neither to ignorance nor to any desire of minimizing the work done, but only to the fact that my article referred only to the great siege and to the restorations now in progress. I hope to treat of the Auberge in an article I am preparing on the English monuments in Rhodes. I wish to assure you that the restoration of the English Auberge and the generosity of the Grand Priory of England are greatly appreciated by us, as being the only case in which members of the Order of Jerusalem have shown any interest in the monuments of Rhodes. Might I suggest that it would be better if the Auberge became the official property of the English Grand Priory and not of the nation, thus preserving the link between the Sovereign Order and Rhodes? It may interest you to know that the French have only restored the façade of their Auberge, while the interior is still in complete ruin; also that the Auberge d'Auvergne has become the property of the Italian Government, and, after having been properly restored, is now the residence of Professor Maiuri and the headquarters of our Archæological Mission in the Dodecanese.

I hope that you will not think me importunate if I now draw your attention to the very serious state of one of the finest monuments of the English Order in the East—*i.e.*, the so-called refectory of the Castle at Budrum.

The Castle is, to my mind at least, the most splendid mediæval castle in the East, and during our recent stay at Budrum for the excavations I was able to explore it thoroughly and take numerous photographs. It has always been connected with England, since both Sir Thomas Docwra and Sir Thomas Sheffield were for some time Captains of the Castle. Over the entrance to the inner circle of walls are the arms of the Order, surrounded by the Garter, and one of the largest towers on the seaward side was built by English Knights. Over the entrance runs a magnificent frieze of twenty-eight coats of

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arms with the arms of Edward IV. in the centre. The latter are repeated in a niche on the west side and placed over a classical lion, probably from a tomb. It is the building described and drawn by Newton as the refectory, and is without a doubt the finest heraldic *ensemble* in the Levant. Unfortunately, during the war the Castle was bombarded by the French and English Fleets in revenge for the murder of some French sailors. The Castle naturally suffered severely, and especially the central towers and the southern wall, which faces the sea, which in places has been almost completely destroyed. During our brief military occupation of Budrum, Professor Maiuri began the work of restoration, and managed to restore the two central towers of France and Italy, which give the Castle its characteristic appearance. Unfortunately, we evacuated Budrum before work could be begun on the Tower of England, and it is now in an exceedingly perilous condition. The enclosed photos, which are the first I have been able to develop, show you sufficiently clearly the extent of the damage. The tower was struck by three shells; one on the South side in the embrasure of the window made a breach about 15 feet high by 8 feet wide; another similar breach was formed on the East side (I have not yet developed my photo of the latter), and the shell, bursting within the tower, deplaced several courses of masonry on the North wall, fortunately just below the frieze. But the most serious damage of all was done by a shell which struck the south-west corner of the tower and destroyed the whole corner just below the arms of Edward IV. for a height of about 8 or 10 feet. The destruction of the floor in the interior, moreover, still further compromises the stability of the building, which is exposed to the whole fury of the wind and the waves, and the numerous cracks in the tower become every month more menacing, as I myself can testify.

Both Professor Maiuri and myself feel that the fall of the tower would be an irreparable loss to the monuments which testify Western civilization and culture in the Levant, but it is absolutely impossible for our Government to spend large sums in the restoration of a building which is only in our zone of influence. The little money we have must all be spent in Rhodes itself. It therefore has occurred to me that the only way to save this building is to trust to the well-known generosity of the English Order and of Britain in general, feeling sure that, even as it co-operated in the bombardment of the Castle, it will be ready to repair the damage done. The work will be of considerable difficulty and expense, since everything will have to be brought from Rhodes or Kos, Budrum being now practically a deserted village. Moreover, the consent of the Angora Government will have to be obtained—not an easy matter. Our official relations with the Turks are fairly good, so much so that they allow us to excavate; our personal relations with the Kaimakam of Budrum are excellent.

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H.E. Count Bosdari, Governor of Rhodes, has promised me his full support in the question, and would be willing to put a Government vessel at our disposal during the period of the work. Once the funds can be obtained, all the other questions can be easily settled. The sum required would be large; the wages of workmen remaining what they are, it would cost about 50,000 Italian lire, at the present rate of exchange about £500. It is a considerable sum, but I hope that Britain will not allow the tower to disappear.

I will go to England about the middle of September, and I hope to have the pleasure of being able to discuss the matter personally with you. I intend bringing a good collection of slides of the principal buildings of the Order in the East, and it may be of interest to the British public to see some of the places where, 400 years ago, their forefathers fought side by side with Knights of all the other European nations, upholding its glorious crusading tradition. We feel that, in holding Rhodes, we are merely the caretakers, not the possessors, of monuments which belong to the whole of the Western civilization.

I hope that you will forgive me, sir, for having taken up so much of your valuable time, and believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) GILBERT BAGNANI.

To LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE,
THE ATHENÆUM,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

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ARABIA AND THE HEDJAZ

By Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Vickery, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.F.A.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, London, S.W., on Thursday, November 9, 1922, when a lecture was given by Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Vickery, C.M.G., on "Arabia and the Hedjaz." In the absence of Lord Carnock, the chair was taken by General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I regret to say that Lord Carnock is laid up and unable to preside at the lecture to-day. It is very unfortunate, because I am afraid I shall be a very poor substitute, as I have not been considering this question at all with a view to presiding to-day. My only duty at present is to introduce the lecturer to you. Colonel Vickery has had, as you know, a distinguished record during the war, after which he was appointed British Agent at Jeddah as a sort of liaison officer between the British Government and the King of the Hedjaz. As such, of course, he has had a great experience of the Arabian internal situation and more particularly of Hedjaz politics, so I am sure you will welcome his presence here this evening to instruct us on matters connected with the Hedjaz. (Applause.)

THE LECTURE

The subject of my lecture is "Arabia and the Hedjaz." I propose to discuss it under three headings.

Firstly, I must make a few introductory remarks on Arabia and on Islamism. The complexities of the Arab question to-day are so many and varied that they are not easily understood without some reference to the mythology of Islam and the country of its birth.

I shall then pass to a description of the Hedjaz and its government in pre-war days and at the present time, noting briefly its position *vis-à-vis* with pan-Arabism.

Finally, I shall give you a short account of my journey beyond Mecca to Taif as the guest of King Hussein.

On looking back to the days of one's childhood, one seems to have a dim remembrance that Arabia was envisaged then as a very wonderful and rich and romantic country. Perhaps my recollections are at fault, and one confused Arabia with other countries and romances of the East. Be that as it may, the impression was certainly unfor-

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tunate. A quarter of Arabia is a bare desert, untraversed and unexplored, while of the remainder the greater portion—I should not like to say what actual percentage—is utterly unproductive.

It is inhabited, certainly, in the west, by Arabs who fall far below the standard of their co-religionists or of their stock settled in other countries, whether it be in the profession of arms, or in learning, or in morals.

Hundreds of years ago the caravan of the East passed through Arabia to Asia Minor and thence to Europe.

Mecca was on the direct caravan route—a natural staging station. Here were gathered annually many people of diverse nations. It was known then as a great mart; it is referred to by the father of all history—Herodotus.

An inhabitant of Mecca in those days would have known much of the world; he would have been familiar with the teaching and religious beliefs of Zoroaster, of Gautama, of the Jews, and later of the Christian.

It was in such an atmosphere that the prophet of Arabia was born. The religion of his country was one of idolatry—stone worship, a worship of heavenly bodies. Muir denotes it as a system of Sabeanism. To the fact that Abrahamic tribes were early commingled with the Arabs—indeed, a branch settled down near Mecca—the many legends of Arabia concerning Hagar and Ishmael, the sacrifice at Mina, and so on, owe their origin and belief. At Jeddah, which signifies in Arabic "ancestress," one finds to-day the tomb of Eve.

Mohammed in his travels learnt much of the beliefs of Christians and Jews. He spent many weeks annually in solitary meditation in a cave on the slopes of Mountain El Nur. I consider it a great privilege to be probably the only European to-day who has stood by that cave where the Prophet evolved in his great intellect the principles of the religion which he proclaimed subsequently to the world.

He was faced with a grave problem, for he wished to attract and convert the Jews and Christians, while he knew it to be vital to his success to placate his own tribesmen, the Koreish.

I have said that the religion of the country was that of idolatry. The worship of the black stone, the circuit of the Ka-aba, were rites of great antiquity. They were also referred to by Herodotus. They attracted yearly many pilgrims, and provided a source of revenue to those who guarded the holy places, since they gleaned a rich harvest from the pilgrims' offerings.

Thus was Mohammed confronted with the problem of gaining over his fellow-tribesmen, whose means of livelihood the new religion threatened. He retained, therefore, in Islamism the rites of the pilgrimage and the circuit of the Ka-aba, but stripped of all idolatrous

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tendency, though they still hang "a strange unmeaning shroud round the living theism of Islamism" (Muir).

I am not attempting to-day to discuss Islamism or its founder. I hold him to have been a great man, bent on substituting a religion of singular purity and of broad conception for the idolatrous beliefs of his countrymen.

It is customary to seize on the faults of great men, and enlarge on them, while their many great qualities are ignored or decried.

I pass, therefore, to his death, and the proclamation by Abu Bakr of a fundamental fact of Islamic history. To the assembled multitude wrangling over a successor to the great prophet of the wilderness—his corpse scarcely cold—it was pointed out that the Caliphate for ever, by the decree of the vicar of God, was to remain in the Koreish—his tribe. It was lawful for none outside this clan to occupy the throne or to perform the sacred duties of the head of Islam.

"We are the Emirs, you the Wazirs," said Abu Bakr to the quarrelling people outside the walls of Medina. "The Imams from the Koreish for all time." This fact is the corner-stone of the claim of the Sherifian Arab to the Caliphate. On it he builds his demand, for this heritage of birth is denied to other claimants, save the Imam of Yemen, and has been so denied for four centuries.

Of the spread of Islam, of the conquests of the Arab, I have no time to speak, nor do they rightly enter into the limits of the subject of this lecture. Let it suffice to refresh your remembrance in a few words.

The tribes of all Arabia were quickly converted to the principles of Islam; its triumph was carried by the victorious sword of Khalid, the scourge of God, to the banks of the Euphrates, while Amrou marched by Gaza to the conquest of Egypt.

Northern Africa was overrun, and the advance of the Mohammedan was only stayed by the valour and ability of Charles Martel in the year A.D. 732. It is interesting to reflect what might be our religion or our state to-day had the Arab armies pursued their career, unconquered and unchecked, through France to this remote island of ours in the North Sea.

The simple unity of Islam was, however, not to continue long after the Prophet's death. Ambition of temporal power, visions of a great kingdom, created differences which led to internal strife. The vicarious triumphs of Omar and Khalid were forgotten, while the descendant of Mohammed was murdered on the banks of the Euphrates. The split of the Moslems into two sects—the Sunni and the Shiah—had a far-reaching effect, whose importance to-day is in no way qualified or diminished.

Yet the glories of the Caliphs of Arabia lasted till the thirteenth century. They had many associations with the West. As Sir Percy

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Sykes points out, the West depended on the East for its light till the twelfth century. "Ex oriente lux" is an aphorism that crystallizes a profound truth.

In the early days of the sixteenth century the Sultan Selim annexed the Caliphate from the Fatimites, who ruled still in Egypt, and conveyed the sacred relics—the mantle of the Prophet—to Stambul.

Arabia sank into a slumber. Her religion, formerly an inspiring and magnetic force, stifled by its very precepts any attempts to keep pace with the advancing civilization of the West.

Thus do we find her a few years before the war, when nascent hopes of an Arab kingdom had been kindled in the minds of the Sherifian Arabs who inhabited the Hedjaz.

And so I pass to the Hedjaz. The tribes and peoples of Arabia may be grouped under three heads: Firstly, the coastal towns and small sultanates on the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea, such as Koweit, Bahrein, Oman, Lahej, and others; secondly, the three countries occupying the Red Sea littoral on the west coast of Arabia —viz., the Hedjaz, the Asir, the imamate of Yemen; and thirdly, the great central emirates of Nejd, ruled over by Bin Saud and Jebel Shammar (Bin Rashid). These latter countries are now virtually merged into one emirate under Bin Saud. Their history is curiously interwoven, and the life of Bin Saud would provide material for as wonderful a romance as any Eastern tale of old.

The Hedjaz derives its name from the mountain range which forms the watershed between Nejd and the sea. The name means "the divider." The country grows nothing; its exports are insignificant, and it lives on the pilgrims.

It was ruled, like the Yemen, as a mediatized province by the Turks, through the Sherif of Mecca. It was not independent, as were the central emirates of Hail and Riadh. The Sherif had, however, very great power. The Turkish principle of government was the old Roman method of "divide et impera." They retained control of the customs, the posts and telegraphs; they maintained garrisons at Jeddah, at Mecca, at Taif, and at other places on the Red Sea littoral; but the administration of the tribes was completely in the hands of the Sherif. He could extend his influence as he liked, make treaties with other tribes, and invoke the assistance of Turkish troops to impose his will on his neighbours. He had his own bodyguard, and kept up in his palace a certain state. He was, however, appointed or dismissed at will by the Sultan of Turkey, while he was chosen only from the Koreish, the hereditary guardians of the holy place.

Before the war the Hedjaz was known to the world as being a country to which yearly thousands of pilgrims consorted to fulfil the obligations of their religion. It has now a further claim to the

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regard or attention of the world, owing to its revolt from Turkey during the war and its alliance to our side.

The formation of a vast Arab kingdom was, it is alleged, one of the dreams of Lord Kitchener. Certainly he had conversations with Sherifian princes on the subject before the war, and on the outbreak of hostilities at once gave instructions for pourparlers to be opened with the Sherif of Mecca.

The latent ambitions of the Sherif needed little fanning, for he had been preparing for several years a plan to establish the independence of the Hedjaz, to create an Arab kingdom. His dreams assumed shape; he saw the goal of the Arab cause; he pictured a mighty Arab kingdom, a Caliph once again—and more, a Caliph of the tribe of the Koreish, enthroned in his own sacred person in the holy city of Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, the cradle of all Islam. Of the history of the Arab revolt I can say but little, for it involves too many political questions, which do not concern the soldier.

No acolytes ever served their shrine as devotedly as the Sherif's advisers served him, nor was ever zeal so misdirected.

In Utopia there may be an Arab kingdom, but not in this jarring and concrete world of ours. The student of history will not blind himself to the many and yearly internecine wars of the Arabs; to the divergence of views between the Sunni and the Shiah; to the claims of others to the Caliphate—claims based equally on birth, such as those of the Imam of Yemen; to the other tribes of Arabia, more powerful and numerous than the Hedjaz; to the growing and threatening rise of Wahabism; to the many other disruptive forces at work in the lands of Islam; or, lastly, to the numerous political factors which tied our hands as they had pledged our word during and before the war.

No brake was applied to the dream chariot of the Sherif by his advisers; with myopic vision they fostered his aims, which coincided with their own desires, regardless of all the facts of history or of common sense.

The progress of the war is well known to you. As far as Arabia was concerned, I saw nothing of that theatre until the winter of 1916, when, after the Somme, I was sent to the Hedjaz as a member of the military mission. It was eminently enjoyable after the mud of Picardy, but the war was not very much *en évidence*. On my arrival I learnt that the capture of the small coastal town of Wejh, garrisoned by about 300 Turks, had been ordered by the Sherif, and the story of its capture will illustrate my experiences of the Arab as a fighter.

A plan was made at an interview with the Emir Feisal for the capture of the town. It was agreed that I should embark 800 Arabs in ships of the Red Sea patrol—the senior naval officer was, of

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course, present—and land at daybreak three miles north of the town. The Navy would then bombard the town, while the Emir attacked from the south and east.

The success of the plan depended on co-operation and the simultaneous attack of land and sea forces. The Emir was encamped by the sea, approximately fifty miles from Wejh. He allowed himself five days to make his arrangements and for the approach march. It was imperative that the Navy did not appear near Wejh till just before daybreak of the morning selected for the attack. It was arranged to anchor near dusk at a spot some ten miles south of Wejh the afternoon previous to the zero day. On reaching this rendezvous on the appointed day no signs of the Emir could be seen. I landed and interrogated a Bedu, who said the Emir was nowhere in the vicinity. He stated that Wejh was expecting an attack, and that the Turks were evacuating. On communicating this to the S.N.O., it was agreed that the Emir might arrive later according to our arrangements, and that we would therefore carry on with the plan, since the Turks were retreating.

We weighed anchor, and shortly before sunrise the following morning, in company with another officer, I was disembarked firmly and quietly three miles north of Wejh with the 800 Arabs who had been embarked some days previous for this attack from the north.

It was not an enviable movement. France seemed at that moment a haven of peace.

One Arab had attracted my notice—one Saleh, and he was asked to act as chief of staff. He replied that he could only answer for his own men—thirty in all.

On trying to form up the remainder, three hundred at once sat down on the beach, saying they were tired, and they had come ashore for a little rest and a sleep. They started to light fires, and were obviously not going to fight. I turned to the remainder, two hundred of whom at once announced that they were not fighting men; they had come to loot. Off they went along the seashore, saying that they would wait outside the town till I had captured it, an operation they hoped that I should execute with great promptitude, as they were in a hurry. The remainder condescended to follow us at the moment when the first gun of the S.N.O.'s flagship opened on the town. A seaplane which went up was received with a brisk fire by the Turkish garrison, and the observer was unfortunately killed. Shortly afterwards we ran into a Turkish patrol. We were lucky enough to shoot first, and dropped three of them, but it was enough for some 250 of the Arabs.

The force had now dwindled down to Saleh and his thirty men; after a few hundred yards more they gave it up and lay down. There we remained throughout the day, a mile from the town, sniped at

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by the Turks, while I prefer to forget some of the signals of the Navy encouraging us to go on.

A plan had been made that a detachment of sailors would land to assist us if we were in difficulties. This party landed, and, after passing a very cheerless night, the town was captured with their assistance next morning. The looting-party at once got to work, and certain articles of female attire captured in the Turkish commandant's house appeared to cause great disgust to these delicate-minded and sensitive Arabs.

From the few Syrian prisoners who had remained to give themselves up we learnt that they had had full intelligence of all the Emir's plans, and that the commandant had left two days ago, leaving only a small rearguard, which was the force that we had encountered the previous day.

There was no sign of the Emir, so we all re-embarked, leaving the Arabs to the thoroughly congenial task of looting the city.

The Emir arrived the following morning, disappointed, so his adviser said, at being deprived of the military triumph of the capture of Wejh. Various journalists, however, have readjusted that point, and I am almost convinced that I am the subject of an hallucination, and that I was not there at all, still less helped to take the town.

I went ashore in the afternoon of the day of his arrival to pay my respects to the Emir Feisal. On my return I passed a few tents, from one of which my late chief of staff, Saleh, the leader of the heroic thirty, emerged with many and fervent welcomes. His father Mohammed was produced. He was also very friendly, and insisted on my coming in to drink coffee. We chatted for some time, when Mohammed asked me for my advice, just as I was leaving. He said that he had to go to the Emir to draw the pay for his men, and he had heard that a sheikh of the Harb had drawn for 400 men when he had only 100. "Now," said Mohammed, "I have really 200 men: for what number should I claim?" "Undoubtedly, a thousand," I replied sarcastically. The old man seized me and embraced me most tenderly, saying, "How just and wise are the counsellors Great Britain sends us! Farewell. I go to the Emir."

Off he went, while I returned to the ship, thinking sadly of the British taxpayer who supplied those bottomless bags of gold sovereigns for Eastern potentates to squander.

After a very short stay in the Red Sea I returned to France, and it was more than two years before I returned to the Hedjaz as British Agent to the Sherif, now King Hussein.

The story of the intervening months is quickly told. The march of the Arab armies on Lord Allenby's flank; the ill-advised *coup d'état* of Feisal in occupying, after the Turkish defeat, the towns of

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Syria; our prolonged occupation of this country, raising false hopes on our side, and awakening bitter and amazed suspicion on the other; our inevitable evacuation in favour of France, are all well known to you.

The story of the King's troubles was not finished, for his neighbours, jealous of his ambitions, furious at his assumption of the title of King of the Arabs, convinced that he would obtain no material support from England, attacked him. The Emir Abdullah was crushed by Bin Saud at Tarabah, some forty miles E.N.E. of Taif. Bin Saud and his Wahabite followers had shown their hand. Syria, the vineyard of the Arab kingdom, was lost, and the existence of his small and bankrupt State was even threatened.

It was at this period that I arrived in Jeddah.

Years ago at school I remember reading of the taunt of a Russian Minister to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg at the time of the Danish crisis. I did not think in those days that I should be compelled one day to sit on a richly carpeted divan, an unimportant representative of a great country, and hear the same taunt shrieked out by an Oriental potentate, with eyes ablaze with passion, a body rigid with anger.

Nor was the internal state of the Hedjaz good. The Bedouins had broken out and were raiding all caravans. The Hedjaz was unwilling or powerless to control them. The withdrawal of gold supplies and the reduction of the subsidy was advanced by the King as a reason for the behaviour of the Bedouins, since he was able to pay them to behave as in Turkish days.

In history it would be difficult to find an example of a more autocratic or tyrannical administration. No man was safe from the anger or greed of the monarch. Yet his officials, although they complained bitterly, were not themselves of unimpeachable integrity.

I remember attending the sitting of a court of justice, a new pleasantry of the King's, which was presided over by the Governor of Jeddah. No one was acquainted with the procedure of a court or its powers. The prisoner was being tried on some charge; as far as I could make out, he had the impertinence to have too much money. A member of the court asked another member what punishment they could inflict, and received the reply that the prisoner could be imprisoned or fined. "Who gets the fine?" was the further question. He was told, "The Government." At this point the Governor, an aged man, who had been dozing, woke up, rose in wrath, and thundered at the luckless member: "Why, then, in the name of Allah, do you think that I accepted this post?" Amidst sympathetic murmurs of complete understanding, he resumed his seat.

At the time of my arrival in Jeddah the pilgrimage season was

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at its height. After seeing two pilgrimages, I must observe that the numbers of the annual pilgrimage are in my opinion very grossly exaggerated. The preponderance of the lower classes amongst the pilgrims was overwhelming, nor was one greatly impressed by the appearance of any except the Javanese. The organization of their pilgrimage was excellent. The pilgrims were all inoculated against cholera, typhus, and enteric, and looked a most respectable class. In them I see the greatest hope of a Moslem renaissance.

Before passing to a short account of my trip to Taif, I touch with reluctance and pass with impatience the question of the moral depravity of the inhabitants of the Hedjaz. As a French officer said to me, "There is no one who arrives in the Hedjaz without a certain respect for the Mohammedan religion and its believers. A few days at Jeddah and that passes as far as the Arabs of the Hedjaz are concerned."

It is no exaggeration to say that the earnest pilgrim is disgusted and revolted by the open bestiality of the Hedjazis, while Arab admirers may find food for reflection in the thought that the Moslems of India and of many places in the Iraq refer to the Arabs of the holy cities as dogs. The whole community is infected and saturated with vices of which nature abominates the idea.

Drunkenness is also rampant—not drunkenness as we know it, but a drunkenness of complete and absolute insensibility.

The invitation to visit Taif was peculiarly attractive to me, for it cannot have fallen to the lot of many Europeans to visit this Damascus of Arabia at the invitation of the Sherif of Mecca, certainly not in recent times. The pilgrimage season was nearly over when I started out on a mule lent me by the King through the Mecca gate across the plain to the hills.

Highway robberies had been very frequent, so a large escort had been provided for me; whether to impress me, or whether it was actually necessary, I do not know. My experience of the Arab as a fighter had not been such as to cause me much alarm at the thought of a possible attack.

It was a tiring march, as the transport camels were dreadfully slow, enlivened only by the passage of the last pilgrim caravan returning to the coast from Mecca. They presented a curious spectacle, seated in the "shug-dug," or litters, strapped on the camel's back, taking their ease as if the slow and lumbering movement of the camel in no way incommoded them.

Some fifteen miles out of Jeddah the local escort turned back, and I was met by a Sherif of the Harb, who was to be my escort till he handed me over to the Sherif of Taif. In the company of a sherif no one was likely to interfere with me.

I was amused on meeting this Sherif, whom I greeted with com-

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pliments due to his position, by one of his slaves coming up and whispering to me: "Do you not see the Sherif? Dismount and kiss his hand." I waved him away, but reflected for the next mile on how strange a personality was the Arab. He worships birth; an ancient lineage is held in the highest respect; he is at once the most aristocratic and the most democratic of men. The man of humble birth would not dare to approach a Sherif—even an unimportant member of this Arabian trade union—without kissing his hand with approved deference and humility. Yet they will sit at meat together, dip in the common bowl, and converse with perfect frankness. The Sherif will have little authority over him, he will be able to oppress him in many Oriental ways, but the "Come, and he cometh," of the Roman centurion finds no re-echo in Arabia.

I have digressed somewhat from the point. It was late that evening, nearly two hours after sunset, before we arrived at the King's farm, which had been indicated to us as our first halting-place.

The King's farm had a fine regal sound on paper, but actually it consisted of a few fields of lucerne, a date-grove, and a spring which by many small canals dispersed its water over the garden.

The road over which we had travelled was the pilgrim route to Mecca. In places it runs through a narrow valley with hills rising steeply on either side, and in others it passes over a broad plateau encircled by hills like some gigantic amphitheatre. It rises gradually from the coast.

We spent the next morning at the farm. A slave of the King had brought some cold fowls and various excellent delicacies made by his Turkish cook. Shortly after midday, when the heat was really at its height, the Sherif of the Harb pressed us to continue our march. I agreed, of course, although the rays of an Arabian sun were anything but pleasant when one's head was protected only by the Bedouin headdress of a light cloth secured by a silken cord around the temples.

Our route lay over a large open space intersected by the Wadi Fatma. There were several little gardens dotted near the wadi, and there were, in fact, many springs of water. There were traces of a very old irrigation of considerable magnitude. Stone aqueducts 3 feet in breadth by 2 feet in depth existed in a state of perfect preservation. The Emir Abdullah informed me at a subsequent visit to this place that these aqueducts were more than 600 years old. Certainly one gained the impression that cultivation on a large scale might be possible in this area.

I suspect the Emir to have given me the real reason for the unproductiveness of the country one day when I was sitting in the King's tent with him and the King and three Syrians. These latter were agricultural and geological experts summoned by the King to

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advise him on such matters in the Hedjaz. They were ignorant peasants, but the King delighted to show them to all visitors as instancing how much at heart he had the development of his country. He would not accept any Western advisers, so fearful was he that it would be but the initial stage of a penetration of, and perhaps protectorate over, his country.

These Syrian gentlemen held forth at great length on the agricultural future of the country, and what mechanical appliances could do for the Hedjaz. The Emir interrupted with the remark that the Hedjaz only wanted one thing for its development, and that was a few Bedouin who would work as the fellahin of Egypt did. The King was not amused at the remark.

I remember about the same time the King took a walk one afternoon with his geological expert. Arriving at the base of a hill, the expert pointed out a lump of granite and expatiated on its properties, declaring that it was an exceedingly valuable piece of gold-bearing quartz. The delighted King ordered him to take the piece back to my tent to show me. The unhappy man—for the stone weighed nearly a hundredweight—staggered back to the camp across the heavy sand of the wadi, and threw the mass at my feet, where I was sitting by the door of my tent. But the name he gave it, so a slave told me, was not that by which he had described it to the monarch!

To return to our march. We went some few miles before branching off from the main Mecca road in order to skirt the Holy City. Our road onwards was simply a wadi bed, winding through the hills, on whose banks bordered from time to time the precipitous slope of the hills, but ever and again they receded, leaving the wadi to cross an open space of some extent.

Neither here nor at any time during the march did we see any game, small or big. At one well where we halted at sunset for the evening prayer a few sand-grouse came down to drink, but I saw no other bird-life save a few carrion kite.

That night we slept at an altitude of some 1,500 feet above the sea-level, and for the first time were really glad of our blankets. The following morning we were met by an official from Mecca, and camped at midday in a garden on the Wadi Limun. This is a wonderful wadi containing many gardens—in fact, wherever there is a spring. At various places the wadi is prepared by banks and canals to hold the "seil," or flood, when it comes, so as to permit of extensive irrigation with the water so stored. Unfortunately, heavy rains are of rare occurrence, so a flood year is an exception, although I am convinced that a great deal in this connection could be done to make self-supporting a country which now imports the whole of the necessities of life for its inhabitants and the pilgrims.

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It was pleasant indeed to rest awhile under the shade of a tree to the sound of running water as it raced down its tiny aqueduct to disperse in many canals spread chequerwise over the garden.

The Sherif did not give us long before we resumed our march. This time our wadi-bed road led us up a narrow valley bordered by rocky hills, bare of vegetation, sombre from base to brow. The road ascended gradually, and when seemingly near the head of the valley we halted for the night.

Our escort professed to be frightened of an attack by a Bedouin raiding-party during the night, and kept us awake by frequent shouting to warn any would-be raiders lurking in the hills that we were a well-armed party and the King's guests.

However, the night passed without incident. On resuming our march, in a mile or two we reached the head of the valley, when a big open expanse covered with light scrub spread itself before our view; beyond loomed the mass of the Hedjaz Mountains.

By a well near the far side of the plateau we found the Sherif of Taif waiting for us, an agreeable man and a wonderful horseman. After lunching and enjoying the luxury of a bath, for there were a few rude Bedouin huts near, we set off about 1 p.m. for the final stage of our journey. A half-mile brought us to the foot of the pass which crossed the Hedjaz range.

In many places for the next four hours we had to dismount and lead our mules, and everywhere the path was steep and rugged. Just as the sun was close to the horizon we emerged into the open, clear of the pass. The rolling plain sloped gently downwards to the uplands of the Nejd on the east and southwards to Taif, not yet visible; beyond and on the west an unbroken succession of rugged peaks, sinister and forbidding against the setting sun.

We waited a few minutes and prayed the evening prayer. Wrapping ourselves in Bedouin cloaks, for it was very cold, we rode on. About eight o'clock we saw lights, and we soon reached a lofty wall; passing through a gate into a large courtyard, we dismounted. We learnt that it was the country villa of the Sherif of Taif, and at that moment the Sherif himself advanced, embraced me, and welcomed me with the charming compliment that I was now in my own home.

We entered the house, and ascended the staircase to the guest-chamber, which extended along the whole front of the house. Here we sat with the Sherif, on divans covered with carpets from Kurdistan, from Bokhara, from Persia, from towns and places which conjured up by their very names remembrance of all the romances of the East. We drank tea and coffee while we enjoyed the rare and pleasing privilege of seeing an Arabian Sherif in his own home, amongst his own people.

We watched a scene which the lapse of years, the passage of

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time, has sought neither to qualify nor to change—a scene of Eastern life, a page from a book centuries old. Passed through that guest-chamber Arabs in rich clothing, men in soberer dress, dependants, slaves, and relations of the Sherif. The hurried kiss by some of the extended hand, the proffered cheek to another, the tender embrace to relatives with the murmured prayer to Allah, denoted the rank of all and each.

It was the time of the last prayer. Seated cross-legged on our carpets, we recited together the Fatha, that opening verse of the Koran, sublime and simple as any in the Book of Job. The Sherif bade us good-night, and we ate, and then lay down. Through the window we saw in the waning moonlight of an Arabian night the Sherif's garden, and beyond the desert plain stretching to the hills.

We slept soundly, and it was past eight when I was awakened by a slave who brought me greetings from the Emirs Ali and Abdullah, the King's sons, who were to be my hosts at Taif.

After breakfast we started off for the final stage of five miles into Taif. Our cavalcade was of fair proportions—some were riding horses, others camels or mules, or even the humble ass.

We were still a mile and more from Taif, when we were met by the Emir Abdullah with a hundred Bedouin horsemen. Cordial greetings were exchanged, and various sherifs were presented to me. Five minutes more and the road passed a low knoll, when the walled city of Taif came into view. A few hundred yards from the walls we saw the stately palace of the King. A few more minutes and we alighted at the steps of the palace, and passed into the great audience-hall, where the Emir Ali awaited us.

We exchanged cordial greetings, drank the inevitable cup of coffee, and smoked a cigarette. The Emir then conducted us to our rooms and left us to rest.

My first impression was one of amazement, for here in the midst of a desert plain of Arabia stood two wonder palaces, furnished with great luxury. Over a rugged mountain road exquisite furniture, great mirrors, glass for windows, all had been transported by a lumbering camel. Six stories in height, one felt that the slave of Aladdin's lamp had worked some miracle. From great bow-windows with luxurious seats covered with priceless carpets one was given a view for miles over a strange and fascinating country. With the glorious sunshine and air, cold, fresh, and invigorating, a comparison with the climate of Switzerland naturally suggested itself. While we stood and gazed, a slave approached and presented the compliments of the Emirs, who asked if I would come into the garden.

The luxury, the appointments, the size, of these desert palaces amazed me, and I was not prepared for a further *coup de théâtre*. Across a stony courtyard, through a wooden door in a lofty wall, I

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passed into a garden of exquisite beauty, a veritable grove of Mycerinus. There I found the Emirs seated by a stone pool in which the goldfish swam idly to and fro. Surrounded by their slaves, richly clothed, silent, inscrutable, dark with "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," they sat in the midst of this verdant loveliness by the pool under a copper bougainvillea. Around I gazed on vines and fruits of all description—orange, lemon, pomegranate, quince, fig, apricot—and flowers whose blossoms filled the air with intoxicating perfume.

I sat and talked with these Sherifs of Arabia, and wondered if the world had gone back a thousand years, for we spoke of the Arabian heroes of old in surroundings that evoked memories of the tales of those hanging gardens of Babylon which challenged the envy and admiration of the world. And then we passed out from this wondrous setting through the gate to the arid desolation of a stony plain and barren hills.

Fourteen days were spent at Taif. The King, with exquisite courtesy, had ordered that no political questions should be discussed during my visit, or any matters that would embarrass a guest.

One day was much like the other, and one had the opportunity of seeing what manner of life a prince or noble of Arabia led in his own home. They lived a life of sloth and self-indulgence. Gifted by nature with great intellects, a narrow and vicious life soon undermined their brain-power. Flattered from childhood, surrounded by sycophants, their lightest wish obeyed, even forestalled, it would be astonishing if they were other than they are. As potential reformers, as leaders of an Arab renaissance, I do not find in them many of the qualities which are vitally necessary for the successful realization of such hopes.

The hospitality of the Arab is the theme and admiration of the stranger, says Gibbon. To that opinion I subscribe willingly and gratefully, but I see in them few other traits to evoke either tolerance or admiration.

In that perfect climate of Taif the days passed all too quickly. Each afternoon we rode with the Emir for an hour or so while the Bedouin horsemen showed off their horsemanship. They rode only mares. On one day they had a race; many of the riders competed without saddle or bridle, guiding their horses with a stick. A touch with the latter was sufficient to stop them.

On another day I attended a banquet given by the Sherif of Taif in his town house inside the walls of Taif.

The invitation was for midday, but I found—it was a Friday—that an unusually long sermon had delayed the party, and I was left for half an hour to be entertained by the Emir's son, aged nine, a most interesting and precocious child.

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The banquet was a lengthy business, but the food was really admirable. After it was over we repaired to the guest-chamber and sat down to drink coffee, to smoke and talk till it was time to ride.

The court buffoon was introduced. He took the form of a whipping-boy. It gave intense pleasure and amusement to the Emirs and nobles to beat the man with a cane. They would induce him to lie down on the pretext that they would give him only three or four light blows. Sooner or later they always administered a stroke with all their power. The man then went through exaggerated contortions of great pain, jumping up and running round the room, clasping that portion of his body which generations of schoolmasters have held to have been indicated specially by nature for the practice of their skill. He would be induced to lie down again on the promise that he would get only seven light strokes. His suspicions would be allayed or dulled by a faithful adherence to their promise for three or four strokes, when he would cease to look round as the stick descended. Then came the stinging stroke, with its concomitant antics, half real, half serious.

Late that evening my servant brought me news that this man was waiting outside in case I should like to reward him for the good performance that he had given that afternoon.

The time approached to say farewell to my kindly hosts, and I arranged to return by another route. The Emir Abdullah accompanied me on the first stage. The route taken was the identical path—centuries had not changed it—by which the Prophet of Arabia had fled from Taif after his unsuccessful mission of proselytism, pursued by an angry mob to the outskirts of the Holy City.

We passed by the same villages, whose inhabitants gazed with astonishment at the Emir passing by with an infidel in his train.

That night we camped on a plateau near the head of the Pass of Kura. Here there was rain cultivation, for we were some 9,000 feet above sea-level. The hill-slopes were covered with a species of fir, and herbs of many kinds grew in wild profusion. The houses were built of stone, and these stones fitted so closely together that no mortar was necessary to hold them. The roofs were flat, of beaten dung and mud.

It was bitterly cold, and it was some time next morning before we could get the camels to move.

We started eventually, and in a quarter of an hour arrived at the head of the pass. We halted to say good-bye to the Emir and to gaze on that view.

In India and in Africa and in Europe I have been privileged to see many views of infinite beauty. From the Mount of Olives I have gazed on the Dead Sea in the still beauty of a summer day, but nowhere have I seen such a panorama as that which spread itself that day before my eyes.

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The path fell sheer away from one's feet; below us the plain, intersected with the silvery streaks of the wadi-beds; the lofty, rugged Hedjaz range stretched north and south, and to our front the hills of mighty moment to millions of believers—Mount El Nur, where the prophet of the wilderness sat and dreamed and communed with the angel of Gabriel; Mount Arafat (Mount of Knowledge), where Adam knew Eve again; and last but not least, the hills which girt the Holy City itself, bathed in an Eastern sun. Far away to the west loomed the shimmer of the sea, and all around was solitude and a spirit of ineffable peace.

In four hours we had descended the pass, leading our slipping, struggling mules and camels. In places there were paved steps for considerable distances, the remains of the military road which Mahomet Ali constructed over the pass for the furtherance of his operations against the Wahabis of Nejd.

That afternoon we passed, and I ascended the Mount El Nur to which I have already referred. Towards sunset, when near the Holy City itself, we turned northwards to pass round it. In places there were small, very small, patches of cultivation by the banks of the wadi, wherever there was a spring. We passed a few herds of goats and sheep, shepherded by Bedouin boys, obtaining a struggling existence off a few thorn-bushes and patches of dried-up grass. With these exceptions there was nothing but stony plains and valleys surrounded by rugged hills, with the mountain range behind us.

Very late that evening we camped some six miles north-west of Mecca by a well on an open plain. It was full moon, and as I lay, wrapped in my blanket, I saw two Bedouin steal down to the well, fill their skins, and depart silently, just as nightly they and their ancestors for hundreds of years had done. There was nothing to break the stillness of the night, and in the moonlight the watching hills, the white pillars marking the boundaries of the Holy City, stood out clear to the vision like sentinels over the country.

Next day we reached the pilgrim road from the coast, and hearing that the King had gone on to Jeddah, we pressed on to arrive there late the following evening.

Thus I have talked to you of Arabia and the mythology of Islam, of the country and life of the sherifs and nobles of the Hedjaz, and I will conclude by submitting to you my deeply considered opinion that Arabia is destined to play in the near future a far-reaching and important part in the maintenance, or even in the existence, of our Empire.

No deep knowledge of strategy is required to grasp the importance of Arabia, of Iraq, of Kurdistan and of Palestine. Years ago our relations *vis-à-vis* with Islamism were supreme and unchallenged, but now others are in the field. Representatives of many nations sat

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in years gone by at Tehran, at Baghdad, and elsewhere in the East, but foreign missions did not exist, as they do to-day, at Kabul. We are no longer alone in the field. I see also in Arabia a growing power, a power not of our forging, a power which eventually will overrun the very homes of those whom we have so openly and so prodigally supported.

I refer to the lowering menace of Wahabism. The activities of the Akhwan (brothers)—for thus did Bin Saud name the followers of this new revivalism of Wahabism—have redoubled. They have permeated Nejd, and in Central Arabia has risen a power saturated with as blind a fanaticism as that which enabled the early followers of the prophet of the wilderness to overrun the world from Granada to Delhi.

Any discussion of Arabia must necessarily bring into prominence other Islamic countries, and I make no apology for reminding you of one other point. It is a mistake to think that Mohammedan countries are divided hopelessly amongst themselves in all their aims and ambitions. On one point at least they are united—viz., on the necessity to maintain an Islamic power in the councils of the world.

It is often urged that the Arab hates the Turk; be that as it may, yet there is a growing desire in Arabia and Iraq for the return of the Turk.

The custodianship of the holy places lies now with the Sherif of Arabia, but I feel that peace will not descend on Islam till the cities of the Prophet are once again under the ægis of a Mohammedan nation which unites both spiritual and temporal power.

The CHAIRMAN: I hope that after this very interesting lecture some discussion may arise, or if not discussion, at least some remarks may be made by some of the audience.

Dr. HOGARTH: Well, if you wish it, I will congratulate Colonel Vickery upon the very amusing and ingenious travesty of the facts of the Arab revolt, and the aims of its promoters, with which this lecture began, and I condole with him upon the miserable time that he must have had in being sent twice into a country with whose inhabitants he seems to have so little sympathy. I would also assure him that those to whom he alluded as the Sherif's advisers are by no means biting their nails at what has happened, because the present state of affairs in Arabia is extraordinarily like what we had every reason to expect. The last thing in the minds of any of them was that a great Arab kingdom should come into existence. Still less did they expect an Arab Khalifat, and least of all one centred in Mecca. Not only did we not expect that; neither did the Sherif. He belongs to those Moslems who think that any rightful Khalifat has not existed for a great many centuries, and that for any Khalifat at all the war-

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rant is not simply birth. Birth may not disqualify; but the only possible qualification is that the Khalif should exercise rule—effective and supreme temporal power. That is a very old idea in Islam. When the Omeyyad Khalifat came into existence it was based neither on descent from, nor nomination by, the founder of Islam. It came into existence within a generation of the death of the Prophet, by pure virtue of its founder being the most powerful Islamic sovereign for the moment in the world. As regards the wisdom of the promotion of the Arab revolt at all, I should have been glad if Colonel Vickery had found time to deal with what might have been if the Arab revolt had not taken place. What would have been the condition of the Red Sea, our main route of communication to India and the East, if the eastern shore of that sea had remained under the unrestricted control of the Turks, after our failure at the Dardanelles, and after Germany had developed her maximum power of reinforcing her allies and sending deadly machinery about the world? That is one question. The other is, What further trouble might we have had if Islam had not been divided in authority? When the Sherif of Mecca was brought in it was not with any idea that the whole Islamic world would rally to him and desert the Ottoman Khalifat; but we knew—and we were justified in the result—that there would be a division of authority in the Islamic world, and that those who were not anxious for Jehad—Holy War—would have their excuse just because the city of Mecca (much more important than the person of the Sherif, and over which he had control for the time being, thanks to the revolt) refused to fight against us. Those were two great benefits. If you will throw your minds back to 1916, you will remember that things were not going well for us then in the East. We had scored no sort of success. Those two results, then, were brought about, to my mind, by the Sherifian revolt. The only regret and shame that I have I share with Colonel Vickery, that we should have gained those benefits at the price of not fulfilling certain ambitions of the Sherif; which, as a matter of fact, we never encouraged him to hold, but did not sufficiently discourage him from holding. (Applause.)

Mr. Bennett: Mr. Chairman,—I cannot pretend to know, except from studying Constantinople and looking southwards, the state of affairs in Arabia; but there is one fact which disengaged itself from Colonel Vickery's lecture, and it seems to me from all study of Arabia, that at the end of the war in 1919, when we might have drawn in our horns in regard to our policy towards the Sherifian family, we failed to do so. On the contrary, we allowed the Sherifian family to push its claims farther and farther afield; particularly, great responsibility attaches to us for the Emir's fatal Syrian adventure. Most people who have studied the Near East since the beginning of

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the war are aware of the growing power of the Wahabis, and when in 1919 Bin Saud began to move southward, most people know the terror which struck the hearts of the Sherifian family, and the general fear that Mecca would be occupied and sacked. It is a thing very greatly to the credit of Bin Saud that he sacrificed his great policy of Arab unity to his word to us, and did not go on and occupy Mecca when he might have, but turned back after his victory over Sherif Feisal and the Sherif Abdullah. I think that all Englishmen should realize and remember this act of loyalty of Bin Saud's. If he had not been loyal then we should have been forced to drop our Sherifian policy, and obliged to establish ourselves in Arabia on a policy of friendship with Bin Saud. Now we are coming more and more clearly to realize to what extent we built on sand. King Hussein, poor madman, is getting more and more difficult to control; and Colonel Vickery's description of the state of affairs in the Hedjaz is perhaps unkind to the Arabs, because I think the present state of affairs is more largely to be attributed to the bad personal influence of King Hussein than to any inferiority of the Hedjazi to other Arabs —except, possibly, the Yemeni, who are very superior. My object in standing up, when I cannot pretend to be an authority, is to try and urge on everyone the need for studying and realizing the situation in Arabia. We must realize that we are bound, by promises foolishly made—promises made in writing and supported again and again by documents and asseverations to the Sherifian family—to follow a policy which we ourselves at the time knew to be unsound, and knew to be leading us into very deep waters, which deep waters we have now entered. To-day our authority in Arabia is very small, and probably the chief rock of our hope is Bin Saud. He has been loyal to us for four years, and he is loyal to us to-day. We should move steadily and honestly in the direction of friendship with Bin Saud, without breaking our promises to the Sherif, but at any rate without enmeshing ourselves still further in this policy of supporting the Hussein family, who rule to-day in Baghdad, in Trans-Jordania, and in the Hedjaz, and who rule with no moral authority. They are the chiefs of a small tribe, a tribe which is indeed the tribe of the Prophet; but the Prophet himself said before his death: "If you find no one worthy to follow me in the tribe of Koreish, choose the most worthy of the Arabs." Let us choose Bin Saud and pin our faith on him for our Arab policy.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: I speak as one having no personal acquaintance with Arabian politics, but I can confirm what Dr. Hogarth said as to the great value to us who had to deal with the Mohammedan situation in India of the Sherif's revolt from the military and political point of view. Let us take our minds back to what the situation was in the East at the time. I was then in the

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Punjab. Mesopotamia was in the hands of the Turks; German and Turkish missions had penetrated through Persia into Kabul; plots of the most far-reaching description were being hatched in Kabul to unite not only all Islam against the British Empire, but to draw all seditious sections in India into union with Mohammedan propagandists. That plot was very cleverly engineered by Hindoo and Moslem revolutionaries with headquarters in Kabul, and ably supported by Turkish and German missions established there, whom the Amir of Kabul, although a very loyal ally, was not strong enough openly to oppose, and who, after the Bolshevists had taken the place of the Germans, finally brought about his murder. At that time the centre of the plot and of the Pan-Islamic conspiracy was the Hedjaz. The Sherifian family there were supposed to be the links between Eastern Islam and Western Islam, and emissaries were sent, as we know, from India—leading Mohammedans in India—early in 1916 to Arabia to bring the Sherifian family and the Arabs of the Hedjaz into the plot. It was held that if they were brought in all the forces of Islam would then become hostile to England. Already Turkey, and all Islam which Turkey could influence, were our open enemies; and it was believed that if the Arab nations could be brought in by the influence of the Sherifian family the combination would be complete. It was at that very critical period, when our flank was open to attack in India from the west, that the Sherifian revolt against the Turks, which had been promoted very carefully and very secretly, broke out; and I can say from personal experience that, though it caused needless anxiety to some nervous people in Simla who should have known better, it had the most marvellous effect in strengthening our position, in dividing Islam—as Dr. Hogarth has very aptly put it—when it appeared likely to combine against us, and in encouraging those Mohammedans who were lukewarm to rally to the British Empire. For that reason I think the political results of the action taken in bringing the Sherif of Mecca on to our side were most important. As to what subsequently followed, or what promises we made, or how those promises have been fulfilled, I am not competent to speak; but looking at it from the point of view of an outsider I should think that on the whole we have not done the Sherifian family badly. The Sherif is King of the Hedjaz, one son is King of Mesopotamia, and the third, who is now our guest in London, Abdullah, is Emir of Trans-Jordania. This hardly bears out the Lecturer's sweeping condemnation of our policy as one of lies and of broken promises. Moreover, it has to be borne in mind that our hands were not quite free. We had allies to consider—the French—and their point of view was different from ours. The Arabs are intelligent enough to understand our difficulties. One other point I would like to bring out in reference to what the Lecturer described

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as the growing menace of Wahàbism in Arabia. We have seen Wahabism in India; we know how hostile it has been and is in India, what its power of secret conspiracy is, what trouble it has given us in the very near past from those tribes which have their "habitat" in the Black Mountain, or on our Peshawar border, and come over the frontiers of India and encourage Mohammedan fanatics in India against us. We know how many valuable British lives have been sacrificed to that militant and often murderous fanaticism. The counterblast to that militant Wahàbism is to be found, and has perhaps been found, in a good understanding with the recognized head of the Wahabis, the Emir Bin Saud. There is no reason why we should not maintain our good understanding with Bin Saud, as we have done in the past. A friend of mine, the late Captain Shakespeare, an old assistant of mine, had seen a great deal of Bin Saud and swore by him. His friendly attitude throughout the war and since has been a great asset to us, and he has never broken his word. But there is no reason, because we have a friendly arrangement with Bin Saud, why we should throw over the Sherifian family. That understanding has been proved in the past to be profitable to the Sherifian family—for it is that which two years ago stayed the Wahabi advance on Mecca—and there is every reason to maintain it in the interests of both parties, and of Arabia generally, where our note should be that of friendly adviser and peacemaker between the contending factions.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—As apparently no one else desires to enlighten our ignorance on the subject of Arabia, and as the Lecturer does not wish to reply to the remarks of those who have been so good as to address us, it falls to me to close this meeting; but before doing so I would like to make one or two remarks on what has been said, and I hope the Lecturer will forgive me if I do not altogether agree with him in certain aspects of his lecture. The first remark I would make on his lecture is that we are much indebted to him for the very interesting account he gave us of Arab warfare. I have read a great many narratives of the Great War, and heard a great many lectures about war; but I never heard a lecture which put Asiatic warfare in such an amusing light as our Lecturer did to-night; and I am perfectly sure his is an admirable description of what Arab warfare is like. The next remark I would like to make is that I am inclined to think that the Lecturer somewhat ignored the very vital danger which threatened us at the very beginning of the war, or, rather, I should say, directly Turkey came into the war—the very vital danger of Jehad being not only proclaimed, but put in action against the British Empire. It was because we had by that time already succeeded in detaching some of the Arab States or tribes to our side that this grave danger was averted. I remember just before Turkey came into the war—when, indeed, it was quite

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obvious that Turkey intended coming into the war—that that very gallant officer, Captain Shakespeare, left London to return to Koweit with instructions to pass on from there, if possible, to visit Bin Saud, whom he had known during his previous journeys in Arabia, and to endeavour to detach him to our side. He accomplished his mission with complete success, but he paid for it with his life, because in a battle that took place between Bin Saud and Bin Rashid in Central Arabia a stray bullet put an end to this very valuable life. That was a great misfortune for us, but the extraordinary influence he had acquired over Bin Saud was such that Bin Saud remained our firm friend throughout the war, and I was very glad to hear Sir Michael O'Dwyer's remarks on that point. None of our allies—I do not think there is one of our allies served us so faithfully under great difficulties as Bin Saud. Not only during the war, but since the war he has behaved most loyally under trying circumstances, more especially when we had trouble in Mesopotamia. I feel convinced that if it had not been for our Arab friends, and notably Bin Saud, the Sheikhs of Mohammerah and Koweit, the Idrissi, and some of the Sherifian family, we should have fared very badly, in that Islam might have been united against us. That it was not so, I think was most fortunate. The hour is late, and therefore I will not detain you any longer with my somewhat futile remarks on the subject of Arabia, but I am sure that I can call upon you to give a very cordial vote of thanks to the Lecturer, for a lecture not only full of information, but also, if I may say so, in some of its aspects extremely amusing.

This ended the meeting, which recorded unanimously a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

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THREE DIFFICULT MONTHS IN 'IRAQ

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN BAGHDAD

OWING to the proximity of the events and to the perplexing intermingling of the causes which produced them, it is by no means easy to maintain a proper sense of proportion in recording the history of what has passed in 'Iraq during the last three months. Solid foundations have in many cases been obscured by, or completely hidden under impressive exteriors resting on air or even less stable bases, while many tendencies which at close view appear to be of great significance may prove in the more distant and more accurate perspective obtainable in the future to be comparatively unimportant and to possess little or no influence on the trend of affairs. The writer must claim indulgence, then, if he at times exaggerates the importance of some events or underestimates the true significance of others.

In June of this year, at the time when the article on " The Early Days of the 'Iraq Government " was written, it appeared as though the difficulties which had confronted those responsible for the administration of 'Iraq were to some extent being smoothed away; Feisal was showing a less marked inclination towards the extremists, the electoral law had been passed and published, and a note of hope was sounded that the corner had been turned. Unfortunately, however, this apparent improvement was only a passing phase, and things are still in much the same position as they were three months ago.

The pivot round which all interest and all activity has centred has been the treaty and the mandate. Individual incidents have at various times assumed an air of importance and attracted considerable attention, but in every case its origin can be traced back, directly or indirectly, to this one underlying cause.

In view of the important position which the treaty and the mandate have held and still hold in fashioning public opinion and policy in 'Iraq, it may be of interest to set out in brief the views of the people of the country in this connection. In its views on these important questions the country is divided into two camps—the Nationalists and the Moderates. The Nationalists are in general xenophobe, and consequently violently opposed to the mandate and to any treaty which affords any loophole for foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the State. Their demand is for complete political and economic independence. The party is ostensibly led

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by Iraqis, but its inspiration is derived from the band of Syrians who came to the country with or about the same time as Feisal, and who, having fought with him and served him in Syria, are looked on by him as his right-hand men in this country. These Syrians have no interests in 'Iraq, and do not at heart care a jot about its future, nor do they want to remain in the country any longer than they can help. Their eyes are fixed firmly on Syria, and their one desire is to get back there with as little delay as possible. It is this which fashions their policy in 'Iraq and renders so intense their opposition to the mandate. They realize that as long as the French mandate for Syria remains and is interpreted in the manner which they have seen hitherto, they have no chance whatever of getting back themselves to Syria or of setting up an independent Arab State there, and they see no signs of hope that the French will relinquish their mandate or modify their interpretation of it. On the other hand, they see that there is a considerable body of opinion in Great Britain which persistently advocates the relinquishment of Britain's mandate over 'Iraq and the evacuation of the country, at any rate as far as Basra. It is on that feeling in Great Britain that the Nationalists, or at any rate the Syrians and pan-Arab elements among them, base their hopes. If they can, by playing on that feeling, intensify the demand at home for the revocation of the mandate to such a degree that Government will have to give way to the public clamour, they will then get into their own hands the control of 'Iraq's foreign relations, and will have a very strong precedent on which to base their demand for the revocation of the French mandate for Syria.

To attain their object and to assist them in raising a popular clamour against the mandate and the treaty, they have called in the assistance of the Shiah *ulama*, some of whom have answered the call, and have been most violent in denouncing the mandate and in urging both the Cabinet and the people to oppose to the bitter end any treaty which does not leave to Iraqis an unconditional independence. Their object in adopting this attitude, however, is far different to that of the Syrians. They have no care for Syria and their aims are purely personal. Their desire is to be in a position to create a theocratic *imperium in imperio* in which they will reign supreme. They realize that they can only attain their end in a country where the Government is weak, and they realize that an independent Arab Government, unsupported by any foreign advisers, is likely to provide for them the atmosphere in which they can most easily flourish. With everything to gain, then, from the existence of a weak Government, the only surprise is that so few of these *ulama* have given their support to the opponents of foreign assistance.

The number of genuine Iraqis who belong to the Nationalist party is very small, and their motives are varied, while their already small

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numbers show a tendency to grow even smaller as the strength of the moderate party increases.

The moderate party contains most of the genuine Iraqis, whether townsmen or tribesmen. While looking to complete independence, freed from all foreign assistance or control, as their ultimate object, they realize that at the moment this is but a Utopian ideal, which cannot be realized for several years to come, and they are anxious to retain British advisers until that time comes when they are able to stand alone. Their attitude towards the mandate is, however, one of suspicion, and the majority would prefer to see it revoked and replaced by a treaty which, while making provision for the maintenance of a number of British advisers, would definitely and unequivocally declare the independence of the country. The motives which underlie this attitude are partly a sense of national pride and partly a vague sense of fear. They look with unfeigned gratitude on the liberal manner in which Great Britain has interpreted her mandate for 'Iraq hitherto, and the degree of independence which has been given to the country. On the other hand, they compare it with the much less liberal interpretation which has been placed on the mandate in Syria and Palestine, and feel that while such widely varying interpretations are possible there is always the chance that a change of Government at home or the appointment of a High Commissioner for 'Iraq less in touch with local conditions and less sympathetic towards national aspirations than Sir Percy Cox might result in a considerable tightening of British control and a severe curtailment in the degree of independence granted to the inhabitants of the country. Added to this is the feeling that acceptance of the mandate would imply an admission of inferiority on their part, whereas the revocation of the mandate and the recognition of their independence would rouse feelings of national satisfaction and pride which even the acceptance of foreign advisers would do little or nothing to compromise. It is understood that the treaty as at present drafted makes no mention at all of the mandate, and that though acceptance of the treaty will be tantamount to acceptance of the mandate, it is considered that the moderates will be willing to accept the treaty as it stands, as they will not be called upon to sign any document which expressly states that they accept the mandate, and will thus avoid expressly admitting their inferiority.

As in every country, it is the Nationalists who form the vocal and more active, even though the less numerous, section of the population, and in 'Iraq the activities of the Nationalists have been on occasions such as seriously to endanger the maintenance of public order and security. This has been especially so in the Middle Euphrates. It is there, owing to the presence of Karbala and Najaf and the *ulama* resident there, that the Nationalists made their

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greatest efforts. It was in this area, too, that the heaviest fighting took place during the insurrection of 1920, and where consequently the tribesmen suffered the severest losses both in men and material; and, lastly, it was in this area that the only supporters possessed by the Nationalists among the tribal sheikhs lived. Everything, then, pointed to this area as the most suitable ground for the cultivation of anti-foreign and anti-mandate clamour. The method adopted by the Nationalists was to obtain the appointment of a complete suite of Nationalist officials to that area, who then proceeded to attempt to intimidate sheikhs and tribesmen who did not hold anti-British opinions by differentiating against them in all their dealings with Government. Cases to which moderates were a party remained unheard or were repeatedly adjourned, and in the assessment of the land revenue distinctions were made in favour of Nationalist sheikhs and cultivators, while all manner of intimidation was adopted in order to make the tribesmen sign resolutions denouncing the mandate and the treaty. These methods, however, failed completely, and the result was merely to unite the sheikhs into common resistance to the Nationalists and their aims.

In Baghdad, too, no pains were spared to rouse popular opinion against the mandate. The Nationalist papers published inflammatory leading articles and gave prominence to xenophobe *fatwahs* issued by Shiah *ulama*, while on more than one occasion attempts were made to organize demonstrations.

Towards the end of August these efforts were redoubled, owing to the formation of definite political parties under the newly published law regarding the institution and organization of societies and clubs. Three parties were at once formed, two of which were Nationalist, differing from one another only in detail, while the third was the moderate party. On the eve of the anniversary of the King's accession (August 23) the executives of the two Nationalist parties held a joint session, as a result of which they issued a manifesto which was distinctly against the Government and calculated to cause trouble. This was followed on the anniversary day by a deliberate insult to the High Commissioner when he was, as the representative of King George, paying an official visit to Feisal to congratulate him on his having reached the first anniversary of his reign. Inquiries showed that this insult had been organized by members of the committee of the two Nationalist parties, with the assistance, or at any rate with the cognizance, of the King's Chamberlain.

The position was critical. The Middle Euphrates and the Muntafiq were in a state of unrest which threatened to cause bloodshed at any moment. In Baghdad an active campaign was being waged against the Government and the mandatory power which had culminated in a deliberate insult to the British Government; the

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Cabinet had resigned owing to a disagreement with the King on matters of constitutional procedure, and on top of it all the King himself developed a rather severe attack of appendicitis, which necessitated an immediate operation and removed him for some time from active participation in the direction of the affairs of the State. It was essential that strong action should be taken if serious trouble was to be avoided, and in the existing circumstances the High Commissioner was the only person in a position to take it. He therefore issued orders for the arrest of the Nationalist leaders, closed the Nationalist papers, and suspended the Nationalist parties pending the production of adequate guarantees that they would conduct their affairs in future in a legitimate manner, and at the same time he issued to the public a notification explaining what action he had taken and why, and warning them that he would not hesitate to visit with the heaviest punishment any persons who behaved in a way calculated to disturb the peace or jeopardize the good relations which had existed hitherto between Great Britain and 'Iraq. At the same time he emphasized that this action on his part did not signify any change in the fixed policy of the British Government of developing legitimate National ideals and setting up a National Government.

The effect of this action was magical. All signs of unrest disappeared, and both Baghdad and the outside districts have been quieter and less turbulent than for many months past. Faisal has now recovered, and a new Cabinet will, it is said, be appointed immediately, and it is hoped that it will at once finish off the question of the treaty in order that the elections to the National Assembly may be proceeded with.

One of the most disquieting factors in the situation throughout the past few months has been the attitude and the behaviour of the King's personal staff. Largely composed of Syrians, they have consistently thrown their influence on the side of the Nationalist extremists. They have been a cause of great discontent among the moderates and have done much to discredit Feisal in public opinion. Hopes are expressed that a drastic reconstitution of the personal staff will soon be made, composed of men of less extreme views and containing a larger number of Iraqis possessing a stake in the country.

No mention is made here of the recent events in Southern Kurdistan and Anatolia, which have brought the Turkish question to the fore in this country, as it is still too early to gauge its effect, and it can better be left for consideration in a future article.

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EVACUATION OF KURDISTAN: AN ILL-FATED EXPEDITION

By E. B. Soane

A small Turkish force had been at Rawandiz for some time, and had been the centre of propaganda in Middle and South Kurdistan. This had been successful to some extent, and was assisted materially by the uncertain policy of the British Government in Kurdistan, and the defeat of Simko farther north, which resulted in the break-up of his federation of tribes, most of which, seeing no prospect of employment with him for the time being, turned to the Turks. Meanwhile, the authority of Babekr Agha of the Pizhder (a tribe upon which the British relied almost entirely for the maintenance of their administration in the northern part of the Sulaimani area) had become undermined by his cousin and rival, Abbas Agha. The moment being favourable, the Turkish force (variously estimated at 70 to 100 badly equipped regulars) turned its face southwards, and, with the assistance of Abbas Agha Pizhder, reached a point near Rania, in the north of Sulaimani district.

In order to prevent a further advance by this force, a column, composed of the Sulaimani levy, two companies of the 15th Sikhs, two mountain guns, and some Supply and Transport Corps details, was despatched. Previous to its arrival at Derbend (Rania), aeroplanes had bombed part of the country, but the measure was not successful or effective, as only three casualties resulted.

The column having arrived at Derbend (Rania), beside the Lesser Zab River, a piquet of twelve Sikhs and a Lewis gun was posted on a ridge on the opposite bank. The first disaster was the loss of this piquet, which was rushed by Kurds, only three Sikhs escaping alive. Tribesmen then occupied the heights overlooking the camp, and proceeded to open a long-range but very effective fire on it, killing a great number of the mules and causing some casualties. There was no alternative but to retreat, which was the signal for the whole country to blaze up. Our adherent, Babekr Agha, thus left, fled with his small band to Persia.

The force was surrounded by tribesmen, both mounted and on foot, but it fought its way on slowly, losing heavily and having to abandon all wounded, until it floundered into a rice-field in Rania

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plain, where both guns and the remainder of the kit, gear, and supplies were lost. The position here became so desperate and the fighting so close that a charge was ordered—the Sikhs with bayonets and officers with revolvers—and the enemy gave way sufficiently for the force to proceed, but leaving guns, all transport, and wounded behind.

Escape was eventually effected through the country of the Piran Kurds and via Koi to Kirkuk. The British casualties were two officers wounded and between thirty and forty Sikhs killed and missing. The levy behaved badly, giving little assistance; its sympathies were probably with the other side, and as the Turks apparently did not figure in the fight at all, it was opposed by Kurds of the same district as itself.

During the first part of the retreat the force was supported by aeroplanes, but later on their supply of petrol at the Kirkuk base gave out, and they were out of action.

As G.H.Q., Baghdad, feared that the enemy would advance on Sulaimani (about 100 miles to the south), orders were given for the evacuation of that place by aeroplane. By arranging for the British and British Indians to go quietly in the early morning to the aerodrome, the evacuation was effected without incident. Just prior to leaving, the Political Officer sent for Shaikh Qadir (one of the leaders of the 1919 rebellion, who had been recently allowed to return). This notable was made Government representative in our absence, and was handed the keys of the Treasury, containing 4½ lakhs of rupees (about £30,000), and of the armoury, with 500 British rifles and as many Turkish and miscellaneous ones.

Kerim Fattah Beg, murderer of Captains Bond and Makant, returned to Sulaimani the following day, and other bad characters have joined Shaikh Qadir. It is not to be expected that the Treasury or armoury will have remained intact, as no one will credit the possibility of the return of British officials.

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A NOTE ON PALESTINE

I.

THERE has been considerable vagueness—perhaps also indifference—in our conceptions regarding the British Mandate in Palestine, while in the country itself unrest and ill-feeling have not died down. These were the outcome of the unhappy Balfour declaration and its rather obscure interpretation, which differed as viewed by the British Government and the Zionist Organization respectively. Hence much doubt and suspicion regarding our aims. In spite, however, of the trouble that has arisen, and of hostile propaganda, fanned by various foreign influences, the Colonial Office has been able recently to state that the country is "quite tranquil." The proclamation of the Mandate took place on Mount Olives, Lord Allenby and the Emir Abdullah being present to support Sir Herbert Samuel. The future of the country has been defined for twenty-five years. Britain has assumed responsibility for the development and well-being of Palestine. There has been, even at home, a general impression that the mandatory power implies conditions hardly compatible with our pledges to the Arabs, or with Anglo-French declarations of 1918. This the Government does not admit. It holds that "saner views" are now taken of the political situation, and that the outlook is hopeful. The object is to build up a Palestinian nation in which Arabs, Jews, and Christians will settle down peacefully and prosperously under a stable Administration which holds the scales of justice evenly between all creeds and races. Hitherto, instead of the confidence with which we should have been welcomed, had our policy been wiser, there has been good ground to suspect that the Government and Zionist extremists were working for Jewish predominance. Hence the various national movements and the Moslem-Christian delegation to London, which has so many sympathizers. As pointed out by Mr. Philip Graves, the Zionist Commission and the Zionist Organization behind it have not shown themselves "appropriate" bodies to advise and assist the Government.

Meanwhile, as regards progress in Palestine, much excellent work has been carried out under the zealous and hard-working officials of the Administration, which is rapidly transforming the country. Space does not admit of details. Law and order now reign. The British

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gendarmerie and camel patrols do efficient work in regions ever subject to harassing raids. Much is being done by the Forest and Land Registry Departments, and by those of Education, Public Works, Public Health (anti-malarial, water-supplies, town sanitation, etc.), Posts and Telegraphs, and Archæology. All this is recognized and appreciated even by opponents of the Mandate. Sir Herbert Samuel has stated that the Administration is self-supporting. The cost of the garrison has been halved, and should be greatly diminished next year. The expenses incurred by Government during the occupation, military and civil, on public works are to be regarded as due to the British Government; and the cost of railways, telegraphs, and telephones set up by the military authorities is to be repaid.

With regard to British trade, it would seem that our firms are not sufficiently active or enterprising in view, *e.g.*, of the German "business offensive." It is to be hoped that they will wake up, and also that shipping freights will be reduced.

II.

While the British Government seeks to build up a Palestinian nation west of the Jordan, it desires to carry out as far as possible pledges made to the Arabs. The idea of creating a homogeneous Arab Empire, including the Hedjaz and Mesopotamia, would seem to be quite impracticable at present owing to the distances and to the differences of character and customs that separate provinces and peoples. It is to be hoped that the relations of the two countries on either side of the Jordan will be friendly. The Emir Abdullah, who rules in Trans-Jordania, holds that his country is already independent, having a common frontier with Palestine, but little connection with the Government at Jerusalem. He sincerely desires cordial friendship with Britain. It was very desirable that he should be invited to England in order to discuss the various important questions that call for settlement. In his recent visit he created a very favourable impression. The Emir was the guest of the Dinner Club on the evening of November 2, and made an interesting speech in response to the toast of his health. Owing to the change of Government, he was obliged to leave without reaching final agreements. But his Prime Minister and Mr. Philby remain to continue negotiations. It is understood that Trans-Jordania will probably be established as an independent State on "constitutional lines," subject to the approval of the League of Nations. The framing of the Constitution will naturally require considerable time. There are other important questions, such as those relating to Customs.

Among the matters that have occupied the Emir are the relations with the Wahabis. Since the latter occupied Jof, the restless state

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of the country and Wahabi raids have been aggravated. The Emir resolved to put an end to the friction, and to take action should an ultimatum to the Wahabis to evacuate Jof be disregarded. It would seem, however, that for the present tranquillity has been established.

As regards our relations with Egypt, whatever settlement may be arrived at in that country, it is very desirable that we should have peaceful and contented neighbours both in Palestine and Trans-Jordania.

R. L. S. Michell.

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REVIEW

THE HEART OF ARABIA. By H. St. J. B. Philby, C.I.E., I.C.S. 2 vols. Constable and Co. £3 3s. net.

Since the publication of Doughty's immortal work, there has been no more delightful book on Arabia than that just written by Mr. Philby.

The author was sent from Baghdad during the war to Riadh as the head of a British Mission, with the object of gaining over Bin Saud to an active co-operation with the Allies. From one cause and another he found himself in a short time the sole representative of the mission at the court of the Sultan of Nejd, whose permission he obtained to traverse Arabia to the Hedjaz, and at a subsequent date to undertake a journey of considerable magnitude and greater importance through the districts of El Kharj and El Aflaj to the Wadi Dawasir, situated some 300 miles south of Riadh.

The whole book bears the stamp of the scholar as well as that of an English gentleman who did not fail to maintain the prestige of his race and the dignity of a representative of Great Britain, while subscribing with infinite tact to the customs, habits, and traditions of his hosts. To the student of Arabian history the book cannot fail to be of absorbing interest, for it tells much of the geography, and of the many Bedouin tribes, and of the great Emirs of Central Arabia.

The author gives an introductory note on Wahabism, of special interest at the moment, when the growth of the movement has reached grave, if not alarming, dimensions. The foundation by Bin Saud of the Akhwan (brothers), which was but a religious revivalism of Wahabism, may have been inspired by the highest motives, on the other hand, it may have been a deliberate act of statesmanship, the first step to the foundation and consolidation of a great Central Arabian empire.

Taught by the example of Bin Rashed at Hail, it was ever the aim of Bin Saud to settle his people in towns and villages. The advantages of administration of such settlements as against those of the nomad are obvious.

After relating the story of his journey to Riadh, the author goes on to the tale of his wonderful march across Arabia to Taif, and thence to Jeddah. The motif of the journey was to meet the Sherif

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of Mecca (King Hussein) and to bring about a reconciliation of the interests of Bin Saud and the ruler of the Hedjaz.

The bitter controversy between Hussein and Bin Saud dates from the day when the former styled himself King of the Arabs, and sent out emissaries throughout Arabia with letters signed under this title as well as that of Emir el Mu'minîn. If a trace of partisanship can be detected in Mr. Philby's account of the relations between the two rulers, it is perhaps only natural under the circumstances, and it must be said that Bin Saud as a statesman loomed far ahead of his rival. There is no doubt that both had ambitions, unbridled and far-reaching, of a great Arab kingdom under their overlordship. Bin Saud may yet accomplish it, but his rival is now "out of the hunt," a pathetic figure, an epitome of British dishonesty. The author of the book says that Bin Saud might have accomplished what Feisal and his Hedjazis did, and at a much earlier date in the war, had his co-operation with the allied cause been obtained in the first year of the war. This is, indeed, the charge against Bin Saud by the protagonists of the Sherif—viz., that at no time did he throw himself wholeheartedly into the Allied cause. In Turkish days the positions of the Sherif of Mecca and the Emir of Nejd were vastly different *vis-à-vis* with the Turk, for the former was a mediatized prince and the latter an independent ruler.

In the second volume of his book Mr. Philby describes his second journey from the Persian Gulf to the camp of Bin Saud, and his return to Riadh with the Emir.

After some delay, Bin Saud fulfilled his promise to send the author on a journey of exploration southwards over the plateau of Jebel Tuwaiq. The illuminating story of that journey is left to the reader, but mention must be made of the wonderful pools or reservoirs of El Kharj and El Aflaj; indeed, in the latter district one of the pools, "Umm el Jebal," is of such dimensions, three-quarters of a mile by a quarter of a mile, that it is rightly named lake, nor is there any record of another sheet of water of such an area in Arabia. The possibilities of extensive cultivation in these areas by modern methods of irrigation are immense.

The author devotes a chapter to dispute the veracity of Palgrave, and it must be said that he would appear to have proved his case, although his remarks as to the length of a day's camel march are not very convincing. In the Sudan 70 or 80 miles in a day would not be considered beyond the endurance of an Arab if an occasion arose which necessitated speed; indeed, there is the record of a British officer who traversed in the space of fifty-four hours 170 miles.

The author turned back at Wadi Dawasir, when on the edge of the empty quarter of Arabia, probably the first European who has ever visited the Wadi.

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Throughout the book the many human incidents of his troubles with the various members of his party, and the anecdotes of Bedouin life, will charm the reader, while the author's unfailing enterprise in mapping, photographing, and collecting notes on many and varied subjects will evoke his admiration. The book is admirably illustrated with productions of the author's photographs, and the maps are excellent. There are one or two mistakes in the transliteration of Arabic names, and the same word, such as Jebel, "mountain," is sometimes spelt with a "d" before the "J," and sometimes without.

In an account of the home of one of the slaves of Bin Saud reference is probably intended to the Tekruri of Singa in Sennar, and not as stated.

The author may well be proud of his monumental work, an epitome of profound observation, of great courage, of boundless energy, and of infinite tact.

C. E. VICKERY.

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OBITUARY

SIR WILLIAM MEYER

THIS Society has to deplore the sudden death of a very distinguished member, Sir William Meyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., High Commissioner for India. The son, like many other Indian civilians, of a clergyman, William Stevenson Meyer was born on February 13, 1860, and was educated at the London University College School, and then at the London University. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1881, and after serving in the Madras Presidency, where he rose rapidly to the post of Secretary of the Board of Revenue in 1890, he joined the Government of India for the first time in 1895 as Deputy Secretary in the Financial Department. He edited the Imperial Gazetteer in 1902-3, and was a very active member of the Royal Commission of Decentralization in 1907-9 and of Lord Nicholson's Committee on the Indian Army in 1912-13. He was then appointed to be Finance Member of the Government of India, a post which grew to be especially arduous after the outbreak of the Great War. The Finance Department incurred a great deal of unmeasured criticism in connection with the shortcomings of the early Mesopotamian expeditions before the fall of Kut, but the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry at Westminster exonerated Sir William Meyer from all blame, and he was able to show that he had never refused a single demand made upon the Finance Department by the Military Department of the Government of India in connection with the Mesopotamian campaign. In 1917-18 he was President of the Central Recruiting Board, which brought very large reinforcements to the Indian Army. He retired from service in India in 1918, but when, on the analogy of the Dominions High Commissionerships in London, the post of High Commissioner for India was created in recognition of India's new status under the Constitutional Charter of 1919, it was very appropriately given to Sir William, who had associated himself throughout with the cause of Indian reforms. He at once threw himself into his new work with all his accustomed energy, and his plans of organization were rapidly maturing towards completion, when he died prematurely from heart failure, which seized him in the street in Westminster on October 19.

Sir William Meyer, though too busy a man to take a very active

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part in the proceedings of this Society, attended its last annual dinner, and was well known to many of us. We cannot, perhaps, do better than quote in conclusion some passages from the touching tribute paid to him by his friend Sir Valentine Chirol, when he took the chair at a meeting of the East India Association only four days after the sudden death of the High Commissioner, who was to have presided.

Sir Valentine said he would not dwell on the distinguished official career and the able and devoted services to India of his old friend, but he would like to speak of his human qualities. He had so keen a sense of humour and a wit so telling that he was sometimes suspected of cynicism, but in fact he was a singularly kind and tender-hearted man. He had drunk the cup of human sorrow as few had done. He arrived in this country with his wife on leave some years ago to learn on landing that their only son had, in play at his public school, accidentally hanged himself. Lady Meyer never recovered from the shock, and died after a long and trying illness. Sir William found consolation in the companionship of his only daughter, a singularly attractive and gifted girl of seventeen; but one night at Simla, when they had spent a happy evening together, she reached out in the darkness of her bedroom for a mixture for her cough, and accidentally took the wrong bottle, and died of poisoning in a few hours. Sir William, he added, bore these blows with unbroken fortitude, and, always a hard worker, worked harder than ever under a supreme sense of public duty which never faltered, but, on the contrary, was his one great solace under the cruel blows of fortune that had wrecked his domestic happiness.

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DINNER CLUB

THE Central Asian Society Dinner Club met on November 2, Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the chair. The Emir Abdullah, accompanied by Mr. Philby and his Prime Minister, was the guest of the Club.

The Committee for 1922-23, as elected at this meeting, was as follows:

Chairman: Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

Committee: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B.; Lieut.-Colonel C. B. Stokes, C.I.E.

Hon. Treasurer: Sir Edward Penton, K.B.E.

Hon. Secretary: G. C. Stephenson, Esq.

Membership of the Club is limited to seventy-five, exclusive of members and ex-members of Council. Members of the Society home from abroad on leave are eligible for election as temporary members if they so desire.

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NOTICE

THE Library is now open for the use of members.

The following books have lately been given to the Library:

"The Heart of Arabia," by H. St. J. Philby.

"The Turkish Empire," by Lord Eversley and Sir Valentine Chirol.

"Travels in Eastern Thibet," by Eric Teichman.

"The Spirit of Islam," by Syed Ameer Ali.

"The Ins and Outs of Mesopotamia," by E. T. Lyell.

"Turkey," by S. Lane-Poole.

"The Insurrection in Mesopotamia, 1920," by Lieut.-General Sir A. Haldane.

"Siwa: The Oasis of Jupiter Ammon," by C. Dalrympe Belgrave.

"The Babur-Nama in English," by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge.

Since the Library is a small one, members are asked to return their books within six weeks. If books are sent by post, carriage must be paid in both directions.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, London, S.W., on Thursday, January 18, 1923, the Right Hon. Lord Carnock presiding, when Lieut.-Colonel P. T. Etherton gave a lecture on "Central Asia: its Rise as a Political and Economic Factor."

The CHAIRMAN: Colonel Yate will announce the number of new members elected.

The HON. SECRETARY (Colonel A. C. Yate): We have to-day elected ten new members: Lady Twining, Mrs. Bruce Cooper, Miss M. Sylvester Samuel, Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., Colonel Sir James Walker, Squadron-Leader K. C. Buss, R.A.F., Captain J. H. L. Hindmarsh, Captain Hon. P. G. Scarlett, M.C., Colonel R. A. Steel, C.M.G., Mr. F. W. Stewart, M.C.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I introduce Colonel Etherton, I should like to say that I have received notice from the University of London that a series of lectures on the nomads of Central Asia will be given at King's College, London, by Professor W. Barthold, of the University of Petrograd. The lectures began to-day, but they are continued every Thursday up to the end of February. Admission is free without ticket. I thought, perhaps, some members of the audience might like to know that, as I should think they would be very interesting lectures, and, of course, they are closely connected with the object and purpose of this Society.

I now have the pleasure of introducing Colonel Etherton, who is His Majesty's Consul-General in Kashgar, and naturally, therefore, is, on the subject on which he is going to speak to-day, a first-class authority. Colonel Etherton, as I dare say you know, made a very important and adventurous journey, I think in 1909, from India, over the Pamirs, and through Turkistan, Mongolia, and Siberia, to Russia. It took him twelve months, in which I believe he traversed a great many districts hitherto untrodden by European travellers. He, unfortunately, was severely laid up by frost-bite, and, as I happened to be at Petrograd, I think he will agree with me in saying that the Russian authorities gave him every possible attention and care.

The subject on which he is going to lecture to us to-day is "Central Asia: its Rise as a Political and Economic Factor"; and although we occasionally hear some comments—most friendly and sympathetic I am bound to say—as to this Society expanding itself

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beyond its strict geographical limits as connoted by its title, I do not think the most meticulous critic could possibly object to the lecture to be given to-day. (Applause.)

[Before proceeding with the subject of his lecture, Colonel Etherton showed a series of remarkably interesting slides, illustrating the route to Central Asia, the habits and customs of the various peoples, and the social, industrial, economic, and military aspects of his address.]

CENTRAL ASIA: ITS RISE AS A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTOR

By Lieut.-Colonel P. T. ETHERTON,
H.M. Consul-General at Kashgar.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—From a political and diplomatic standpoint Central Asia is comparatively new, for it is only within the past two generations, and as the result of territorial expansion, that it has become of direct interest to us. Moreover, the rise of Bolshevism, and the course of events throughout Asia, must necessarily exert an influence on the industrial and economic possibilities of China and the western dominions of that country with which I am more particularly concerned in my capacity as Consul-General, and the situation as it now is in Russia must ultimately affect the balance of power in the Far East and the destinies of both Russia and China.

It does not come within the province of my remarks to deal with the history, ethnography, or geography of Central Asia, as the latter is so well known to the great majority of you, that I pass to the more vital questions of the day which affect the British Empire as a whole, and India and the Indian borderland in particular.

Prior to the Great War it was more or less an accepted probability of political and economic development that the greater part of Central Asia, including, of course, Chinese Turkistan, would pass into the hands of Russia, who was at that time a powerful colonizing force in the area in question, but it is not possible to predict what may happen in the future in the evolution of Central Asia, when we contemplate the creation of new and independent States that has been going on since the Armistice, coupled with the advent of Afghanistan as a Muslim Power imbued with progressive ideas.

We may regard Russia as the modern pioneer of Central Asia, for she realized its potentialities and set about its conquest with that tenacity and patience which have ever characterized her movements; she organized her advance for the benefit of the Russian State, and the consolidation of Russian power, and in pre-war days was the forerunner of an era of progress and prosperity.

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Strictly speaking, Central Asia comprises Chinese and Russian Turkistan, and the Pamirs, or "Roof of the World," a region that attracted much attention some years ago when its occupation by Russia was regarded as detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of our Indian frontier and Afghanistan. Central Asia is of considerable ethnological importance, for from it we can learn more of the world's history than is available from other sources. The Greeks, under Alexander, traversed it, the Huns followed in their wake, whilst Persian rule extended from the Oxus to the Danube. The Huns had carried fire and sword through Asia centuries before the Christian era; indeed, the Great Wall of China was built as a barrier against those fierce invaders, and it stands to this day as a monument to the constructive ability and patience of the Chinese.

In the seventh century came Mohammed, the founder of the Islamic faith, and six hundred years later appeared the Mongols, who, in their turn, created a kingdom from the Sea of Japan to the German frontier, and from the Arctic Ocean in the far north to India and Mesopotamia in the south. Various other conquerors came and went, until Russia and China appeared definitely upon the scene, and they are now the principal landowners in Central Asia.

It was with the fall of the Russian Government, and the resultant anarchy and chaos throughout the Asiatic dominions of Russia, that Central Asia came into prominence. Germany and the Central Powers were casting longing eyes in that direction. Through Turkey Germany hoped to weld together the Mohammedan races for the resuscitation, *inter alia*, of Turkish power, and as one of the means to destroy British supremacy. This movement to bring about a combination of Mohammedans not only in Asia, but throughout the world, is no new thing; it is, indeed, as old as the Muslim faith itself, although it was only in the reign of the late Abdul Hamid that it took concrete shape, for it had then received considerable German support, and the original Turkish movement in Pan-Islamism had been developed by German ingenuity. Germany declared herself in sympathy with Pan-Islamic ideals, and, in setting herself up as the friend of Islam, she may perhaps have realized, as Napoleon had done more than a century before her, that allied with Islam, she might be in a position to control material resources of the first magnitude.

There was, however, another and possibly more vital question dictating German policy in 1917-18, and that was the replenishment of the stocks of cotton for the manufacture of munitions. Russia had, prior to the war, devoted much attention to the cotton industry, for cotton is an article much in demand in Russia, besides which the industry was fostered with the idea of making it a national and self-dependent one, and to supplant the American article. In 1918 vast stocks of cotton were lying in Central Asia, and their ultimate fate was

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a matter of moment to the Allied War Cabinet. The acquisition of the cotton was contemplated, but it was eventually decided that the task was such as to preclude all possibility of its being carried through within such a time as would admit of any direct influence on the course of the war. I mention the matter as demonstrating two facts, the magnitude of the difficulties confronting the Home Government and the Government of India amidst all the many questions in which they were involved at that time, and as proving the future that the Central Asian cotton industry has before it.

Early in 1918 I was sent up to Central Asia as one of a mission to study conditions there, the party being in charge of Lieut.-Colonel F. M. Bailey, C.I.E., whose remarkable experiences, and the consummate skill and ingenuity he displayed under harassing and trying conditions, have already formed the subject of a lecture before this Society. The mission, amongst its other duties, studied the cotton question, which much impressed me from a commercial aspect.

In November, 1918, came the Armistice, and with it the hope that war and tumult would end, and that we should see the dawn of a brighter day and the opening of an era of prosperity. The doctrine of self-determination, the seeds of Bolshevism, and the general spirit of unrest had, however, taken too deep a root for those dreams to be capable of immediate realization in Asia. The Bolsheviks then brought out their scheme for the emancipation of the East, Tashkent being made the base of operations, and a school was opened there for the training of propaganda agents, who were to go forth amongst the different races and tribes of Asia, and endeavour to convert them to Soviet ideas. It cannot be said that the movement made much progress, for scarcely any of the Central Asian nationalities wished to be emancipated by this particular means, and the propaganda fell mostly on stony ground. It is not for me to say where the Bolsheviks were at fault, but with such a conservative people as the Mohammedans of Central Asia religion is a powerful factor, serving as a bond of unity amongst them, and one that has gained in strength and dynamic force since the unfortunate massacres at Kokand in 1917. In this religious question the Chinese have always shown sagacity and prescience; they have appreciated the value of this religious factor in studying to some extent the psychology of the masses, and in assessing it at its true value they have shown toleration towards any religion which did not threaten the fundamental principles of their policy, or bring foreign domination in its wake. The basic principle of Chinese policy in Turkistan is freedom from foreign interference, and that being secured, they show the greatest toleration of differences of opinion.

I now come to the question of Pan-Islamism, and the nationalist movement which arose in Asia before the War and inculcated the idea that Turkey, and the tribes and races in affinity to her, must assert

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their power and authority and effect a Mohammedan combine. After close study of the matter, I find very little indication of the Mohammedans of Central Asia being influenced by the Pan-Islamic cry; sympathy with Turkey was certainly not pronounced, and she is not regarded as the hub of the Islamic world. The politically independent factors of the movement are divided amongst themselves, and they would be apparent if it came to a question of definite organization and control.

The Pan-Islamic idea has been exploited by various elements as a means to further their designs in the East against British power, but, to my mind, the movement is so far purely platonic, and the idea of its developing in the near future into a serious menace does not impress me at all.

Morally, the common aims and interests of Islam have achieved some progress, which, as is usually the case, can be traced to the influence of the Press, but this applies only to the Turkish, Persian, and Arabic newspapers, for in Central Asia the mullas and priestly caste exercise considerable influence, and they have eliminated everything that is at variance with early conservatism, and newspapers and secular literature are regarded with disfavour. It is, therefore, only the Muslim Press, especially the Turkish and Persian, that has brought together distant parts of the Muslim Asiatic world. In the present stage there is little in the movement, and the progress it has made in Central Asia and Western China may be regarded as negligible.

In any review of the Pan-Islamic question, we must remember that Mohammedanism in its adherents outnumbers the Christian religion; and although it lacks some of the essentials which characterize the latter faith, it is still a portent in the world, and one that cannot be supplanted. I find that there is little open hostility to non-Mohammedans, and, speaking generally, the Asiatic dislike of Europeans is less pronounced in Central Asia, due in a measure to the methods of the Russians, as well as to the fact that the Russian is not pure European, and mixes more freely with Asiatics, with many of whom the Russian is on a footing of equality.

Coming within the field of Central Asia is the Mongolian question, and the interesting—albeit fallacious—report of a projected Buddhist-Moslem combine, which should unite these two religions in a common alliance, largely concerns the welfare and destiny of Central Asia. It will, therefore, be appropriate to deal briefly with it, and endeavour to gauge its influence upon the future of Asia as a whole. In the thirteenth century Mongol power was at a high level: the Mongols had extended their conquests right across Asia, and in the following century Tamerlane, under whose sway Mongolia attained to heights of splendour, came near to dominating the Old World. But the rise of the Mongols was scarcely less rapid than their fall, for they lasted

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less than one hundred years; and when I travelled through Mongolia and studied the people in their past and present life, I could not help noticing the change that must have come over them since the historical days when they carried fire and sword through Europe. This decadence is largely due to the influence of the lamas, or priesthood, who now constitute 40 per cent. of the population, and are averse to progress or anything concerning the forward march of the people. Moreover, the two religions are so diametrically opposed in principle and practice to each other that any combination between them is inconceivable.

Closely connected with the Pan-Islamic campaign, and the course of events in Central Asia generally, is that prominent and somewhat elusive Turk, Enver Pasha, who is credited with decided views on Bolshevism, and has no intention of contributing to Bolshevik aspirations. It was said by some of the leading Ferghana Mohammedans that Enver aimed at being a Napoleon of Central Asia, a sort of Saviour who should come and deliver the people from the hands of the Philistines, that he would form a Mohammedan State as a buffer against Russia in Asia, and would lay the foundation-stone of an Asia for the Asiatics. Enver is supposed to be dead, but it is quite possible he may be in the land of the living, for it would be in his own interests, no less than in those who are supporting him, to suppress his name and presence as much as possible.

In the course of my remarks this afternoon, I referred to Ferghana, the rich province of Russian Central Asia, some 36,000 square miles in extent, formed from the old Khanate of Kokand in 1876. Its resources are many, such as gold, silver, lead, oil, and iron, all as yet scarcely touched and offering a favourable field to commercial enterprise. The eastern frontier of Ferghana marches with that of Chinese Turkistan, so that it is of special interest to us and the Indian borderland.

Since the massacres by the Bolsheviks at Kokand in November, 1917, Ferghana has been in revolt, firstly under the leadership of Mohammed Emin Beg, who was in 1920 seized and executed by a rival chieftain, Sher Mohammed, who then became the leader of the Ferghana insurgents. He is hostile to the Bolsheviks, and had, up to the early summer of last year, rejected all overtures from the Soviet. The latter are nominally in possession of the country, but in actual fact they hold only the towns, the country beyond being in the hands of the insurgents.

South of Ferghana lie the Pamirs, and it is there we find followers of the Aga Khan, who are a well-ordered community, and a credit to the enlightened leader to whom they owe allegiance.

Afghanistan and Bokhara come well within the purview of Central Asian politics; but that is a portion of the subject on which I refrain from making any remarks, as communications on matters affecting our

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relations with other States is very rightly deprecated in official quarters, and cannot but be detrimental to public interests. Moreover, we have ceased to play an active rôle in Central Asia; and since the withdrawal from north-eastern Persia some three years ago, His Majesty's Government decided that no further assistance could be granted to any anti-Bolshevik organizations, and the obvious corollary to that decision was not to engage in fresh commitments. Since then no support in any shape whatever, either directly or indirectly, has been given to any person or organization.

I will now deal briefly with the commercial possibilities of Central Asia. As I have already remarked, the province of Ferghana produces excellent cotton, but in the present welter the industry is at a standstill. The mineral resources of both Russian and Chinese Central Asia are unlimited, whilst the wool trade of Mongolia is open to development, and good routes are available for its export. Formerly British goods to some extent reached Chinese Turkistan through the ports of China proper, but the spread of brigandage in Western China has virtually stopped this route, and only the establishment of a central authority in China, with the requisite power of control, can restore trade from that direction.

For trade with Central Asia, from either Europe or America, the only practicable road is through India and Kashmir, occupying nearly fifty days, and leading over the highest and most difficult passes in the world. A great deal has been done by the Government of India to improve this route; halting places have been built, and facilities afforded men and animals to cope with the physical obstacles. There is a good trade in cotton goods both from Lancashire and Indian mills, British medicines are in demand, whilst unrefined sugar finds a ready sale owing to the Russian market being closed.

In so far as Chinese Turkistan is concerned, British and Indian goods have always been favourably regarded, due to their reliable quality. The trade is at present carried on largely by British-Indian subjects, who show themselves trustworthy and are on good terms with the local population.

Those traders and merchants of Central Asia who have gone down to India have, in the great majority of cases, returned with a feeling of admiration for the law and order and general system of government of India, and I think it is largely due to the visits of these people, who have been able to see for themselves, that the attempts to create unrest and disaffection in Central Asia have been abortive.

It will be of interest to comment briefly on the opium trade in Central Asia, since the suppression thereof is occupying the earnest attention of the League of Nations. The traffic in opium flourishes practically unchecked in Chinese Turkistan, and is not interfered with in the province of Semirechia across the frontier in Russian Turkistan.

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To the credit of the Chinese it must be said that there is no planting of the poppy in Chinese Turkistan, as the prepared article is imported from elsewhere, and so lucrative is the trade that it has been estimated to yield a profit of as much as Rs. 2,500 per pony load. We have exerted strenuous efforts to suppress the traffic, and it is hoped that, with the cordial co-operation of all the Chinese officials and subordinates, we may succeed in stamping it out.

In considering the commercial and agricultural future of Central Asia, we are obviously more concerned with Chinese Turkistan by reason of its proximity to India. In general, Chinese Central Asia is a land of desert and bush tracts similar to Western Australia, and cultivation is rendered possible by means of irrigation channels. Only in the vicinity of these waterways is cultivation met with, the rainfall being insufficient in itself to ensure the successful exploitation of the land. We may compare Chinese Turkistan to the Punjab, in Northern India, but with its rivers it can more easily combat famine—that menace of countries who look to the rain to supply their food requirements. This difference in the physical formation of Central Asia accounts for its leading feature, for both are governed by similar conditions.

Taken as a whole, Central Asia is a desert traversed by river-beds, and only where a river occurs is cultivation found; wherever the water, there the fertile and thickly-populated oasis. The problem of agricultural and industrial development is, therefore, largely one of irrigation; and the total area at present under cultivation in Central Asia as a whole could be largely increased with the introduction of a scientific system adapted to exploit the available water-supply. This could only be effected with the aid of foreign capital—at any rate, so far as Chinese Central Asia is concerned—and given sound schemes, such as have brought prosperity to India and Egypt, the result would be a very material enlargement of the cultivated area with a proportionate return. From that would accrue an increase of population, an expansion of trade, and the development of all industries, such as the production of cotton and jute, for which there are great possibilities.

With the establishment of a stable government in Russian Central Asia must come a trade boom, and both Japan and America are alive to trade potentialities, and have had commercial men there with a view to securing what will prove to be a favourable commercial field. It is unnecessary for me to detail the articles and the class of machinery, etc., that will be in demand, since they are fully dealt with in the Annual Trade Report, a copy of which is submitted to the Overseas Trade Department of the Foreign Office.

With regard to Chinese Turkistan which concerns us so closely, many wars and revolutions have disturbed the peace of the New Dominion, as the Chinese style it, since the Celestial army from

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Peking first took possession in 1755, and the Chinese have by no means remained in undisputed occupation, although their hold has been made fairly secure within the past generation. The wars that have raged from time to time in Turkistan between the Chinese, Mohammedans, and others for supremacy have left traces deep-rooted in the character of the people, and they do not display any marked energy or enterprise, so that it is not surprising that the Chinese are able to hold the country with a minimum force, the actual Chinese element in the population being only six per cent.

To the Chinese the new Dominion forms one of the basic factors in the Asian problem—that of accommodating the ever-increasing population of China—so that Turkistan offers a field for colonization when roads, railways, and irrigation shall have opened the way. The first organic essential in any country, and particularly here where the agricultural and mineral resources are rich, is adequate arterial communication. There are no roads, properly speaking, in the province, communication between towns and villages being limited to tracks and footpaths.

Generally speaking, Chinese rule is acceptable to the Turkistan races, for it sits lightly upon them ; they are not unduly worried by their rulers, and are allowed to go very much their own way. In Turkistan the Chinese have a country full of mineral and agricultural resources, which they will doubtless develop so soon as conditions admit, and they are able to improve communication by means of the railway. The building of the latter will consolidate their hold upon the outlying portions of their dominions, for at present distances are so great, and so much time elapses in the conveyance of instructions, that the influence of Peking is exhausted before it reaches Central Asia.

I have already remarked on the failure to inculcate Bolshevism amongst the people in Turkistan and Western China. Bolshevism does not find favour with the Chinese since it interferes with private trade, which is vital to them, whilst it strikes at private liberty, which is a feature in the social life of the Chinese. Moreover, although it may never develop, there is a feeling in the west of the Chinese dominions in favour of the restoration of the monarchy, for a republican form of government is not suited to the Celestial temperament. The essentials for creation of a republican spirit do not exist to any extent in China, and until they do arise the rule cannot be other than oligarchic. In my own dealings with the Chinese I have always noticed with what respect the Emperor was regarded as the temporal and spiritual head of the people. Under the Imperial régime the family was the unit of the Chinese nation, and the Emperor was the father of the whole. With a republic there must necessarily be a change of leader, and this in itself invests the head of the nation with

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transitory power, and one without prestige, whilst it lacks the main feature of Chinese imperialism in concentrating authority and focussing the loyalty of the people as a whole.

The history of China has shown us the various stages of evolution through which she has passed, whilst it has also demonstrated how her ancient civilization has developed in complete independence of Europe. In population and potential strength China is the first in the world, but the lack of a central authority, and the disorder prevailing in so many of the provinces, make it impossible to transform the assets into an efficient and powerful nation.

Time does not permit of my discussing the basic cause of the present unrest in China, which naturally has its repercussion in Central Asia, and the means by which it might be possible to establish general law and order and commence the moulding process; but the main difficulty confronting China at the moment is the presence of numerous military bodies acting under the orders of provincial governors, and the impracticability of breaking them up until a responsible central government can produce the money to pay them off and so effect demobilization. That brought about it would be feasible to take up trade and economic questions, which will be all-important, for the economic life of China is industrial, and three-quarters of the population are agricultural.

The peace and prosperity of Central Asia will be largely influenced by the state of affairs in China, and particularly in the west of that country, and if the Chinese only act up to their beliefs they can effect a good deal. It must of course be admitted that they have, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated ideas of their own standing and importance, but then they are based on thoughts and customs different from those in Europe or the New World, and all similar ideas are merely the outcome of the individual standard of appraisement. So far as reform is concerned, a stable government is the first essential, to be followed by industrial development, and education. The latter is a great point in China, and it exercises remarkable influence on public questions, so that education will play no inconsiderable part in the reformation of a country where there has ever been respect for learning.

You will naturally ask what are the possibilities of restoring peace and tranquillity in Russia, and thereby bringing about the same result in Central Asia. We must bear in mind that the vast majority of the Russian people are ignorant and quite illiterate; it is mainly an agrarian population, and the future of Russia centres to a large extent on the efforts the peasants are able to put forth. The ignorance and illiteracy of the people, coupled with the war and internal disorder through which they have passed in the last eight years, have made them indifferent; and from what I have seen of them it would appear that, so long as they possess a voice in the settlement of local

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questions affecting their own immediate interests, and are left with land sufficient to their needs, they care very little for what may be happening in Petrograd and Moscow. From this we see that the Russian people are an inert mass, without political opinions or mark of racial or national unity on which it might be possible to build up something tangible. If this is to be done—and it can only be effected by Russia and the Russians—and if the entire political, economic, and social fabric in Russia is to be recast, the basic principles on which Bolshevism has been working will have to be thrown overboard; and seeing that power in Russia is in the hands of a determined class, it is open to question whether they will exactly welcome such a course of action.

Finally, the political, economic, and industrial possibilities of Central Asia must be one of the factors affecting the balance of power in Asia, and the situation there requires careful watching, although there is no immediate danger to us, and the reputation of Great Britain would seem to stand as high in that important area of the world as it has ever done.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is thirty-five years since I was first in Kashgar, and it has been a matter of extraordinary interest to me to hear of and see the changes which have occurred there in that time. Sir John Jordan, who is present this evening, will remember how I set out from Peking to ride through to Kashgar—some nearly three thousand miles. When I arrived at Kashgar there was no sign of British influence at all. The Russians were then very firmly established there, and had a very able Russian Consul-General, Petrovsky, who had all the influence that there was with the Chinese. We had no representative there, and so far as foreign influence was concerned, he had the field entirely to himself, and he made excellent use of his opportunity. Three years later I was sent up by the Government of India, with Mr. Macartney as interpreter and secretary, to watch Russian movements; the Russians were then very active in Central Asia, and were steadily working down towards India. They culminated in the annexation of the Pamirs, and the despatch of a Russian force, which actually crossed the Hindu Khush into territory under the suzerainty of the Maharajah of Kashmir, crossing by one pass and going out by another. I left Mr. Macartney up there. He had not any standing at all, but he was left up there as what we call a news writer—just to continue on as best he could from year to year, and keep a watch on the Russian movements, and also foster as well as he could what trade there was between India and Turkistan. I think that the work Mr. Macartney did from that time on until he retired as Sir George Macartney just a year or two ago was one of the best pieces of work that have been done on the Indian frontier for

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many a year. (Applause.) As I say, I think it was for about a dozen years that he had no official standing whatever. He was not a Consul, he had no official position; he had just to stay up there, sit tight, and hold his own against this very able and very pushing Russian Consul-General. But Macartney was a man of great coolness and astuteness, and he had this advantage over the Russian Consul-General—that he spoke Chinese perfectly. He also knew the Chinese classics, and was able to get on extraordinarily well with the Chinese officials. Gradually and effectively, year by year, he built up his position, till he was eventually recognized as Consul. He was made a C.I.E. and then became Consul-General, and was eventually given the K.C.I.E. It is due to him that British influence in Chinese Turkistan has been built up, and it is a matter of congratulation to us that when Sir George Macartney retired a few years ago his work was carried on by Colonel Etherton. (Applause.) Colonel Etherton had the enterprise some years ago to strike out into Central Asia, as our Chairman has described. He went up through Hunza on to the Pamirs, into Chinese Turkistan, into Siberia, and back home by a way that had not been traversed by Europeans before. In these recent years he has had enormous difficulties to contend against. It is a long distance from India. It takes many weeks for the post to arrive. Nowadays you have the telegraph through China, but still he has to work up there under great difficulties and in much solitude; nevertheless he has carried on the traditions that had been established by Sir George Macartney, and he has told us this evening that British influence in Turkistan is now strong and firm. As regards the people themselves, the lecturer this evening has spoken of them from two aspects—their religion and their trade. As regards their religion, it always struck me that the people of Turkistan, although they were quite firm Mohammedans, were yet somewhat lethargic. They were not of the excitable, fiery type, but quiet, and I quite agree with Colonel Etherton in saying they are not the kind of people likely to fire up over Pan-Islam. They are exceedingly comfortable up there apart from the world, and lead a nice easy-going life. They are also very fond of making pilgrimages to Mecca. A family will set off in the middle of Turkistan, cross the whole Himalayas down to India, and go through India and across the seas to Mecca. During that passage to Mecca, as soon as they have got out of Turkistan, they find that their way is made easy for them throughout territory under the influence of British government by the British authorities. All the way through Kashmir territory—first of all through Ladak and then through Kashmir and down to India—arrangements are especially made for the convenience and comfort of these pilgrims. I know what it was in the old days: these wretched people crossed the Himalayas without any arrangements being made for them, suffered frightful hardships; many and many

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died from what they had to endure on the way. But one can understand now that when they get back into their own country, after seeing what arrangements the British Government make for them, they are impressed very deeply with the advantages of British rule. Therefore, as they have nothing to fear from the British, and have had evidence like that of the good that the British do, I think it is not surprising that they are on the whole well disposed towards us. As regards trade, of course there are great possibilities of trade with Chinese Turkistan, but the great difficulty, as Colonel Etherton has pointed out, is getting at the country. From the Indian side you must somehow or other get across the Himalayas. It is true that of recent years the Government of India has improved the road by Kashmir, Ladak, and the Karakoram Pass. There is an excellent road along it, but you cannot get over the fact that you have to cross passes—the first of which is 11,000 feet, and following it three of 13,000 feet, then one of 17,000 feet, one of nearly 18,000 feet, one of more than 18,000 feet, another of 17,000 feet, and another of 10,000 feet—before you get down to Turkistan. There is a solid fact before you, and the best road in the world will not get over that. You cannot have a cart road; everything has to be carried by ponies, mules, camels in certain parts, or yaks. It is anyhow animal transport. Nor can you carry very much by the Hunza route, of which we have had those very remarkable pictures which Colonel Etherton showed. It is shorter, it is true, but a terribly bad road, and I do not think there is much possibility of using that. Of course, the only way to get at the country is through Russian Turkistan, and the chief trade must therefore be mostly in the hands of the Russians. Nevertheless, there are possibilities. Good things will always find their way into Chinese Turkistan. They are more portable than bad. Light muslins and other really good cotton goods might find their way into Chinese Turkistan from India. From Turkistan the chief export is *charas*, which is not a very desirable import—and felts and excellent carpets in addition. I do not know if Colonel Etherton will have any more to say about the carpets; beautiful carpets used to be brought from Yarkand in the old days. They were dyed with vegetable dyes; whether with the aniline dyes of the present day they are as good as in the past I do not know. In conclusion, I would like to express to Colonel Etherton my very great interest in his lecture, and to wish him every possible success in the endeavour which he is making to keep on good terms with the people of the country and to increase our trade with it. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN JORDAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I came here really to hear the lecture, not to contribute any instruction. I would like, however, to associate myself with the tributes which Sir Francis Younghusband has paid to Sir George Macartney and Colonel Etherton. I happen to know a good deal about the situation in Turkistan in the

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early beginning. It is quite true that, as Sir Francis Younghusband has stated, Sir George Macartney went there in no official position at all. He really made the position for himself. He was in an entirely different position from a British Consular representative in any other part of China. We had at that time no treaty with China with regard to overland trade, and when Sir George Macartney went there we had to depend upon the Russian treaties—that is to say, to rely upon the favoured nation stipulations of the Russian treaties, and ask the Chinese Government to extend to us the same privileges as to Russia. That was a very difficult position indeed, and it was, thanks to Sir George Macartney, almost entirely that in the end he secured for British trade and British subjects all the privileges granted to Russia. (Applause.) The only lever he had was that the Chinese Government were glad enough to see a British representative there to act as a sort of counterpoise to the Russian influence of Mr. Petrovsky. Colonel Etherton has probably had an even more difficult task than Sir George Macartney had, because since that time we know what has happened in Central Asia and all over the East. Colonel Etherton has really maintained the position with nothing almost behind him at all, thanks to his good relations with the Chinese authorities. (Applause.) The whole situation is, from the political point of view, one of intense interest, owing to the long frontier between China and Russia extending some four thousand miles. Russia was the first to make treaty relations with China; the first was dated about 1689. Since that time China and Russia have had a series of relations by treaties up till 1915, during the war, when the last treaty was made with regard to Mongolia. There is one point on which I do not quite agree with Colonel Etherton—that is, that the Russians would possibly have seized all this part of Central Asia. I always felt—I know the opinion is not generally shared—but I always felt at Peking that the apprehension and fear between the Chinese and Russians was mutual. The Russians feared the Chinese almost as much as the Chinese feared the Russians. You know the Russians had not had an unbroken success in their dealings with the Chinese; they had met with several checks in their long and chequered history. As Colonel Etherton knows, they went into Kuldja in the seventies of the last century, and were obliged to retire. In several other ways they have met with resistance, and I think between the two it was just a question whether China or Russia would get the best. At any rate, what has happened now is that Russia, who held the dominant position in China, has now no position at all. I suppose there are at the present moment 300,000 Russians in Manchuria and different parts of China who enjoy no rights whatever. As you know, foreigners in China have exterritorial rights, or capitulations, as they are called in Turkey. The Russians are entirely subject to Chinese jurisdiction and suppliants for Chinese

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justice; it is a pathetic instance of what a great Power has come to in the Far East. That is the present position; what the future will bring I suppose no one will venture to say. At the present moment the Bolsheviks have a representative, a very able man, at Peking, negotiating a new treaty with China. China is proceeding very cautiously, although I see in to-day's paper that a mission is going to Moscow to treat with the Soviet Government. China is very suspicuous about the Russian intentions in Mongolia; and this and other questions will have to be settled before any treaty takes place. That is, roughly speaking, the political situation as its exists between Russia and China at the present moment. I was greatly interested in some other points that Colonel Etherton raised. On the whole, I agree with him that there is no great danger of Mohammedans, or any Pan-Islamic movement in China. I think in China the Mohammedans are about ten millions altogether. They have at different times in history given great trouble to the Chinese Government, and have established separate kingdoms of their own in Yunnan and Chinese Turkistan. As Colonel Etherton knows, Yakoob Beg ruled for about fifteen years—threw off Chinese authority altogether. But the Chinese recovered the country; they have great staying power and tenacity. I was in China when Tso Tsung-tang, an old Chinese general, marched his troops right across thousands of miles from Central China to Turkistan; one of those generals, whom Colonel Etherton holds in contempt, marched his troops across the country, settled down, grew his crops, and remained there year after year with this strange commissariat, growing his crops for his own troops, until he reconquered the country. That was something, and I think China will still hold her own in Turkistan. Another matter that Colonel Etherton raised touched me very closely. I have just come from an Opium Conference at Geneva. The opium problem is an interesting one. I do not think this is the place to discuss it, but I was extremely interested in the statistics that Colonel Etherton gave us of smuggling opium into Chinese Turkistan. Chinese Turkistan has an area of some 300,000 square miles, and a population of about two million, and in that region there is no Chinese opium grown at all. But it is a very mixed population, and these people go into Russian territory and grow opium, and bring it across. The situation in China generally as regards opium is simply this—that from 1907 to 1917 China did her very utmost to suppress opium, and in 1917 opium was suppressed in China for all practical purposes. Unfortunately, there has been a very considerable recrudescence of opium; there are various estimates, from a tenth to a quarter of what it formerly was, but in China there is, I still hope, enough public opinion to stop that in time. There is an immense amount of opium being smuggled into the country from other parts. I think those are all the remarks I have to make, excepting as to the republic.

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China is a republic, and I agree with Colonel Etherton that China is not suited for republican institutions. But I see no alternative; there seems very little chance of China ever reverting to a monarchy. That whole question was thrashed out at the time the Manchu dynasty went down. Unless a successful general arises there is no one likely to take over the responsibility in China again. Yuan-shi-kai—the ablest man China has produced for some generations—tried it, but he failed, and no one else is likely to follow his example. It would not unite China. The south would never have an emperor again, I am afraid. There is a large intelligentsia class who have been educated abroad; they are the people who direct the policy of the country, and no matter what the peasants think it is the intelligentsia that will guide the destinies of China in future. But the republic has certainly not been a success so far. I remember when the republic was introduced into China first there was an American adviser, a man very close with the Government. I asked him one day: "What do you think of this republic, and how is it working"? He replied: "I would rather run an ice-cream factory in the lower regions than a republic in China." (Laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN: I hardly venture to ask, but I should be very grateful if Miss Sykes would kindly give us her experiences.

Miss SYKES: I have really nothing to add to this most interesting lecture. My brother and I were in Chinese Turkistan during 1915, before the Russian Revolution, so we were able to enter the country by a comparatively easy route, travelling from Moscow five days and five nights on a branch of the Siberian railway to its termination at Andijan. We were struck with the immense fertility of Russian Turkistan and with the prosperity of its capital, Tashkent, but I appreciate what Colonel Etherton said about the difficulty of transport to and from Chinese Turkistan. It took us twelve days to ride to Kashgar from the railway, nine of which days were through a mountainous region, the highest part of the way crossing a pass of 12,000 feet. That rocky staircase, strewn at intervals with the skeletons of ponies, mules, and donkeys, was the recognized trade route, and bore witness to a heavy toll of animal suffering. It may give an idea of its difficulty when I say that my brother and I, walking for the most part, reached our halting-place at one o'clock, while our unfortunate animals did not arrive with their loads until nine o'clock, so often had they fallen on the track, slippery with melting ice.

The excellent slides which we have seen recalled vividly to my mind Chinese Turkistan and its peoples, and the Russian Pamirs, where I slept in the beehive-like homes of the Kirghiz, and rode on yaks. My brother and I met with the greatest friendliness wherever we went, as we rode through the string of oases from Kashgar to Khotan, and I wish all prosperity to the country. (Applause.)

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Sir CHARLES BELL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have but one brief remark to make. I should like to confirm what Colonel Etherton said about the extreme unlikelihood of any combination between Buddhists and Mohammedans. I have been connected for many years with the Buddhists of Tibet, and through them with the Buddhists of Mongolia; and, if there is any religion with which they would not under any circumstances combine, that is, I think, the religion of Islam.

I should like also to add my tribute to the very interesting lecture which Colonel Etherton has given us.

The CHAIRMAN: If nobody else has any remarks to make, I can only ask you to authorize me to convey to Colonel Etherton our best thanks for the excellent lecture he has given us, and I think we are also particularly fortunate in having heard the most interesting observations of such high authorities as Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir John Jordan; so, with your permission, I will thank Colonel Etherton most sincerely for the most instructive and interesting lecture he has given us. (Applause.)

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THE BUSHIRE-SHIRAZ ROAD, 1918-19

By Major-General J. A. Douglas, C.M.G., C.I.E.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, February 8, 1923. An address was given by Major-General J. A. Douglas, C.M.G., C.I.E., on "The Operations on the Bushire-Shiraz Road, 1918-19." General Sir Edmund Barrow presided.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The lecture this evening is on "The Operations on the Bushire-Shiraz Road," the well-known road that leads up into the heart of Persia; and the lecturer I need hardly introduce to most of you, as I expect all those who have served in the East are well acquainted with the name, at all events, of General Douglas, who commanded on that line during the operations. I will now ask you to give your attention to a lecture which, I am sure, will be both interesting and instructive. (Applause.)

THE LECTURE

Persia during the War was the scene of military operations in four different parts of the country. General Dunsterville has already described before this Society the achievements of the force which he commanded in the North-West; Sir Wilfrid Malleson has told us of the good work done under great difficulties by his Mission on and beyond the North-East frontier, and Major Blacker has added many details of hazardous enterprizes and interesting episodes while he was with the Mission. Further south Sir P. Sykes has narrated the vicissitudes and adventures of the forces under him; and I propose now to give a short account of the comparatively humble part taken by the troops in Bushire, and so to complete the tale of the operations of British, or British-led, forces in Persia during those eventful years.

The operations, which form the subject of my remarks, were at a late stage of the War, when all eyes were turned to the momentous events then taking place on the Western front, and I do not think that any reference was ever made to them in the English Press; consequently few people know that they ever took place. They involved no serious fighting, and I cannot claim that they were of any great importance—the interest of these small side-shows in remote countries lies, perhaps, mainly in the fact that they help us to realize how immense was the front occupied, wholly or in part, by the fighting forces of the British Empire, extending as it did from the western

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frontiers of India across Persia to Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt, thence carried on by the Navy to Salonika, and so through the north of Italy to France and the shores of Great Britain.

Before I touch on the actual operations, I must give a short account of the events which led up to them. Bushire has, for many years, been the headquarters of our activities in the Persian Gulf. Before the War we had there a Political Resident who was also the Consul-General for Fars, and was provided with a small guard of Indian soldiers; a post which, at the outbreak of war, had been held for more than ten years by Sir Percy Cox. There were also a Russian and a German Consulate-General, and France was represented by a Consul. It will perhaps be remembered that in 1914, before the Turks had definitely declared themselves on the side of our enemies, a brigade was sent from India and landed at Bushire, so as to be ready in case of emergency. When, a few days later, war with Turkey was declared, this force moved on at once towards Basra, leaving behind only a small garrison of one battalion. It was known at this time that the German Consul-General and his staff were actively intriguing against us, and doing all in their power to stir up the tribes in the neighbourhood to attack Bushire, with the object, presumably, of embarrassing us and drawing off troops from the more important theatres. The situation was somewhat delicate, Bushire being neutral territory, but it was finally decided to arrest the German Consul-General and his staff and deport them to India. I need only add that documentary evidence afterwards obtained fully justified this action.

Among the staff was a certain Herr Wassmuss, a dragoman of the Consulate, who, unfortunately, escaped arrest and fled to the mainland, where he took up his residence among the tribesmen near the coast. At first, well provided with funds, wearing Persian dress, and passing himself off as a Mohammedan, he succeeded, by means of liberal payments and still more lavish promises in the name of the German Emperor, in organizing a series of night raids in the peninsula, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Rishahr, a place about five miles south of the town itself, the site of the cable station and the Indo-European Telegraph Department's quarters and offices. Most of the Europeans lived in this neighbourhood, and the headquarters of the garrison were here. Though no serious damage was done, these raids produced a general feeling of insecurity, and necessitated the increase of the garrison to two battalions. To understand the situation, I must explain that the peninsula of Bushire is separated from the mainland by a strip of mud flat, known as the *Mashileh*. This is about ten miles across from east to west, and in its narrowest part about seven miles from sea to sea. The soil is mostly clayey; there is no regular road across it, and though light wheeled traffic can cross it in dry weather, the going is always very heavy in parts. After heavy rain, it is passable

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for pack animals only with difficulty, and at certain states of the tide and very high winds it is liable to be completely inundated by the sea. Where the east side of the Bushire peninsula abuts on this neck are low cliffs, precipitous in places and intersected by rocky ravines. The method adopted by the tribesmen was for small parties to cross the *Mashileh* early in the night, and, making their way through our outposts, to attack some European house or military establishment—transport was a favourite target—and after the nearest troops had turned out and much promiscuous firing had taken place, the raiders withdrew. A more ambitious attempt took place in September, 1915, when a force of some 600 tribesmen crossed over at night and concealed themselves in the ravines on the edge of the high ground preparatory to attacking our outpost line. Here they were discovered the following morning by our patrols, and after some fighting, were driven out on to the plain, where they were charged by a handful of cavalry and fled in disorder. After this, though the night raids still continued, the enemy were considerably disheartened by the losses they had suffered, and though Wassmuss still continued his efforts to organize an attack in force, they met with little response from the tribesmen.

It was Wassmuss who had organized the mutiny of the old Swedish Gendarmerie at Shiraz in November, 1915, which resulted in the arrest of our Consul, Colonel O'Connor, and the other British residents. These were kept in captivity at Ahram, a small fort in Tangistan, and the residence of Zair Khidar, the chief of the tribe. It was generally Wassmuss's headquarters. It was only about thirty miles from Bushire, and when I took over command at the latter place in February, 1916, I was anxious to send out a small force, and, by a sudden raid, to effect their release, and possibly the arrest of Wassmuss. It appeared to me quite a feasible project, but I was then under the orders of Sir Stanley Maude, to whom the project did not commend itself. With our hands full as they were in Mesopotamia, he was, perhaps not unnaturally, anxious to avoid the possibility of further complications in South Persia. The prisoners were finally released as the result of negotiations between the political officer and the local chiefs, who were by this time becoming somewhat distrustful of their German adviser, more especially as he was then very short of funds. He stayed on in the country, however, until after the Armistice, when he moved northwards, and was captured between Ispahan and Tehran. He was, I believe, deported from Persia.

After the release of the prisoners matters quieted down considerably, but the tribes remained passively hostile; the part of the Indo-European telegraph line, which ran from Bushire to Shiraz, had been entirely destroyed, and we were unable to repair it; the road was nominally open to caravan traffic, but the exactions of the Chiefs on the route were so preposterous as to make the cost of transport almost

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prohibitive. I calculated at that time that it amounted to more than £50 a ton—and trade was at a standstill. Thus, though the distance from Bushire to Shiraz direct was only 180 miles by one of the main caravan routes of South Persia, we had no communication with the troops there except *via* Bandar Abbas, and thence by a circuitous route of over 300 miles.

Early in 1917 the troops at Bushire were taken out of the Mesopotamian Command and put directly under India. At the same time the area of the Command was extended to include all garrisons in the Persian Gulf, and the Gulf of Oman, as far east as Muscat.

Sir P. Sykes has described the events in Shiraz, in June and July, 1918, when the Indian troops there were attacked by a large force of tribesmen, consisting principally of the Qashgais and their allies, and their position was rendered somewhat precarious by the wholesale defection of the South Persian Rifles he had raised. In June, when it appeared as if the attack might develop into a more widespread movement, a move from Bushire was contemplated, but at this, the hottest season of the year, no operations could have been carried out in the low country without entailing very heavy casualties from the climate. The garrison of Bushire was, however, reinforced by two battalions, and as it seemed probable that, unless some strong action was taken, another similar, and perhaps more serious, situation might develop in the autumn when the tribes were moving southwards to their winter quarters, it was decided to make preparations for an advance to open up the road when the weather became cooler. While fully recognizing that the energetic action taken by the troops at Shiraz was the main factor in preventing the movement from spreading, and in bringing about the downfall of the Qashgai Chief and his following, I have no doubt that the arrival of these reinforcements, and the rumours circulated of an intended move from Bushire, had a considerable influence on the result.

The difficulties to be encountered were chiefly physical, and due to the nature of the country to be traversed. No serious opposition was anticipated from the local tribesmen, nor indeed were they capable of opposing an organized advance, but there was some uncertainty as to what the attitude of the Qashgais might be when their country was reached in the neighbourhood of Kazerun, and it was considered advisable to have a brigade available to meet contingencies in that direction.

The first serious obstacle was the *Mashileh*, which, as I have already said, was at all times difficult for wheeled traffic, and rendered quite or almost impassable for days together after heavy rain. Once across that, our route lay over fairly easy and flat country as far as Borazjan, thirty-nine miles from Bushire, and thence over gently undulating ground to Daliki, fifteen miles further on, beyond which the hills were entered.

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Daliki is the first place along the road where there is a good supply of sweet water. In the country between it and the coast water is almost everywhere scarce and brackish, and it was difficult to supply at all a large force. The Rud Hilleh river is salt, though animals will drink the water. Daliki stands about 400 feet above sea-level, and from there to the Kazerun valley, 3,000 feet high, the road lies mostly through rocky defiles, with two very steep and rocky ascents, never to be forgotten by those who have travelled over them. These are the Kutal-i-Malu, where the ascent is about 1,200 feet, and the Kutal-i-Kamarij, not quite so high. Beyond Kazerun again another very difficult ascent, the Kutal-i-Dukhtar, led to the Dasht-i-Barm, and a few miles further on there was a final long climb up to the Kutal-i-Pir-i-Zan, the top of which is about 9,000 feet high. Thence the descent to the Shiraz plain, some 5,000 feet above sea-level, is comparatively easy and gradual.

At this stage of the war, the number of mules available in India was small, and quite insufficient for our requirements, and though camels could be used as far as Daliki, only mule transport could negotiate the road beyond that point until it had been greatly improved. To get over the transport difficulty, it was therefore decided to build a light railway as far as Borazjan; originally it was intended to continue it to Daliki, but detailed surveys of the ground showed that the difficulties were greater than we had anticipated, and to avoid the delay which the extension would have entailed, a cart-road was made, and supplies from railhead to the foot of the hills were carried on light Ford lorries. This left all the pack transport free for use beyond Daliki when the railway and road were completed.

Another difficulty was the water supply in Bushire itself, which is not only deficient in quantity, but is so brackish that it has a most trying effect on those who are obliged to drink it. I except the inhabitants of Bushire, who have presumably become inured to it. Before the war, Europeans had always obtained their drinking water from the weekly mail steamers. In 1916 a condenser was erected, but though the output from this was enough for the normal garrison, the water question made any considerable concentration of troops impossible. We had, therefore, to arrange that the additional units from India should not arrive till those in Bushire had moved forward, and Daliki was the first place where they could be concentrated in any force.

By the 24th of September, the preparations at the base had been completed, and the railway constructed to just outside our outpost line. Meanwhile, the Persian Government had agreed to the movement and had sent orders to their officials to co-operate. Needless to say, these orders produced no effect whatever on the tribes, who had for long been independent of all Government control. The three local

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chiefs of Tangistan, Chahkutah, and Borazjan, through whose country our route lay, and who in normal times derived their revenue almost entirely from "rahdari," an illegal impost on all caravans passing up the road, had sent an ultimatum saying that they would allow us to repair the telegraph, but that they would oppose the construction of a railway to the last drop of their blood. With some 600 followers, they had entrenched themselves at Chaghadak on the far side of the *Mashileh*, and occupied the date groves in its vicinity. It was necessary to dislodge them before the work of carrying on the railway could be proceeded with. This was done on September 28 by a small column of one battalion of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and two guns, who crossed over very early in the morning. The enemy bolted as soon as their flank was turned and before the guns could get into action, leaving their tents and all they had with them, including 20,000 rounds of ammunition, and after a little skirmishing in the date groves, our columns occupied the wells at Chaghadak and Ali Changi. Our losses in the fight were three killed and two wounded. This action completely quelled all organized opposition, and though afterwards our patrols were sometimes fired on, our camps sniped at night, and though skirmishes between small parties occurred, little damage was done on either side, and they in no way interfered with our progress. Before I go any further, and in case anyone should be disposed to criticize the operations from a purely military aspect, I would again lay emphasis on the fact that this was in no way intended to be a punitive expedition. My instructions were very clear that the object was to open up the trade route to Shiraz and to restore the telegraph line, and that no military operations were to be indulged in except such as were necessary to carry out these objects.

Owing to the treacherous nature of the ground in parts, the construction of a railway across the *Mashileh* was not an easy task, and it was not till the 22nd of October that it reached Ahmadi, twenty-one miles from Bushire. Its construction and all operations were also hampered by a serious outbreak of influenza among the troops early in October. Our hospitals were full to overflowing, and several battalions were practically out of action. Fortunately with us the epidemic was not of a severe type, and the percentage of deaths among the troops was comparatively small, but it was thought advisable to delay the arrival of other units from India until the epidemic declined. It was far more severe among the Persians, especially at Shiraz, and among the Qashgais and other nomad tribes, and also among our troops at Shiraz.

On the arrival of railhead at Ahmadi, the leading troops moved on to Borazjan. There was no opposition; the chief of Borazjan, who was amongst those who fought against us at Chaghadak, after hesitating for some time, finally decided to take to the hills, and a successor

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was appointed by the Persian Governor of Bushire. Daliki was occupied a fortnight later, and the troops at once got to work on improving the road beyond Borazjan. The remaining troops from India were now arriving, and were pushed on up the line as they came, and by the middle of November the concentration was completed, and the force was organized as follows:

(1) A striking force of four battalions of infantry, a mountain battery, a machine gun company, and a field company of Sappers and Miners. This force was commanded by Brigadier-General Elsmie.

(2) Two battalions of infantry, including the Pioneer battalion laying the railway, two squadrons of cavalry, and a field company of Sappers and Miners for work on, and defence of, the line of communication. They also had a labour battalion attached.

(3) One battalion of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and an improvised battery of artillery, who formed the garrison of Bushire.

The total strength of this force was about 11,000. The Indian troops with Sir P. Sykes at Shiraz had also been put under me in August.

As soon as the road was fit for wheeled traffic up to Daliki, the striking force got to work on the approaches to the Kutal-i-Malu. At this time we had some trouble with hostile tribesmen in the Filifili Pass, which is the defile where the road first enters the hills. These fired into our posts at night, and made several attempts to ambush the picquets protecting the working parties as they were on their way to their positions on the hill tops. This necessitated our sending out small columns to try and round them up, and though in this we were unsuccessful, the village in the hills where they had their headquarters and where they had collected supplies, was occupied and the supplies destroyed, and after this they ceased to trouble us. By the end of November railhead had reached Borazjan, though the line still required a considerable amount of work to consolidate it, and make it capable of carrying supplies for the whole of the striking force. The latter, working with great energy, had so improved the track through the Filifili Pass and the approaches to the Kutal-i-Malu as to make these easily passable for camels. They were then preparing to tackle the Pass itself. Hereafter the procedure was for the striking force to move slowly on ahead, making a practicable track for camels as they went; the Pioneers, with the other company of Sappers and Miners and the Labour corps, remained behind to consolidate the railway track, complete the bridges, and then to make a well graded and more permanent cart-road from railhead onwards.

It is difficult to convey to anyone with no experience of the roads in Southern Persia what the old track up the Kutal-i-Malu was like. From the bridge over the river an easy track followed the right bank for about two miles, and then turned northwards into the hills and

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commenced to ascend. For the first two miles the gradient was in most parts comparatively gentle, and the track, though rocky and narrow in many places, presented no great difficulty to loaded mules. It then turned up a deep depression from the top of the range with a very steep ascent of about a mile. A zigzagged and paved track had at some period been constructed, but the stones had worn smooth with the passage of many caravans and this combined with the steepness of the gradient made it almost impossible for mules and horses to keep their footing on it. It had, therefore, been discarded in favour of a very steep, narrow, and rocky track running up the opposite side of the ravine, often ascending by a series of steps cut or worn in the rock. Though the distance from Daliki to the top is only eleven miles, I find that in 1911, with two squadrons of the C.I. Horse and a convoy of about 600 mules, it took us seven hours—from 6 a.m. to 1 p.m.—before the bulk of the column was at the top, and even then the rear-guard was far behind, looking after animals which had fallen or cast their loads. We found it impossible to make anything of this track, and a complete re-alignment round the far side of the spur which ran on the east of the ravine was necessary. The men of the striking force, however, worked with the greatest keenness, and assisted by the Sappers and Miners, ably directed and inspired by General Elsmie, by the 19th of December they had not only completed a good camel road to the top, but had carried it on some nine miles further across the Khisht plain to Charum, which was at the foot of the Kamarij Pass. When one considers that this work was done entirely by troops with no previous experience of road-making, and that from Daliki to the top of the Pass it entailed much heavy rock-blasting, and that they had also to be constantly on their guard against attack, it will, I think, be admitted that it was a very creditable performance. With the aid of their working parties they had also got a small detachment of Ford lorries up the Pass and these were able to work between the top and Charum.

The next obstacle to be tackled was the Kamarij Pass, the ascent of which, though rather shorter than the Malu, was still steeper and more rocky. This would bring us to the Kamarij Plain, practically on a level with the Kazerun Valley and distant only twenty-two miles from Kazerun itself. The self-appointed ruler of Kazerun at that time was one Nasir Divan, a local chief who, with a following of about 600 men, had taken an active part in the fighting against our troops at Shiraz, and we knew that he was trying to collect men to hold the Pass against us. In the lower part of the Kazerun Plain we should also be in contact with Qashquli branch of the Qashgais, and there was some uncertainty as to what their attitude would be. Reconnaissance showed that the top of the Pass was occupied by riflemen, though not in very great strength, but a good position was found for our mountain guns,

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and the day following our arrival at Charum, the Pass was taken with a loss of only one sepoy killed and one Indian officer wounded. This was due largely to the excellent arrangements for covering fire made by General Elsmie, as the troops had to attack up a very steep hill side, and though the enemy were few in numbers, probably not more than 150, many of then held on stubbornly, retiring only when our men reached the top.

Once established in the Kamarij Plain, we were in a position to occupy Kazerun at any time we wished should the political situation render it advisable, but local supplies were scarce and our communications were not yet sufficiently improved to enable me to feed anything but a very small force there. The troops were, therefore, employed as before in making the road passable for camels. The old track up the Kamarij Pass winds up the side of a steep, and in places precipitous, ravine where no decent alignment was possible, and a good deal of reconnaissance was required before a practical alternative route was found, following up the left bank of the Shapur River for four miles and so turning the Pass on the west. The making of this road and the improvement of the track onwards to Kazerun kept the troops busy for several weeks. Meanwhile the Qashquli chiefs had come in to see me, and expressed a desire for friendly relations, and so relieved us of any anxiety on their account. Not that much trust was to be placed in their protestations of friendship, but it was found that the tribe had suffered so severely from the influenza epidemic, losing several of their chiefs and a large proportion (probably not less than 20 per cent.) of their fighting men, that they were in a very humble mood, and incapable of offering any serious opposition to our column. Nasir Divan had fled from Kazerun, though with a small following he was still lurking in the neighbourhood, and a new Governor appointed by the Governor-General of Shiraz had been sent there.

By the 25th of January the advanced troops had completed their road up to Kamarij, and from thence onward to the foot of the Kazerun Plain. It was only a good camel track up the ascent, with no pretensions to being fit for wheeled traffic, but with some assistance from the working parties several light lorries had been brought up it, and could be used in the road beyond Kamarij. By this time the communications in rear had been sufficiently improved to enable us to keep up a constant stream of the necessary supplies, and, on the 27th of January, Kazerun was occupied by the headquarters of the striking force and two battalions without incident. The following day the force from Bushire joined hands with the troops from Shiraz who had advanced to Mian Kutal, a caravanserai situated on a spur some way below the top of the Pir-i-Zan Pass and twenty-one miles distant from Kazerun. We had now completed our task of opening up the road throughout, and it remained only to finish the restoration of the telegraph line.

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It must not be supposed that everything was quite plain sailing, and that there were no difficulties to contend with. The influenza epidemic kept many of the troops out of action for some weeks. An outbreak of cholera at Daliki in the earlier part of the operations caused some anxiety, but was fortunately prevented from spreading. The locomotives at first sent from India were not sufficiently powerful for the work required of them, and an extra strain was put on the railway by the necessity of sending a daily supply of drinking water to all detachments along the line between Bushire and Borazjan, as it was found that the brackish water along the route, though drinkable in case of necessity, had an injurious effect on the health of the troops when continued for long. At the end of December and beginning of January heavy rains and the irruption of the sea flooded the *Mashileh* and considerably damaged the railway track. The temporary bridge over the river at Ahmadi was swept away, and all this took some time to repair. Meanwhile there was considerable difficulty in keeping up the supplies for the advanced troops, and Colonel Tytler, who was in charge of the line of communications, had many anxious days.

The restoration of the telegraph line was a somewhat lengthy business. Not only had the offices been completely wrecked, all instruments destroyed, and all wire removed, but the large iron posts which carried the wire had almost everywhere been taken away. Being hollow, the villagers found them very convenient for use as water pipes and for other similar purposes. Beyond Daliki these heavy posts could only be carried on camels, and though a light telegraph line was run through immediately behind our foremost troops, with the many other calls on our transport their conveyance and the completion of the permanent line was slow work. So far as I remember, it reached Kazerun some time in February, and, from thence, parties working from both ends took it on to Shiraz a few weeks later.

By the time we reached Kazerun the troops had become so experienced in road-making, and both officers and men took so much interest in the work that, in order to keep them occupied, it was decided to employ them in improving the road onwards towards Shiraz. The very steep and rocky ascent of the Kutal-i-Dukhtar, the Pass of the Maiden, we could do nothing with, but a practicable line was found by which it could be turned to the south. Beyond the top about five miles of easy and gradual ascent leads to the fort of the last of the Kutals, the Kutal-i-Pir-i-Zan, or Pass of the Old Woman. This, though longer than any of the passes further south, was not quite so difficult in other ways. It was an ascent of something over 4,000 feet in about six miles by a zigzag, rough, and rocky track up a wooded hillside, steep in many parts, especially near the top, but still somewhat less formidable than the obstacles we had already surmounted. The nature of the ground, too, lent itself better to re-alignment. This

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kept the troops busy until the beginning of April, by which time the track had been so far improved that General Elsmie, whose brigade had done the work, was able to take a Ford car to the top of the Pass, and thence on into Shiraz, the latter part of the road having been taken in hand by the troops of the Shiraz garrison. General Elsmie was always somewhat reticent as to the amount of assistance from the working parties required on the steeper parts of the ascent, but those who knew the road in its former state will admit that it was something of a feat to have taken a car under its own power from Bushire to Shiraz, even if it did require a little pushing at some of the worst places.

In the early part of the year a second Labour corps had been sent us, and while the troops were busy improving the upper part of the road, the Pioneers and the two Labour corps were engaged in making a good and, as I then hoped, a permanent, cart road from Borazjan onwards. This, of course, entailed a great deal of re-alignment and much heavy rock blasting on the hilly portions, as the camel track made by the troops had gradients as steep as one in ten, while the gradients on the cart road were, I think, nowhere steeper than one in fifteen. By the middle of April I was able to leave Bushire in the morning by train to Borazjan, and with two Ford cars and two light lorries to meet us at rail-head, we reached the top of the Malu Pass by 1 p.m., with no enforced stoppages except those required to fill up our radiators on the long ascent.

A small party from the Survey of India was attached to the force, and was able to make for the first time a detailed map of the whole of the road from Bushire to Shiraz and a good deal of the country on both sides of it, including areas which had never before been explored. When we left, I was able to arrange for them to remain in Shiraz for the summer, where, I have no doubt, they were able to extend their survey considerably. So far as I can ascertain, their work has not yet been published in any form accessible to the public.

After the declaration of the Armistice with Turkey, I had asked that a few aeroplanes might be sent me from Mesopotamia, and a flight arrived early in January, and were very useful in reducing to submission any of the remoter villages which were inclined to give trouble and so avoiding the necessity of small expeditions into the hills. In February I went by aeroplane from Kazerun to Shiraz. The visit was in the nature of an official entry, representatives of the Governor-General and other leading men among the Persians, as well as most of the British officers of the garrison, being assembled on the landing ground to meet me. As a dignified arrival it was hardly a success. My pilot, flying high over the hills north of Kazerun, arrived above Shiraz at an elevation of about 12,000 feet. He then cut off his engine and spiralled down, but, unfortunately, when flattening out near the

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landing ground, the engine refused to pick up, with the result that we came down in a very heavily irrigated field some hundreds of yards short of our mark. The aeroplane, after going a few yards, stood on its head with the propeller buried in the mud, and after hovering for a few uncomfortable seconds in a perpendicular position, when we were uncertain whether it was not going to turn a complete somersault, finally subsided into a semi-recumbent attitude, from which we had ignominiously to climb down into the mud.

During the three days I spent in Shiraz, the Governor-General did his best to induce me to persuade our Government to leave a garrison there. Possibly his recommendations were not wholly disinterested, as, taking advantage of the security afforded by the presence of a British garrison, he had carried his exactions far beyond the recognized limits, and was somewhat doubtful what would happen when our protection was withdrawn. He solved the difficulty by returning to Tehran before the last of the troops left, and shortly afterwards, as is not unusual in such cases, he was put in prison, and doubtless made to disgorge a good deal of the riches he was credited with having amassed.

Orders for the withdrawal of the bulk of the troops were received early in March, though, owing to the difficulty of providing the necessary ships to transport them, it was not till the end of April that the move actually commenced. One battalion and a mountain battery remained at Kazerun, and a battalion at Bushire with a detachment at Borazjan. The remainder of the line was taken over by the South Persian Rifles. After the mutiny of the greater portion of this force in 1918, the remainder had been disbanded and an entirely new force raised. These were recruited chiefly, with the assistance of the Persian officials, from the settled tribesmen in the vicinity of Shiraz and from other elements likely to develop into good fighting men; the Persian officers were carefully chosen, and under the able command of Major W. A. K. Fraser, now our military attaché at Kabul, they promised to develop into a very fairly efficient body of men. They were, at any rate, a great advance on any of their predecessors, and I confidently believe that they would in a short time have been able unaided to police the whole road between Shiraz and Bushire. For two years after this their fate hung in the balance, and I cannot but think that the decision finally arrived at, to discontinue the contribution towards their support made by the British and Indian Governments, and so to bring about their disbandment, was a mistaken policy. With some hope that the security of the line would be maintained, I believe that some enterprising firm would have come forward to take over the railway and the road we had with so much labour constructed, and possibly to continue the cart-road through to Shiraz. With the disbandment of the South Persian Rifles, and the consequent almost certain relapse of this part

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of Southern Persia into its former state of chaos and anarchy, it is not to be wondered at that no one would risk their money in the country. Compared with the millions we have spent in Mesopotamia, the sum required was almost negligible. Eventually the railway was dismantled and removed, and the road, neglected and never repaired, is no doubt rapidly deteriorating, and will continue to do so until it is in a state little, if any, better than that in which we found it.

It is in the south of Persia, the country south of a line drawn roughly from Seistan on the east to the neighbourhood of Kermanshah, that our interests, both strategical and commercial, lie. It is a tract inhabited mainly by nomad tribes, where the orders of the Tehran Government carry little or no weight, and where it is only by playing off one tribe against another that the Persian officials, unsupported by any armed force, can maintain a semblance of authority. It is a country in which, so long as we hold India, we cannot afford to see any foreign Power predominant.

Lord Curzon, in his book on Persia, written more than thirty years ago, has remarked that "Since Sir John Malcolm first landed at Bushire, in 1800, down to the present day, Persia has alternately advanced and receded in the estimation of British statesmen, occupying now a position of extravagant prominence, anon one of unmerited security. At one time she has been the occasion or the recipient of a lavish and almost wanton prodigality; at another she has been treated with penurious meanness." And so it has been since this was written. So long as the Russian menace to India continued to haunt the minds of statesmen and soldiers, Persia occupied a prominent place in the politics of the Middle East; since the entente with Russia removed anxiety on that score, she has gradually sunk into the background. We have yet to see what the policy of Russia is to be when she emerges from the state of chaos into which she is now plunged; but if Bolshevist activities are any guide, we may expect that Persia may again be made use of to threaten our Indian possessions. We have heard lately of agreements between the Turks and the Soviet Government, and between Angora and Kabul, but an alliance with the Shiahs of Persia, "feeble as allies and impotent as foes," as Lord Curzon has described them, is hardly likely to be courted by her Sunni neighbours to the east and west, or the Christian Power to the north.

Her weakness, indeed, invites aggression, and the rich provinces to the north-west and north have before now excited the cupidity of the peoples coterminous with them. Every true friend of Persia must, therefore, view with regret the present attitude of her Government towards Great Britain, inspired as it doubtless is by pressure from outside; for it may well be that before long she may be in need of a powerful friend who, from motives of self-interest if for no other reason, might be ready to come to her help.

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The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—After an interesting lecture of this kind, which also has been very instructive regarding the nature of the roads of Persia, I hope there are members of this Society who will now join in a discussion, and thus add to the interest of the evening.

Sir ARTHUR HARDING: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have listened to this lecture with peculiar interest, and for many reasons—one, that General Douglas and myself co-operated together in Persia for a considerable period before the war, and travelled and worked together in many parts of it. I, myself, have in a sense partaken of some of the General's experiences in the rugged and difficult country which he has just been describing to us, for it was my duty to ride from Tehran to Bushire in order to meet the Viceroy of India, then Lord Curzon, who was about to pay a State visit to the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and I remember very vividly those horrible passes—the Pass of the Old Woman, the Pass of the Daughter, and the one that is known as the Accursed Pass—of which it is difficult to say to which we are to assign the palm for discomfort and, sometimes, where a rider is not mounted on a very sure-footed horse, positive peril. I remember, when I was at Shiraz on my way down, calling on a man of great sanctity who lived there, and telling him what apprehensions I had, and the reverend gentleman presented me with a sacred ring which had for a long time belonged to him and had derived additional sanctity from being on his finger, and he assured me it would guarantee me against all possible dangers of the Kutals. I accepted it very gratefully, and I am bound to say that its magic effect was not only instantaneous, but instantaneous and constant; for at each Kutal I managed to get down, sometimes getting off and leading my horse, but without ever being pitched from his back. I fully share in the admiration with which those of you who have heard General Douglas's lecture must regard the excessively able and successful way in which the troops under his command negotiated this most difficult country. After the wonderfully interesting lecture which he has given—it is scarcely necessary for me to emphasize how difficult and how laborious a task it must have been, and, I think enormous credit attaches to the officers in charge of these complicated and difficult operations. It seems to me that they could hardly have had a more fitting chief than General Douglas, for he is thoroughly accustomed to these wild tribes and their disagreeable ways; and once, during my own stay in Persia, he was badly wounded during his travels in Luristan. The effects of the wound are no more visible than are the effects of the laborious campaign which he underwent in the hot neighbourhood of Borazjan and Bushire, and which has left him as young as, if not younger than he was when we laboured together at Tehran. (Applause.) Well, ladies and gentlemen, what

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he has told us makes him, to a certain extent, an important pioneer, because, as he has told us, Persia was one of the few countries at the time the war broke out, claiming to be civilized, which possessed scarcely any railways—a little single line from Tehran to Shah Abdul-Azim being the only one on which trains could move by steam. All the time we were there, great railway projects were constantly being discussed, but I doubt whether any of the schemes actually embraced the difficult task of a railway junction between Tehran and Bushire through the Kutals. There was talk of lines down to Ahwaz, through a very similar country, or down to Bandar Abbas, or best, and most practicable of all, if the Turks would have allowed it, and they probably would—because of the profits of the corpse traffic—from Baghdad to Basra. All these schemes fell through, largely, I think, because of the jealousies of Great Britain and Russia; whatever was proposed by one would be vetoed by the other, and to this day there are no railways in Persia of any importance. In fact, I presume that Persia, during the last few years, has been in a state of retrogression rather than progress. When we were there, the situation was somewhat different. The struggle with Russia, which, to a certain extent, was terminated by her defeat in the Japanese war, was still at its height. Russia was, in those days, pursuing her path of conquest, by gold rather than by arms, by continual loans to the Persian Government, by acquiring that monopoly of furnishing supplies which has been the secret of the ascendancy of the House of Commons in this country, and, in fact, by reducing the Shah and his rather venal body of surrounding ministers and high functionaries into mere recipients of Russian gold. That state of things could only be met on our part by our financing the Persian Government in our turn. It was difficult to do so, because they had no means of raising an internal loan, and their treaty with Russia precluded them from making any foreign loan except with St. Petersburg. The only way we could get over that was to use the Imperial Bank of Persia, which was an English institution disguised as Persian, to advance certain funds supplied to it by the Government of India. That, to a certain extent, helped to break the power of Russia; and it was completed by the catastrophe in Japan. The Persian Government in those days affected a certain sympathy with Russia; but I remember being told by a Persian prince that, when the news arrived of the final defeat of the Russian fleet, the Heir-Apparent to the throne of Persia, who it was thought was by way of being a strong Russophile, called him back and said, "Is the news really true?" and he added, "It seems too good to be true." Then he hastened, with all his courtiers, to condole with great cheerfulness with the Russian representative. As a mere commentator—a respectful, admiring, and sympathetic commentator—on my old friend General Douglas's most inspiring paper, I had better resume my seat; but

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I feel sure that all those who have heard his lecture will have derived much interesting information from it, as well as from the admirable illustrations by which he has rendered it more vivid. These enabled all of us to appreciate far more fully, and in a far more lively manner than we otherwise would have done, the most interesting address which he has given us. (Applause.)

Sir GEORGE KIRKPATRICK : Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The operations which General Douglas has described in such an interesting manner were really the closing stage of a series which, when viewed in retrospect from the beginning of the war, have very outstanding characteristics. In the first place, it must be remembered that with operations in a country such as Persia, where whole districts will be affected by the success or the non-success of a small body of troops, then what in the big theatres of war would be regarded as not merely minor, but insignificant, operations become in themselves of great importance. Now when war broke out, to the authorities of India Persia presented a great problem. We soldiers wanted to save all our troops, all our forces, all our material, and all our transport for theatres of major importance, where decisive results would be obtained ; and we looked with disfavour on any proposal for a diversion of force. But, unfortunately for us, owing to Herr Wassmuss, of whom you have heard, we had to deal with the problem of Southern Persia. We were troubled by a series of attacks, minor, but none the less harassing and anxious, on account of the feature which I have mentioned—that the reverse of a small body in those parts would have great political results throughout that region, and would be magnified beyond all measure in the reports that would be circulated. It became apparent that we should have to restore order. That restoration of order was done in Southern Persia in two divisions. After some local operations on the borders of Mekran, the South Persia Rifles, under Sir Percy Sykes, undertook the opening of the roads and restoration of order in the provinces of Kerman and Fars. Then during this period the troops at Bushire had a time of patient waiting. Their patience was sorely tried, not only by the provocation which was put upon them through the local tribesmen, inspired by German agency, but also by the natural desire to rescue their fellow-countrymen and fellow-countrywomen who had been captured at Shiraz, and were in captivity just outside their outposts. At the same time the higher military authorities directing operations could not run the risk of any failure in such an undertaking as that to release the prisoners, nor could they spare the forces to make a certainty of that operation. Therefore, as General Douglas mentioned, we had to wait. Well, after a period, in which these communications were restored, came another time early in May, June, and July, 1918, when, probably largely influenced by German successes in France, the situation in Persia—in Southern

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Persia particularly—most distinctly depreciated. It resulted in the rising of Shiraz, against which Sir Percy Sykes made headway, and afterwards he did much to restore order. We had then to consider the question of the restoration of the communications, and it became evident that amongst the communications the most important was the road from Bushire to Shiraz. We had had accounts of its difficulties; we knew that in General Douglas on the spot we had a commander well acquainted with the road, and the tribesmen, and the difficulties to be met. We realized our good fortune in that, and we deliberately then began to make preparations for what we knew must be a very methodical and arduous operation such as General Douglas has described; and we managed to be able to supply him with some railway material and sufficient mules to enable him to advance slowly stage by stage. It is of great significance to note that in this campaign we put to use mechanical appliances in a country where really it was very doubtful whether it could be done. A point General Douglas has not mentioned—very modestly—is that unless the operations were completed as arranged the climatic conditions in a very few weeks would have increased the strain on the troops beyond all measure. He has told you how he carried through the operation, and in doing so he has not, perhaps, done himself full justice—although he has his troops. It was due very largely to his previous knowledge, to his careful foresight, and to his methodical preparation that he was enabled to carry out that work successfully. Remember that Bushire itself is an undeveloped harbour; in fact, it is no harbour. Ships of any size have to lie one or two miles out. There are no proper landing appliances and no proper roads into the port itself. There were no means of handling, when he first got it, the railway material with which to construct his initial railway, and no proper place to store his supplies; and he was faced always with that mud marsh of Mashileh before he could get to dry land. Remembering these things, I think you will agree with me that not only was his lecture exceedingly interesting, but it was a very modest account of his performance. (Applause.)

Mr. Donald Mellor: Mr. Chairman, we have listened with very great pleasure to General Douglas's lecture, and to all of us who take an interest in the development of a country like Persia, and the outposts of India, I think we must agree that the work which General Douglas directed will always stand as a monument to his ability and energy. I think with the last speaker that he has certainly underestimated the work that he did himself; for it is very well known that without a good leader the men would not work. In these things also the general public very often forget the energy of the officers and of the men, from the highest down to the lowest, that has to be put through in carrying out such an undertaking. I very much regretted, when reading the other day as regards the railway through Baluchistan

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from Quetta, that there was a hint that part of that line, if not all of it, is to be taken up. That was mentioned by one of the papers with regret, which I re-echo myself. That line, although not exactly a gold mine, certainly has developed trade along the route to a remarkable extent; and to those gentlemen like General Douglas, who have done good work in the outposts of the Empire, it must be a galling thing that work which they have carried through so conscientiously, and which, if it had been backed up in England, would have led both to further development and towards the peace of the world, has not been seconded as it should have been.

The CHAIRMAN: If no one else will say anything more, it remains for me to make some comments. To me the most interesting feature of all in this discussion has been the clear conception that has been given to us, both by lantern illustrations on the wall and by the lecture and the discussion, of the immensely difficult road over which General Douglas succeeded in taking his troops. That road is, of course, a historic road. It has been used for hundreds, even thousands, of years, and, I suppose, originally it was fairly well aligned and probably fairly well kept. But you see the results of Asiatic rule during these long ages. When you looked at those pictures that were put before us you could appreciate what is meant in Central Asia by the term "road." A road is nothing like what we are accustomed to in this country, or anywhere in Europe; and some of the so-called roads that I have been over, and which are designated in our maps by beautiful thick lines, have shown me how deceptive our own maps often are when dealing with countries with which we are unacquainted. Once you have been over those roads you know that a map road is of little use to you until you have been over it yourself. Another point I would like to mention is that we were very fortunate during the war in having available for this particular job an officer like General Douglas, who knew the country thoroughly. He had been over that road, I suppose, half-a-dozen times before the war, and therefore was thoroughly acquainted with the difficulties he would have to cope with, and could make previous arrangements which would suffice to overcome them. That, I think, illustrates very clearly the fact that in Asiatic countries the difficulties of warfare must not be measured solely by the fighting. The main difficulties are moving and feeding troops. On that subject General Douglas, if time had permitted, could no doubt have told us a good deal more than he did, but it is evident that his troops largely overcame those difficulties by their own labours. They reconstructed this road; and the road, though bad from our point of view no doubt, was infinitely better than anything that had been seen in that part of Persia for a very long time. I am sure you will all join with me in giving a very cordial vote of thanks to General Douglas for his interesting lecture, and the trouble he has taken in putting

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before us the difficulties of his little campaign. (Applause.) One word I would like to add; it is with reference to remarks made by the last speaker—I am sorry I did not catch his name. He expressed great regret that the labour of those generals and officers in distant lands should be thrown away, and all those roads disappear into the oblivion that their predecessors so justly merited. But I do not think that is the case altogether. I hope in these more civilized times something may happen which will enable Persia in the future to be more readily accessible to trade and commerce, either by railways or by good roads. We have two approaches which may help us in future. One is the approach from Mesopotamia, a good deal of which was improved enormously during the war, and the other is the approach from Quetta, viâ the Nushki line, to Duzd-ab. That railway still exists, and I hope it may continue to do so; because already the trade by it has enormously increased. Mention of that fact will give some satisfaction to the last speaker. Ladies and gentlemen, in your name I propose a very cordial vote of thanks to General Douglas. (Renewed applause.)

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EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA

By H. B. Morse, LL.D.

At Versailles, in 1919, the Chinese delegates demanded the abrogation of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, as being a derogation from her sovereign status. The claim was rejected; but in 1921 it was again preferred at the Washington Conference. There the claim was admitted to the extent of recognizing that the privilege is a derogation from China's sovereign status, and a Commission has been appointed to proceed to China and examine into the further assertion that the administration of justice in that country has so far improved that foreign jurisdiction may with safety be abolished. The same claim has now been made for the Turkish dominions, and it is advisable to see how the privilege was acquired in China, and what it is.

From the earliest times peregrinating traders have claimed the privilege of carrying with them the law to which they had been born: the Phœnician traders along the coasts of the Mediterannean, the Greek traders following in their steps, and the Arab traders voyaging to China in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era. Foreign conquering invaders have generally left the conquered in the full enjoyment of the law to which they had been accustomed: the Frank in Gaul, the Norman in England, and the various Kitan, Nüchen, Mongol, and Manchu invaders and conquerers of China. In A.D. 824 the Constitution imposed by Lothair on the city of Rome provided that each resident was required to designate the code—Roman, Frankish, or Lombard—under which he wished to live and be judged; the Roman might elect to be hanged for murder, and the Frank to be allowed to compound for it by payment of weregeld.

For traders the privilege endured to a late period. In his Carta Mercatoria of 1303 Edward III. of England granted to foreign traders the right to have suits, by or against them, tried by a jury of six citizens of London and six merchants from the same town as the foreigner party to the suit. In 1199 Venice obtained a capitulation from the Emperor at Constantinople granting extraterritoriality to her traders, and in 1207 a treaty in the same terms was negotiated between Venice and France; in 1304 Genoa obtained at Constantinople a similar *privilegium aurea bulla nostra munitum.*

The States of Europe abandoned this practice between themselves as, in each case, the Government came to be based on law and not on the will of the governors; the law of the place then became paramount, and it was not to be set aside for the benefit of a foreign trader. But

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when European traders came into relations in the Levant with Asiatic rulers, their respective laws were found to be incompatible: no Venetian or Genoese would willingly, or could in reason be expected to, submit himself to Moslem law, based on the Koran, and no Moslem could obey a law whose chief exponent was the Pope. The Saracens at Alexandria entered into an extraterritorial arrangement with Pisa in 1154; and at Constantinople the Turks took over the same procedure from the Greek Empire which they displaced, maintaining it in force until October 1, 1914.

The Europeans coming to China found a vast and well-organized empire, with a reputation for unconquered strength. The first comers, the Portuguese, had had no trade with the Levant and no experience of extraterritoriality; nor had the next comers, the Spanish; nor, as an independent State, had the next, the Hollanders; and none of these claimed the privilege in China. The English had had a grant of extraterritoriality in the Levant since 1583, and the French since 1535; but coming to China, the one in 1637, the other in 1660, they both followed the example of the earlier comers.

The absence of extraterritorial protection created no difficulty in matters of trade during the whole of the factory period, which ended in 1842. The Chinese have never in the past brought their own civil cases into court, but, having experience and a wholesome dread of the action of their own magistrates, they have invariably settled them in their gilds. The foreign merchants trading at Canton were in the hands of their "security" merchant, a member of the Co-Hong, or Gild-Merchant, of Canton; if a dispute arose between the two, it was settled amicably, or, when that was not found possible, the settlement was subject to the dictation of the security merchant. This method worked smoothly, and the foreign traders, engaged in a profitable trade, accepted the situation as a necessary evil, quite dwarfed by the extortion to which they were subjected.

It was the execution of the criminal law which drew their attention to the need of further protection. Against the foreign merchants there was not one charge brought during the whole of the factory period; but their trade was carried in ships manned by heavy crews, and at Whampoa (the anchorage, ten miles below Canton) there would at times be thousands of sailors, full of life, rejoicing in the touch of land after many weary months of the sea, and bent on pleasure. Bloody murder might have been expected on many occasions; but during a period of two centuries, from 1637 to 1833, only sixteen cases of violence are recorded committed by foreigners, and during the same period five cases of murderous assault by Chinese on foreigners. The death penalty was inflicted on four foreigners only for the cases in which they were implicated; but those four brought home to the responsible authorities the necessity for the protection of their own

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laws. One (an Englishman) had been tried by the Portuguese court at Macao and acquitted, but was retried by the Chinese and executed; one Frenchman killed a Portuguese in self-defence, but was tried by the Chinese and executed; one, English, was executed as being the gunner on the ship *Lady Hughes* from which a salute had accidentally killed a Chinese; one, American, on the ship *Emily*, had dropped an earthen jar which struck on the head of a woman in a boat and caused her to be drowned, for which he was executed.

The Chinese criminal law had been codified very clearly, and is accessible in Staunton's translation of the Tatsing Leuli. The law of homicide may be summarized as follows:

1. Wilful and premeditated murder is punishable by beheading.
2. For homicide during an affray, though without any express desire to kill, or killing another on suspicion of theft, or being accessory to a murder, the penalty is strangulation.
3. Persons who kill or wound another purely by accident (in such way that no previous warning could have been given) may redeem themselves from punishment by paying a fine to the family of the person killed or wounded. The legal amount of this fine, fixed by the Code, was Tls. 12.42 (£4 2s. 9d.).
4. Killing in lawful self-defence is justifiable, and not punishable.

To this law, if justly administered, little objection could be made except on one point; but that was vital. Chinese law judged solely by the result. If a life was lost (except when judged by the court to have been by pure accident) the law took a life in payment. The Chinese carried this to an extreme, and in several recorded cases they demanded a number of lives equal to the number lost, in order to satisfy public opinion among the fellow-villagers of the dead.

The nations of the West adopted a different principle. With them it was the intention which was important. In England (during the period of the factory days at Canton) any attempt at premeditated murder, even if neither death nor wound followed, was punishable by death. By two laws of 1828 and 1837, attempts which did not result in wounds were removed from the category of murder; and in 1861, for the first time, was the death of the victim made a necessary factor. The English (the most numerous element among the merchants and in the shipping) insisted on the necessity of proving intention and premeditation; and, after the surrender of the gunner of the *Lady Hughes* in 1784, refused to surrender any more accused persons for trial in a Chinese court.

The spirit of the Chinese judges was another factor which had to be taken into account. In their opinion, foreigners had no proper understanding of the principles of reason. A truly civilized people, such as

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were the Chinese, must understand that "reason is never so feeble that it must needs be reinforced by might"; whereas, during three centuries of common relations, foreigners had shown a facile inclination to resort to force whenever any impediment arose to prevent the attainment of their end. The Chinese then, confident in their monopoly of reason, confident also in the unshaken strength of their universal Empire, held an innate conviction that, *prima facie*, their countrymen, belonging to a civilized race, must be in the right as against those of a rude and unlettered stock. These judges, too, belonged to a class of officials who were notoriously the most corrupt of any then existing in the world; who, even a century later, had made no advance in the direction in which the rest of the nations were moving, to integrity and impartiality in their public officers; who were always ready to prostitute their official position for the sake of gain or for racial prejudice.

Another element was the certainty that torture would be applied to any person under trial in a Chinese court. Torture was not unknown to the nations then represented at Canton, but its use had long before been discarded in the West. Of the three most numerous nationalities, the Americans had never known it, except as applied to them by the Red Indians; the Dutch had abandoned it in their legal procedure; and it was not in common use in England after the time of Elizabeth, or in Scotland after James I. and VI. In England it endured longest to break down the obstinacy of accused persons who "stood mute," refusing to plead; in 1658 Major Strangeways, standing mute, was pressed to death in about ten minutes, "iron being laid on him as much as he could bear and more"; in 1726 one Burnwater, accused of murder and standing mute, was pressed for an hour and three-quarters with 4 cwt. of iron, and then consented to plead; in 1772 it was enacted that standing mute should be taken as equivalent to a plea of guilty, and in 1827 as a plea of not guilty. For extracting evidence from witnesses torture has not been applied for more than three centuries in the more advanced nations of the West; and in England and America an accused person is further protected by being exempted from interrogation, and by the legal presumption that he is innocent until the prosecution has proved him guilty.

In China, the foreigners found, the theory was the same as in the West, but in practice the prisoner was presumed to be guilty until he was clearly proved to be innocent; and his trial was for the purpose of publicly establishing the charge and determining the penalty. In the case of the American ship *Emily*, in 1821, the magistrate conducted a first trial on board; he heard the evidence for the prosecution, refused to allow that evidence to be interpreted, refused to hear argument or testimony for the defence, and adjudged the accused guilty. After this mockery of a trial and farce of a judicial decision, the accused was put in irons on board ship, but was not surrendered. The

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trade of all flags had been stopped, and the stoppage continued; and, a week later, the prisoner was surrendered. He was taken into the city, tried again (no one from the ship or the foreign community being present), was again adjudged guilty, was executed by strangulation, and his body returned to the *Emily*, all within twenty-four hours.

China, it was further found, was governed on the doctrine of responsibility; for every unlawful act, someone must be found to accept responsibility—the act of God, *force majeure*, circumstances over which one had no control, were excuses not recognized in Chinese law. Among the Chinese the father is held responsible for every act committed by any member of his family; the whole village for any act committed within it; the magistrate for the detection and punishment of any crime in his district; Governor and Viceroy for the maintenance of order in their jurisdiction. This responsibility is personal; a village elder might be executed (or, perhaps, tortured and ruined in purse) for a murder committed by some person unknown; a Viceroy might be cashiered (or, perhaps, left in his office humiliated by the deprivation of his honours and titles) for failure to suppress brigandage.

The same doctrine of responsibility was applied to the foreigners. In one case (British ship *Neptune*, 1807) fifty-two sailors of the crew were involved in a riotous affray in which one Chinese lost his life. Every effort was made during two months to fix the personal responsibility; twice were investigations conducted on board, but the guilty person could not be found; the supercargo was held personally responsible for producing the guilty man; the responsibility was transferred to the English Headman (the President of the Select Committee of the Honourable East India Company); during the whole of these two months all the English trade was stopped; and finally the Chinese accepted one sailor as guilty of "accidental homicide" (penalty 12.42 taels = £4 2s. 9d.), and the trade was re-opened.

In every case that occurred the foreigners contended that the charge should have been one of accidental homicide or of killing in self defence; while in every case the Chinese held that it was killing in an affray, with or without intent, the penalty for which was strangulation. The English surrendered none of their accused after 1784; but, in several later cases, offered to send their men as prisoners to England, there to be tried and punished according to English law.

The Americans had at that time in their own country laws which were much less ferocious than those of other Western nations; but, in their dealings with the Chinese, they accepted the Chinese standpoint to a date much later than the others. In the case of the *Emily*, in 1821, they declared to the Chinese authorities: "We are bound to submit to your laws while we are in your waters; be they ever so unjust, we will not resist them." This was their public policy; but their personal feelings as expressed in their private correspondence, were the same as those of the English.

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The idea of granting extraterritorial jurisdiction to the foreigners was not at first repugnant to the Chinese. In 1687, at Amoy, a sailor of the *London*, being drunk, broke into the Custom House and committed a robbery, involving under Chinese law the penalty of death; all that the authorities demanded was that "a due punishment might be given to him by ourselves according as, in our opinion, ye crime meritted; wch was inflicted in Publick view ashoare by 100 Stripes wth a Catt of nine Tails & Pickle, to their satisfaction."

In 1729 the supercargoes of four of the English Company's ships, bargaining for admittance to the port of Canton, demanded "that we desire there may be no Punch houses erected at Wampo, that so all quarrells between our Sailors and the Chinese may be prevented, and that we may not at Canton be accountable for any such accidents, it being impossible for us to be answerable for them at such a distance; and that if any of our people should be found to be the Aggressors in any Broils between them and the Chinese, that we ourselves only shall inflict such punishments upon them as they shall deserve and according to the Laws of our Country."

This was extraterritoriality, granted at haphazard, but never acted on for over a hundred years.

The English fought with China the war which was ended by the treaty of Nanking in 1842. In this treaty, imposed on China after her defeat at all points, any terms might have been inflicted; but Lord Palmerston, in his instructions, had directed his plenipotentiary that, if the Chinese Government were willing to cede an island [Hongkong or Chusan] to serve as an entrepot for the trade, then only the national questions, and not those concerning trade, should be definitely settled. Accordingly the treaty provided for the cession of Hongkong, the opening of five staple ports, the appointment of Consuls, a money indemnity, the abolition of monopoly, a uniform and moderate tariff, and equality between the officials of corresponding rank of the two nations; but it made no stipulation for jurisdiction by British courts over British subjects. This was secured by the General Regulations for Trade published in 1843, in which it was declared that "regarding the punishment of English criminals, the English Government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them in force; and regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws."

The American policy had been to accept Chinese jurisdiction over American citizens; but Mr. Caleb Cushing, Commissioner of the United States to negotiate a treaty, found good reasons for abandoning this attitude of acquiescence. There had been several attacks by Cantonese rowdies on foreigners in the grounds of the foreign factories. On June 16, 1844, a party of Americans was attacked, and they were driven to defend themselves; and, in the affray, a Chinese was killed.

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The Chinese soldier guard gave no protection; and the Viceroy Kiying, a Manchu, declaring that the Cantonese were a turbulent people, warned Mr. Cushing that they would probably demand a life for a life. They did so demand, but Mr. Cushing refused to submit the case to Chinese jurisdiction; and he convened a jury of six Americans, who found that those implicated in the affray had acted strictly in self-defence. During the same period an American was killed by Chinese soldiers, and in this case Mr. Cushing left the offenders to the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities.

In the American Treaty of 1844, signed two weeks after this affray, the procedure in criminal cases was declared somewhat more explicitly, but in similar terms to that laid down in the British Trade Regulations; but, in his instructions to Consuls, Mr. Cushing declared categorically: "In my opinion, the rule which obtained in favour of Europeans and Americans in the Mohammedan countries of Asia is to be applied to China. Americans are entitled to the protection and subject to the jurisdiction of the officers of their Government." This policy he maintained in later years in his considered opinions as Attorney-General of the United States.

The French Treaty of 1844 was very precise in its assertion of criminal jurisdiction, declaring in addition: "Il en sera de même en toute circonstance analogue et non prévue dans la présente convention, le principe étant que, pour la répression des crimes et délits commis par eux dans les cinq ports, les Français seront constamment régis par la loi française."

Extraterritoriality was now fully established in criminal cases. The need for it in civil cases had, as has been stated, not been felt during the factory period at Canton; but, with the abolition of the monopoly of the Co-Hong, foreign merchants of all nations and of all classes were brought into direct relations with Chinese merchants of all classes. The monopoly had come to an end, but the Chinese merchants continued to work together in their gilds, while the foreigners, always individualistic and self-dependent, were as a flock of sheep in the presence of the united Chinese. Protection in civil cases was felt to be necessary, but the foreign merchants had not yet put into concrete form the best way of supplying their need, when the plenipotentiaries of four Powers (England, France, America, and Russia) negotiated their treaties of 1858. All these treaties provided clearly for consular jurisdiction in criminal cases, but, for civil cases, only provided for the recovery of debts through the courts of the debtor; the French Treaty, however, repeated word for word the clause in the Treaty of 1844:

"Il en sera de même en toute circonstance, etc."

Extraterritoriality in civil cases, to the full extent of present-day practice, grew up through the weakness of China, and the inability of her officials to execute the functions of their offices. Through the first

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half of the nineteenth century sporadic risings had been of frequent occurrence in almost all of the provinces, loosening the bonds of obedience to the law, spreading everywhere a feeling of unrest, and interfering seriously with the ordinary emoluments of the officials; and, by 1850, there existed throughout the whole empire a condition almost amounting to anarchy. Order was not maintained, justice was not rendered, the officials were held in contempt; and these last were driven to expedients, beyond those customary, to supplement their emoluments which had been seriously curtailed. Then arose the Taiping rebellion. Starting in the poor and mountainous province of Kwangsi, the rebels marched north through Hunan, conquering, devastating, and increasing their forces, as they advanced; and, by the end of 1852, they made good their footing on the Yangtze, by the capture of the triune cities Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang. They pushed down the Yangtze, and, on March 19, 1853, took by assault the former capital of the empire, Nanking, having overrun and devastated the major part of six provinces, while other risings gained their footing in other provinces. In the summer of 1853 not one of the eighteen provinces of China proper was free of rebels, and many—even the majority—were dominated by them. The Manchu resident garrisons were massacred to a man, and woman, and child; the Chinese armies were saved by timely withdrawal, the officials saved themselves by flight, and millions of civilian refugees streamed to places which, they hoped, would provide shelter from the devastating hordes, some thousands even as far as Shanghai.

Piracy, of the sea and of the river-ways, is endemic among the Chinese; and during this period sea piracy was rampant along the coast. The authorities, civil and military, were quite incapable of dealing with it, and such check as was imposed on it was imposed by the ships of the British Navy. In 1847 H.M. brig *Scout* brought into Amoy three pirate junks. In 1849 Commander J. C. D. Hay, with 3 ships, the largest mounting 16 guns, destroyed a piratical fleet of 23 junks, carrying 12 to 18 guns each and manned by 1,800 men; in the same year, with 3 ships, he destroyed 58 out of a fleet of 64 pirate junks, carrying 1,224 guns and manned by 3,150 men; and in March, 1850, with one ship, he destroyed a fleet of 13 pirate junks: these three actions were all in Cantonese waters. In 1855 H.M. brig *Bittern*, 12 guns, destroyed on the Chekiang coast a pirate fleet of 23 junks, carrying nearly 200 guns and manned by 1,200 men, the *Bittern's* loss being 2 killed and 15 wounded.* During these years the Chinese authorities were in a constant state of friction with foreign interests; even in May, 1858, when England and China were openly at war, and during the days when the allied British and French forces

* To commemorate this action a memorial window was erected by public subscription in the Parish Church of Bisham-on-Thames.

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were taking the Taku forts by assault, H.M.S. *Surprise* destroyed a large piratical fleet at Lintin; and all these operations, including that in 1858, besides many others of less importance, were undertaken at the request of the Chinese authorities, and were carried out with the co-operation, ineffective though it was, of Chinese government ships. During all these years the burden of protecting British merchants and shipping was thrown entirely on the British authorities and the British Navy, and was never assumed by the Chinese authorities.

If any foreign Power was to undertake the duty incumbent on the Chinese, it was obviously England, since the greater part of the trade was British. In 1855 there were resident in Hongkong and the five Treaty ports of China 1,038 adult male civilians, of whom 377 were at Hongkong, 334 at Canton, and 243 at Shanghai; and this total of 1,038 was divided among 111 English firms, 45 British Indian, 23 American, and 31 of all other nationalities. The proportion of the trade may be gauged by the export trade of Shanghai in 1853, when the total value of all exports was 24,000,000 dollars; of this sum, 14,500,000 dollars was the value of shipments by English merchants in British ships, 8,500,000 dollars by American merchants in American ships, and 1,000,000 dollars under all other flags.

These particulars serve to illustrate the extent of the foreign trading interests, and the impotence of the Chinese officials at the time, September 7, 1853, when the administrative city of Shanghai, protected though it was by strong walls, was seized by surprise by a body of Triad rebels, claiming affiliation with, but not recognized by, the Taipings at Nanking. The next day they made an irruption into the foreign settlement, sacking and burning the Custom House which dealt with the foreign trade; but thereafter, for seventeen months, they remained besieged by tens of thousands of Chinese troops, but continuing to hold the city against all assaults. Of the territorial and fiscal officials, some were killed when the city was taken, and others escaped to the foreign settlement, finding there a refuge under the protection of the extraterritoriality enjoyed by the foreign residents.

The foreigners were confronted by a difficult problem. For many years they had not obtained the protection which it was the duty of the Chinese Government to give them; and, after the events of the two days, it was obvious that the Chinese authorities could not offer any resistance to the rebels. On the other hand, the Government had for twenty years been in a state of acute conflict with the foreign interests, and this conflict had been temporarily alleviated, on paper but not in fact, by the Treaties of 1842 and 1844; and the foreign interests, while giving a personal refuge in their settlement to the dispossessed officials, could not agree to their exercising their functions, collecting their revenue, and conducting military operations, under the protection of foreign guns, foreign prestige, and foreign privilege. The foreign

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Powers in general were at the moment represented by merchant Consuls—Portugal, the Netherlands, Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, Prussia, Denmark, and Siam by English merchants, Spain by a Portuguese, Sweden and Norway, Russia, and the United States by an American (the first official United States Consul arrived in February, 1854); the French (official) Consul had national interests of very small importance; and it fell to the British Consul, Mr. Rutherford Alcock, to take the lead in all matters of common public interest.

Mr. Alcock was a man of marked personality. After a period of distinguished service with the British Legion in Spain, he was appointed one of the first Consuls to China under the Treaty of 1842. At Amoy in 1844, and again at Shanghai in 1854, he upheld the right of the Consul to protect from molestation Chinese subjects in foreign employment; in 1845 he re-established British prestige, which had been impaired, at Foochow; in 1848 at Shanghai, on an occasion in which he conceived that the Chinese authorities had been neglectful of their duty of protecting foreign life, he boldly, with one gun-brig, declared war against the Chinese Government; and, on many occasions, he had shown that he was not afraid to assume responsibility in a time when the monthly mail was slow and telegraphic communication did not exist.

The three foreign Envoys declared for a strict neutrality between the Imperial Government and the rebels—the British and American after the fall of Nanking, and the French after the seizure of Shanghai —but the neutrality was declared to be conditioned by the necessity of directly defending any threatened foreign interest when directly attacked. Under this declaration, Mr. Alcock induced his two colleagues, Consuls of the two Treaty Powers, to join with him in asserting the neutrality of the foreign settlement in the struggle between the rebels within the city and the Imperial authorities and forces outside.

This neutrality produced a threefold effect. While the rebels in the city were hemmed in on three sides by the besieging troops, and on the fourth, the northern side, by the neutral foreign territory, they were at the same time protected from all assaults on that northern side, from which the Imperial troops were excluded. This exclusion was not pleasing to these troops, who found there a degree of personal safety not obtainable elsewhere; and, in the Battle of Muddy Flat, on April 4, 1854, some ten thousand of them, who had drifted in, were forcibly expelled from their coign of safety by a force of 200 sailors from the British and American ships of war, and 200 merchants of Shanghai. The city was evacuated by the rebels in February, 1855, but the neutrality of the foreign settlement was still maintained. In August, 1860, on the days on which the allied British and French forces were engaged in the assault on the Imperial forts

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at Taku, other British and French troops were manning the walls of the Imperial city of Shanghai and defending it from an assault in force by a Taiping army; and, in 1862, the two Allies undertook to protect Shanghai and to keep clear of rebels the territory within a radius of thirty miles around it—a duty which, even at that date, the Imperial forces were quite incapable of performing. It is not too much to say that, without this declaration of neutrality, and without this foreign military intervention, the seaport of Shanghai would have been taken by the Taiping army and the course of history changed.

A second effect was that the Chinese Government was debarred from collecting its Customs duties from the foreign trade of Shanghai. The Consuls tried one expedient after another to enable it to obtain this revenue, by some method which would not involve, on the one hand, the entry of armed Chinese guards into the foreign settlement, and, on the other, the giving of armed foreign protection to the Chinese officials engaged in the collection; but in the end it was found expedient, in July, 1854, to introduce a system of mixed Chinese and foreign control of the Customs—leading ultimately to the creation of the Inspectorate-General of Customs, the development of which owed so much to the genius of Sir Robert Hart.

A third effect was that the Consuls were driven to assume jurisdiction over the Chinese resident within the limits of the foreign settlement. In 1852 this territory comprised about 250 acres along the river-front, occupied by the houses and offices of the foreign merchants, and back of this about 400 acres, conceded later and intended primarily for purposes of recreation; within this square mile there were no Chinese resident, except the house and office servants of the foreign merchants. On the fall of Nanking many thousands of refugees fled to the only apparent place of safety, Shanghai; the disturbed state of the vicinity after the seizure of the city drove other thousands to the same refuge; and by the end of 1853 there were over fifty thousand, some with scanty means, some with none, all squatting in the open spaces of the foreign settlement. Year after year more thousands flocked in, and in 1860 the fall of Soochow and the consequent expansion of the area of Taiping domination drove in many myriads more, until, by the end of 1862, there were over a million and a half of Chinese refugees resident in the area reserved for foreigners, finding there under the foreign flags the protection denied them under their own. Policing, sanitation, protection, and feeding had to be provided for this host, and the task, unwelcome though it was, was undertaken with Western thoroughness by the small community of English and American merchants.

Authority, however, did not lie with the merchants. Many attempts were made to throw the burden of police jurisdiction on the Chinese officials; but there was the double difficulty, that Chinese

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armed guards could not be admitted to the foreign settlement, and that there were no funds available unless the Chinese could be allowed to exercise the taxing power within the foreign limits. The mercantile community then evolved the plan of making Shanghai a "free city," independent of all Chinese jurisdiction, and existing under the joint protectorate of the three Treaty Powers; but they were promptly called to order by the three Envoys at Peking, who reminded them that "the (English) Concession at Shanghai was neither a transfer nor a lease to the (British) Crown . . . and the land so acquired remains Chinese territory."

With the enormous Chinese population to be administered, some authority had, however, to be exercised, and the task was undertaken by the official Consuls, the British and the American, for what was afterwards the "International Settlement," and the French for his own. They dealt with all ordinary police cases, and the penalties inflicted were fines of moderate amount or imprisonment for a few days; criminals requiring severer punishment were sentenced to be handed over to their own authorities, involving expulsion from the foreign settlement. Mixed civil suits were commonly settled by Gild action or by friendly arbitration, as they had been in the factory days at Canton; but when they came before any Court, it was before a Consular Court. One such case occurred at Hankow as late as May, 1864, when the Oriental Bank brought suit before the British Consul against two Chinese for enforcement of a contract; judgment was given for the plaintiff in the sum of 68,232 taels (£22,000). The Chinese defendants probably regarded the suit as an arbitration, and paid the sum awarded.

After the suppression of the Taiping rebellion in 1864, the foreign authorities at Shanghai took early steps to restore to the Chinese officials their proper jurisdiction over their own subjects; but they had, at the same time, to safeguard the extraterritorial status acquired for the foreign settlement. They accordingly moved the Taotai to establish a Mixed Court for the trial of charges or suits, in which there was a foreign interest, brought against Chinese resident in the foreign settlement, or taking shelter there. The rules were amplified in 1869, and from time to time since, the latest amendment being in 1903; and they are based on the principle laid down in the British Convention of Chefoo, 1876, that "cases are tried by the official of the defendant's nationality . . . the law administered will be the law of the nationality of the officer trying the case"—but always with the further proviso that nothing shall be done to impair the extraterritorial status of the settlement.

The Mixed Court is a Chinese Court, presided over by a Chinese official, who is the deputy of the magistrate of the district of which Shanghai is the administrative centre; and this official, with the

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rank of sub-magistrate, is assisted in his administration of justice by an assessor deputed by one of the foreign Consulates. Appeals lie to the Taotai, sitting jointly with a member of the judicial committee of the Consular body; and irreconcilable disagreement between the Mixed Court sub-magistrate and the foreign assessor is referred to the diplomatic arm, becoming the subject of correspondence and conference between the Taotai and the senior Consul or the Consul directly concerned. (The appellations of the officials under the Empire are used in this account; their names and their functions have been changed under the Republic, and it is probable that they will again be changed, and not once only.)

We are now in a position to study the working in practice of extraterritoriality at the port at which it has been most fully developed—Shanghai.

The foreigner charged with a criminal offence against a Chinese, whatever the residence of either, is charged before his own Consul at the nearest Treaty port (British and Americans at Shanghai before special Courts not subject to Consular control), and tried and sentenced according to the laws of his own land (British by the law as in London, Americans by common law supplemented by statute law applicable to the District of Columbia). The Chinese have the right to send a delegate to listen to the trial, but have not customarily availed themselves of the privilege.

The Chinese, not resident in the foreign settlement, charged with a criminal offence against a foreigner, is charged, on the application of the Consul to the Taotai, before the magistrate of the district in which he lives, and is tried and sentenced according to Chinese law. The Consul has the right to send a delegate to listen to the trial, and if he dissents from the decision of the magistrate, his report becomes the basis of diplomatic correspondence between the foreign legation and the Chinese Government; in cases of murder, especially of missionaries in the interior, this right has invariably been exercised.

Civil suits brought by Chinese against all foreigners, and by foreigners against Chinese residents outside the foreign settlement, are subject to the same procedure.

Criminal charges (including all police cases) and civil suits, brought by a foreigner against a Chinese resident in the foreign settlement, are brought before the Mixed Court. The foreign assessor is supplied in rotation by the three Consulates—British, American, and (until 1917) German—having adequate staffs with a competent knowledge of the Chinese law and language; but any case in which a foreigner or other nationality is interested as complainant or plaintiff is postponed to await the presence of an assessor from the Consulate of the plaintiff's nationality. The assessor intervenes actively in this Court, assuming the functions of a puisné judge. In case of need, he imposes his

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judgment on the sub-magistrate, head of the Court; and, in case of disagreement, he may refuse to accept the decision of the latter. This Court decides all cases which may be settled by damages, fine, imprisonment, or the ordinary Chinese punishments of the cangue and the bamboo (flogging); but serious cases, for which, by Chinese law, the penalty is death, the cage, or banishment to the frontier, are remitted to the magistrate of the district for trial and ultimate decision; but in such cases it is the duty of the assessor to assure himself that the charge actually before the Court is fully substantiated, and is not the cloak for ulterior designs on the life and liberty of the accused.

Suits brought by Chinese, whether officials or private persons, against Chinese resident in the foreign settlement are brought before the Mixed Court. These present a real difficulty. No foreign interest has any desire to intervene in purely Chinese cases; but the foreigners hold that the extraterritorial status of the foreign settlement must and shall be maintained, and that this is impossible with two rival and incompatible jurisdictions covering the same field. In these cases the foreign assessor assures himself that the charge before the Court is fully substantiated, and is without ulterior motive; but he does not otherwise interfere with the decision.

At Shanghai the French have always followed a particularist policy, and have refused to consolidate their interests with those of the general mercantile community; there are two settlements, the French under solely French control, and the International under the control of all nations, including the French: and there are two Mixed Courts, one for each section. In criminal cases, the Chinese accused is brought before the Mixed Court of that settlement in which the crime was committed. In mixed civil suits, if the plaintiff is French, the case comes before the French Mixed Court; if a foreigner (not French), it comes before the International Mixed Court. If the Chinese defendant resides in the other settlement, he is brought, by a regulated procedure, to the Court having jurisdiction. Suits between Chinese are brought before the Mixed Court of the settlement in which the defendant resides.

While every foreigner is amenable to the jurisdiction of the officials and the law of his own nationality, certain corporate bodies, notably the Shanghai (International) Municipal Council, are not subject to the jurisdiction of any one nation. Suit may be brought against them, under the general principles of equity, before the Court of Consuls, composed of three members of the Consular body, elected annually by their colleagues.

This is extraterritoriality as practised in China, and specifically at Shanghai. It has been considered a necessary condition, if foreigners were to live and trade in China; and it has been a convenience to

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Chinese who, from 1853 on to 1923, have found at Shanghai, under foreign privilege, a shelter from rebels or from their own Government. It is not the object of this paper to consider whether the privilege should be abrogated or modified, or whether it should be retained; but it may serve a useful purpose to examine the points which must be borne in mind when the question comes up for consideration.

First, what is murder? The laws of Western nations require that to justify the death penalty proof of premeditation and intention to kill is essential; Chinese law prescribes the death penalty also for homicide during an affray, even when there is no intention to kill. How can these be reconciled? It would not be sufficient to change the Chinese law, since that is based on Chinese public opinion. No Chinese judge would be bold enough to brave the opinion of his countrymen by refusing to adjudge the death penalty if a Chinese life had been lost; and if the foreigner, charged with murder, were acquitted, the fellow-villagers of the slain man could be trusted to raise a riot, with its concomitant homicide and arson.

Suborned and perjured testimony is met in Western countries by cross-examination, but Anglo-Indians know the difficulty of applying this method to the East. In Eastern countries any evidence required is produced, even to the dead body of a victim still living; it has often happened that a body produced as that of a man murdered by violence has shown on medical examination no sign of external injury. In the East, when the Oriental judge suspects, or wishes to elicit, that evidence is false, torture is the method.

The accused, too, is tortured. The presumption is that he is guilty until he proves his innocence, and a refusal to confess his guilt is treated as contumacy and obstruction of justice. Moreover, by Chinese law an accused may not be condemned save on his confession of his guilt.

Chinese officials have always been corrupt; the best of them in the sense that Surintendant Fouquet was corrupt, while the worst may be likened to Verres in Sicily. The element common to Europe in the past and China in the present is that no suitor might win his just cause nor claimant obtain his just dues without feeing heavily the official who should decide, and all his subordinates. The Foreign Offices of Western nations will require to be well assured, beyond the adoption of a new constitution, that the Republic has improved on the methods of the Empire before they will consent to entrust the interest of their nationals to Chinese officials.

Under the Empire the judicial and administrative functions were combined in one official, while the constitution of the Republic has severed them, and provides for an independent judiciary. This is an improvement, but it remains to be seen if the severance will, automatically and without strenuous effort, secure the impartiality and the

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independence which are essential to the proper performance of the judicial function. The judges will still retain their feeling that their Chinese civilization is of a higher type than that of any of the Western nations; they will still be psychologically incapable of offending the public opinion of their countrymen; and they will still entertain the universal Oriental notion that the salary of an office is only a stepping-stone to its actual emoluments. If China should succeed in the great task of reforming its judiciary, and of securing an upright and unbiased Bench, the result will be weak judges; the profits of public office in China are so vast, that those who will consent to accept a judgeship will be the failures in public life.

There is no doubt that China suffers from some remediable abuses of extraterritoriality, abuses more common from the action of protected subjects of the British Empire than of natives of the United Kingdom. To the extent to which these can be remedied China has every claim to our consideration, but before she can claim the abstract restitution of her sovereign rights, before she can obtain the abrogation of extra-territorial privilege, she must first convince the nations enjoying that privilege that she has risen to their level, in practice as well as in theory; and she must remember that extraterritoriality, honestly and impartially administered, is a safeguard to China herself, protecting her from coercion for alleged maladministration.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS IN 'IRAQ

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN BAGHDAD

THE last *résumé* of current affairs in 'Iraq, which appeared in Vol. X., No. 1, of the *Central Asian Society's Journal*, dealt with the attitude of the people of 'Iraq towards the Mandate and the treaty, before the terms of the treaty had officially been made public, and before it had actually been signed, and ended with a reference to events in Southern Kurdistan and Anatolia, which were beginning to bring to the fore the question of the relations between 'Iraq and Turkey. It must be the duty of this article to dwell briefly on the treaty itself and the general trend of internal politics subsequent to its signature, and to trace with some care the important effects on this country of the Turkish successes in Anatolia and the consequent attitude of the Angora Government towards the world in general and towards 'Iraq in particular. If consideration of internal development appears to receive less careful attention than the course of foreign relations, it is only so because of the complete subservience of the former to the latter during the period under review.

Rawanduz, though actually regarded as lying within the frontiers of 'Iraq, has never, since the inception of the State, been effectively occupied by either British or local forces, and has always served as a centre from which the Turks were enabled to disseminate propaganda among the Kurdish tribes on both sides of the frontier. Itself a miserable collection of ruins, captured and recaptured during the last few years by Russians, Turks, and British until but a few habitable houses remain, and difficult of access from whatever direction it is approached, it none the less forms a centre peculiarly suitable for the dissemination of unsettling propaganda throughout the whole of North-Eastern 'Iraq and Southern Kurdistan, and in that alone lies the importance which the Turkish and 'Iraq Governments attach to its occupation.

At about the time of the Turkish defeat of the Greeks in Anatolia, the Turks very greatly intensified their propaganda in that direction, and with the arrival of only a small body of Turks, some of the Kurdish tribes on the 'Iraq side of the frontier were persuaded to join them. Detached posts of Imperial troops and levies, unable to cope with the situation, were withdrawn with a few casualties to the Kifri, Kirkuk, Arbil line, where they could be concentrated, and where the movement of reinforcements from one place to another could be much more easily and expeditiously carried out. This move required the evacuation of

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the *qadhas* of Rania and Koi Sanjaq, and left the town and district of Sulaimaniyah uncovered from the north and with its communications with Kirkuk and 'Iraq seriously threatened if the Kurdish tribes to the south showed any signs of being affected by the efforts of the Turks. There was indeed every reason to fear that these communications would be cut, for on them lay the house of Karim Fattah Beg, the Kurdish Agha, who, it will be remembered, had but a short time previously been responsible for the murders of Captains Bond and Makant, and who was at the time a fugitive from bands of levies and police who had been sent out to try and arrest him. It was therefore decided to evacuate the town and district of Sulaimaniyah, and all British, Indian, and non-Kurdish officials were withdrawn by air in one day, a very creditable performance on the part of the Royal Air Force.

In spite, however, of the somewhat hasty evacuation, Sulaimaniyah was not left open to the Turks nor to the general anarchy which might have been expected. Though nominally included in the State of 'Iraq, Sulaimaniyah had never been placed under the Arab Government, but had enjoyed a very large measure of local self-government, in that it had been under the supervision of a political officer advised by a local administrative council, and referring direct to the High Commissioner in Baghdad matters requiring the decision of a higher authority. This embryo organization for self-government was made use of when the political officer was removed, a prominent local sheikh being left in charge, assisted by the administrative council, the local levies, and the cash lying in the Treasury at the time. This action gave the sheikh and the administrative council a position which they were unlikely to hold if the Turks returned, and so gave them every reason to oppose the activities of the Turks, and things worked out in every way according to plan. A few days after the evacuation, permission was given to Sheikh Mahmud (who, on the first occupation of Sulaimaniyah by the British had been given considerable powers, but who had in 1919 risen in revolt against the British, been defeated, wounded and captured, and compelled to reside out of the country) to return if he wished. He did so, and set about the organization of local self-government under himself as "Hukumdar" complete with a cabinet and local governors. The immediate result of the establishment of local self-government in Sulaimaniyah, however, was that several of the tribes to the north, who had risen and joined the Turks, declared their intention of siding with Sheikh Mahmud, and dispersed to their home, while the small body of Turks retired shortly afterwards to Rawanduz.

Since that time air operations have been carried out in all places in 'Iraq territory where the Turks are known to have been, and as a result some of the area evacuated has been reoccupied, while a British officer has been up to Sulaimaniyah to see Sheikh Mahmud, and to advise him in the organization of his Government. No British officer

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is, however, remaining permanently in Sulaimaniyah, and communication between Sheikh Mahmud and the High Commissioner in Baghdad is maintained through a British officer stationed at Kirkuk.

Sheikh Mahmud's position in Sulaimaniyah is by no means an easy one. His sway exists only over that *liwa*, and order has to be maintained solely by local forces and the moral support of the British, who are no nearer to him than Kirkuk. Turkish propaganda is intense, and the future of Sulaimaniyah is obscure. There would appear to be only three alternatives—either that the whole of Kurdistan should coalesce into one independent state, which would absorb Sulaimaniyah, and be strong enough to resist encroachments from either Turkey or 'Iraq; or, secondly, that it should be granted a large measure of local autonomy under the suzerainity of 'Iraq; or, thirdly, that it should revert to the Turks, and obtain for itself such freedom as it can from interference on the part of the central government. Developments in this area will be watched with interest. Already attempts are being made to win over to Sheikh Mahmud the Kurdish tribes living in 'Iraq territory, and the mutual dislike of Arabs and Kurds for one another makes it not improbable that these efforts will meet with some success.

Meanwhile, the success of the Turks in Anatolia and their activities on the frontiers of 'Iraq had created a deep impression in 'Iraq. At first the feeling most in evidence was one of satisfaction at the victory of the Mohammedan over the Christian, but this was quickly followed by feelings of anxiety on the part of the more prominent politicians, who had associated themselves openly with the British Government of occupation or later with the Arab Government, lest the Turks, flushed with victory and with their onrush stemmed by the British forces at Chanak, might turn against the British in 'Iraq with a view to forcing their hands at the Straits. At the same time the attitude of certain sections of the Home Press, which loudly demanded the evacuation of 'Iraq, or at any rate of the vilaiyats of Mosul and Baghdad, made them very doubtful whether, if an attack was made by the Turks on 'Iraq, the British would oppose them, or merely give way to the demands of the evacuation section of the Press, and leave the Arabs to their own devices. These persons saw at once that the independence of 'Iraq was threatened and that the country had not yet the strength to stand by itself, and so it came about that many of those who but a month or two before had been bitterly opposed to the British, as the main obstacle in the way of the independence of the country, now warmly supported them as the country's only defence against the Turkish threat.

Among the more prominent non-political elements of the population, while the same satisfaction was felt at the success of the Mohammedan over the Christian and the prospect of the establishment of an independent Turkish State untrammelled by the interference of foreign

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Powers, it was felt none the less that the Kemalists were not to be desired as the rulers of that State. The Young Turks had but few supporters in 'Iraq, and Kemalist ideas smacked too much of the Young Turk to be palatable. When, therefore, the hand of the Bolshevik began to be more and more clearly seen in the policy of Angora, and especially when the news of the momentous decision regarding the Khalifat was made known, any pro-Turk feeling which this class of person may have entertained gave place to feelings of abhorrence, and to a determination to resist the return of the Turk to 'Iraq.

In the country as a whole, however, there is little doubt that Turkish propaganda has met with a considerable measure of success. The vernacular Press has indeed been full of anti-Turkish effusions, and has harped much on the national spirit of the Arab, which will not brook any encroachment by the Turks on lands which had been Arab since the days when the Turks were mere savages in the wilds of Central Asia, but the vernacular Press does not necessarily voice public opinion. Little notice is taken of what it says, and the fear that if any of the papers should express opinions which do not accord with those of the Government it will be suspended, limits very considerably the value of the local Press as an organ for expressing the views of the public. Among the mass of the people, and especially among the tribesmen, there exists no such thing as a national spirit, their vision extending no further than their tribe or even in many cases their own subsection of a tribe. Their readiness to listen to the Turkish overtures is accounted for to a large extent by the nature of the present Government. They do not understand it, nor do they know how to deal with it. In Turkish days they knew their position, and knew that they could usually get what they wanted for cash, while in the days of the British Government they knew equally well that bribery was useless. They now see the same officials of the old Turkish days back in office again, but with British advisers somewhere in the offing, and they are mystified. They know the official can be bribed; they have bribed him before, but neither the official nor the Arab knows quite how much the adviser sees or what will happen if he does see. It is this which makes many of them think that the days of the Turks were the best after all, and might be the best thing for the future. Even now that the Turkish menace to Mosul is really serious, the country as a whole is remaining entirely apathetic and there is no idea of national resistance, and indeed the more serious the threat becomes the less likely they are to show any spirit of opposition to it. It is only when they see which side will win in the discussion that they will come off the fence, and then a victorious Turkey will be received with acclamation or an unsuccessful one with scorn and vituperation.

Amid this intrigue from without, the signing of the Anglo-'Iraq treaty, which at ordinary times would have been recognized as an

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important milestone in the advance of the country towards national independence, has received but scant attention. The treaty, while not of course satisfying the extremist elements, fulfilled the immediate demands of the more moderate sections, though the announcement made at the time of the publication of the treaty that Great Britain would use her good offices to obtain the admission of 'Iraq to the League of Nations as soon as the boundaries of the State had been finally decided, was probably a source of greater satisfaction than the treaty itself.

Shortly after the signature of the treaty the Prime Minister, Sir S. Abdul Rahman, Naqib of Baghdad, handed in his resignation, and retired from the stage of active politics to make room for younger successors. He had held the post of President of Council, and later of Prime Minister, ever since the arrival in this country of Sir Percy Cox to set up an Arab Government after the rising of 1920, and had throughout shown a high sense of duty and patriotism. A very old man, and unable to move from his own house owing to physical disabilities, his mind had retained all the vigour of youth, and his wide knowledge of the country and of the people had always been of the greatest value. On him fell the brunt of the negotiations which led up to the Anglo-'Iraq treaty, and on him the difficult task of holding together a Cabinet in which some of the members were anxious to press for a much more complete measure of Arab control than the treaty actually allowed; and finally, after the treaty had been actually signed and published, on the Naqib fell all the blame for the clauses which did not find general approval, but none of the credit for the parts which gave satisfaction. The Naqib has certainly deserved well of his country for his great services at a time of peculiar difficulty, and there is little doubt that later generations of 'Iraqis will be quick to bestow on him the meed of praise which many of his contemporaries withhold.

The Naqib's place as head of the Government has been taken by Abdul Muhsin Beg as Saadun, a younger man of moderate views and considerable capabilities. Belonging to the famous Saadun clan, he has spent many years in Constantinople, where he sat as one of the deputies for 'Iraq before the War. He had served under the Naqib as Minister of Justice, and later as Minister of the Interior, and it was the ability he showed in those posts which gained him his rapid promotion to the head of the Government.

The treaty signed, it was important that steps should be taken to secure its ratification, and this can only be done by the National Assembly. An electoral law had been promulgated some months before, and within a few days of the publication of the treaty a royal *iradah* ordered that preparations should be made forthwith for the election of the National Assembly, whose principal duties should be the

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ratification or rejection of the treaty and the framing of the constitution. To this end committees were appointed to superintend the preparation of the electoral rolls and to scrutinize the credentials of candidates, but little progress has yet been made, owing to opposition which has arisen from two sides, religious and secular. The first blow came from the religious side, where some of the Shiah ulama of Kerbela and Najaf, incited no doubt by the irreconcilable extremists of Baghdad, issued a *fatwah* declaring participation in the elections to be an act of war against God and His prophet. The immediate result of this action was the resignation of the majority of the members of election committees in Kerbela and Najaf, and, no fresh committees having yet been appointed, the elections there are in abeyance. The action of the *ulama* had but little effect outside of the holy cities, and efforts made to persuade the Sunni leaders in Baghdad to issue a similar *fatwah* proved unavailing.

On the secular side the opposition came from a party largely influenced by ex-Ministers who have advocated the boycott of the elections as a protest against the present Government, in whom they declare they have no confidence. Their efforts have met with some success, owing to the Arab nature, which, as in the case of the Irishman, makes him on principle "against the Government," but the attitude adopted is one which has nothing to recommend it, and is rather a confession of weakness on the part of those responsible for it. By adopting it they admit they have not enough supporters to enable them to secure the election of their own candidates and obtain a change in the Government by constitutional means. This party has some support in Baghdad, but little outside. As a rule the people are evincing little or no interest in the elections which appear to be as far off now as they were three months ago. It is improbable that Government will have any time to devote to them until the Mosul question is settled one way or the other, and in the present state of affairs it would certainly be unwise to do anything which might give rise to internal disorders, which might be construed as demonstrations against the existing Government in favour of the Turks.

Internal politics, it will be seen, have been completely subservient to foreign affairs during the period under review, and are bound to remain so until the Turkish threat is removed and the future of Kurdistan finally settled. The path of the 'Iraq Government will be difficult for a long time to come, but many of its immediate obstacles will be cleared away if a satisfactory agreement is reached with Turkey, for with a hostile Turkey without her frontiers 'Iraq can never hope to maintain order and security within.

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MAJOR SOANE IN SULAIMANIYAH

MAJOR SOANE, after an absence from Iraq caused by the first attacks of the disease from which he was to die, succeeded Colonel Gordon-Walker as Political Officer at Sulaimaniyah in the spring of 1919. The Division had come under British control immediately after the armistice, and before the Allied Governments had formulated any consistent or feasible Kurdish policy. The regularly organized administration, which in the rest of Iraq had succeeded to the functions of the Turkish Civil Service, was not then extended to South Kurdistan, and the Division, by the enthusiasm of an itinerant English pro-Kurd, had been provided with a native "hukumdar," who was not entitled by education, birth, or character to the respect of his subjects or the immoderate subsidy granted to him from the public purse. Soane, therefore, came to Sulaimaniyah with instructions to regularize the government and to effect economies, a task which led inevitably to friction with Shaikh Mahmud, the native ruler. The rising followed naturally in the summer of 1919. It seems, indeed, that at first Shaikh Mahmud meant little more than to prove his indispensability to the Government, and with this design arranged a demonstration by Persian Kurds from across the border. However, in the resultant confusion, a British motor driver was killed, and the "hukumdar," now irretrievably committed, fought as he thought with a rope round his neck. All officers in Sulaimaniyah town were interned, and as the disorder spread the district officers were compelled to take refuge in Khanikin and Koi Sanjaq. Soane himself was on the way to Baghdad when the trouble began, and so escaped to render valuable services to the forces which suppressed the rising about a month later. The support received by Shaikh Mahmud was neither general nor enthusiastic, nor did the Kurds, except for the notoriously turbulent Hamawand tribe, show much more than their usual degree of constancy and unity of purpose, this in spite of the complete rout of the first relieving force on the Tashlujah Pass.

Unfortunately, the punitive movements which followed the final combat of Bazian were accompanied by more than the customary differences between military and political. It is said that the General Officer in command of the operations demanded from the civil authorities the removal of every Political Officer who accompanied the force, and though no action was taken in consequence, Soane determined, so far as lay with him, to dispense with the support of Imperial troops in

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the maintenance of order. Sulaimaniyah town was evacuated in the autumn of 1919, and only two small detachments of Indians at strategic points on the Kirkuk motor road remained to ensure communications with Baghdad. The internal security of the Division was mainly dependent upon Soane's prestige, based upon the fear inspired by his uncanny familiarity with the working of the Kurdish mind. He was, it is true, supported by a force of native levies which, under Captain Fitzgibbon, quickly attained a high standard of smartness and efficiency, but that officer himself assessed the mere presence of Soane in the Division at a brigade of troops.

After the removal of Shaikh Mahmud, the Government of the Division was reorganized with a higher personnel almost entirely British. Besides Soane himself, there were normally in the "merkez" sanjaq three Levy officers, two Assistant Political officers, a customs official, and a doctor. Of the four remaining sanjaqs, Halabjah, Chemchemal, and Rania were under British Assistant Political officers and Shahribazar under a Kurdish officer who had distinguished himself during the rising. At Halabjah the Government was powerfully supported by the Kurdish princess, Adela Khanum, who had entertained Soane in her suite during his journey in disguise before the war.

The succeeding year and a half was perhaps the most prosperous and peaceful in the whole history of Southern Kurdistan. Subject only to the not unsympathetic control of the Acting Civil Commissioner, Soane exercised an almost Eastern despotism. His unique local knowledge, his impatience of red-tape, and his strong anti-Arab sentiments, helped to secure for the province a degree of local autonomy which was not enjoyed by any other part of the occupied territories, and which caused much discontent among certain departmental chiefs in Baghdad. Soane had a short way with intruders into his kingdom. He made no pretence to having graduated at Whitehall, and the considered written expression of his views was not much less vigorous and racy than his private conversation on such topics as Arabs, Indianized officials, and General Officers. His memo's, therefore, sometimes gave offence to those who did not know him personally, or fell within these three antipathetic classes.

Soane was allowed considerable freedom in the selection of his officers, and collected round him a body of assistants who shared his devotion to Kurdish interests. They were all young men who adapted themselves readily to the customs of the country, attained quickly a good knowledge of the languages, and, in some cases, adopted the native dress. The result was an administration remarkably free from formalism, and, despite the nationality of the governors, more in accord with Oriental ideas than with British officialism.

While estimating the work of Soane and his assistants at Sulaimaniyah, it is necessary to form some idea of the state in which we

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took over the *liwa* from the Turks. Before the war the town of Sulaimaniyah had been not the Kurdish village that is generally supposed, but an important centre of civilization. It contained an agricultural bank, a secondary school, a primary and several elementary schools. By 1918 all these institutions had disappeared, and a large part of the population had died or fled from famine and disease. The empty houses fell into ruins, as the beams were looted and burnt for fuel by the survivors, and a large part of the land had gone out of cultivation.

Within two years of the armistice the ravages of war were almost effaced. As by mere duration the Government acquired stability, the land was brought again under cultivation, and, with the growth of public confidence, the people began to rebuild the town, which was partly re-planned by Soane. Motor roads were put under construction to Kirkuk, Kifri, Halabjah and Rania. Sulaimaniyah was thus being put into easy and rapid communication both with the outlying parts of the Division and with the Iraq plain. It was in these engineering activities that Soane took most pleasure. Though he was his own Minister of Finance, Director of Education, and Lord High Everything Else, he resented chiefly any interference in his scheme of Public Works. Engineers have been known to appear uninvited at Sulaimaniyah, but they usually retreated immediately in confusion on Kirkuk, to await further instructions from Baghdad.

Soane also gave much time and labour to the revival of the Kurdish language. It was substituted for Persian as the medium of official communications, and a newspaper in Kurdish was edited and largely written by Soane. The unsuitability of the Arabic alphabet to the Kurdish language caused some difficulty. Often only the writer and sometimes not even he is able to read written Kurmanji. Soane therefore assisted to produce an elementary reader in Latin characters for the use of schools in the Division. Time was lacking to prove the success or failure of the experiment.

Soane showed a certain distrust of education in general, for he rightly disliked to turn Kurds into "effendis." There is no doubt that, at least temporarily, Sulaimaniyah in respect of educational facilities was put at a disadvantage by the British connection. The Kurdish language is not yet a suitable medium for any but the most elementary instruction, and owing to the want of teachers no substitute for Turkish as the language of more advanced studies was found. Nevertheless, Soane made reasonable provision for education in his budget, and fairly efficient schools were maintained in Sulaimaniyah town, Halabjah, and Chemchemal. The Turkish school buildings were, however, as usual in Iraq, turned by the British administration to other and more practical uses.

It should be clearly understood that in all these administrative

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activities the only charge upon Imperial revenues was the cost of the small garrisons at Bazian and Chemchemal, and that the Sulaimaniyah budget balanced.

Soane never expected the love of his subjects. "Oderint dum metuant" was his motto, and fear him they certainly did. Surprise has sometimes been expressed that no attempt was ever made on his life. His intelligence service was of course excellent, and he was always attended by devoted personal retainers; but his best protection was probably the prosperity of the country, and that respect for efficient administration which, contrary to the general opinion, is usually shown by less civilized Orientals.

During the rising of 1920 the Division remained perfectly tranquil, but the establishment of the Arab government in the autumn of that year opened the door to Turkish intrigue. Anti-Arab feeling was strong among the Kurds, stronger indeed than any positive national sentiment, and uneasiness was not entirely allayed by the new High Commissioner's pledge that South Kurdistan should be allowed to exercise self-determination. Soane, of course, stood strongly for the independence of Suliamaniyah, and he was accordingly held to be an obstacle to the success of a policy which aimed at coaxing the Kurds into full participation in the Arab State. Soane was relieved of his functions in March, 1921, and two of his assistants resigned with him. Of those who remained in the Division the three most experienced have since been murdered.

It is impossible to say whether Soane or any man faced with the present political situation and the continued presence of Turkish filibusters at Rawanduz could have maintained order and prosperity indefinitely without the support of Imperial troops. But the strength of his régime is shown by its duration amid alarms and excursions for a further eighteen months after his departure, and for a year after all British and Indian troops had been withdrawn from Bazian, Chemchemal, and Kirkuk. On the whole it appears that the final collapse at Sulaimaniyah is not attributable to any defect in the internal government of the division. Rawanduz is outside its borders, and it is the central administration which bears the responsibility for neglecting that vital problem from September, 1920, onwards, and for the further mistake of readmitting political exiles to the Division. Granted these errors, all that can be said is that only Soane, if anyone, could have saved the position last summer. As things fell out, he lived in retirement and ill-health long enough to appreciate the disaster, while the failure of his work and the deaths of his friends, whom he felt that he might have been able to save, embittered his own end.

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THE ROMANCE OF ADEN

By Major H. Wilberforce-Bell

Assistant-Resident, Aden

History and romance are indissolubly bound up the one with the other, and perhaps there is no place or country on earth which, having some sort of history, has not also its romance. The two are handed down from generation to generation, and in Eastern countries in particular we often find the romantic predominate over the historic to such an extent that historical stories become distorted, and apt to be regarded as mythical and imaginative products—even the grain of historical truth which they contain being sometimes entirely hidden. Happy is the country which has its romance and history equally authenticated.

No one seeing Aden for the first time would connect either history or romance with its forbidding-looking rocks. And yet those same rocks contain both these ingredients in full measure, though they have to be sought assiduously. Aden has not got its historian, but there are many travellers' records to tell us something of its past, not least among which are the "Periplus"—that interesting and valuable account by a merchant sailor of the shores he visited sometime during the first century of our era—and the description left us by Marco Polo. For in the days of both these writers Aden was great.

Aden is a peninsula, situated on the south-east coast of the province of Yemen in Arabia. It is formed by a massive ridge, chiefly volcanic in origin, and having numerous small bays at its base. Two or three of these bays on the eastward side of the ridge formerly contained good anchorage for ships, and the ancient town and harbour of Aden were in the crater, of which the open side to seaward made at one time a deep and safe roadstead. This was the Aden of the ancients, and, indeed, until some fifteen years after the British occupied the town, in 1839, it remained what it had ever been. Even now merchant ships are sometimes seen to make for this old harbour, with disastrous results. For where in 1708 there was a depth of from twelve to twenty fathoms of water, there is now scarcely one fathom at high tide, and this silting-up led, in the "sixties" of the last century, to the practical desertion of the ancient roadstead, where, for 2,000 years and more, the ships of all nations had put in to trade, for a more suitable anchorage on the western side of the sandy isthmus which connects Aden with the mainland. Around this new harbour the present Steamer Point was formed, which became the seat of commerce and government. But the unchanging East refused to desert altogether

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the old site, and the vast majority of the 50,000 people which compose the population of the peninsula still live in the crater, which also is still the centre of commercial life, as it ever was.

The visitor to Aden may, or may not, be struck by its commercial or architectural attractions. But he cannot fail to be impressed by the lofty peak of Shum-Shum, which commands a view of the whole of the peninsula and of land and sea for miles around; by the fortified island of Seera, should he visit the crater with the idea of seeing some sight other than the Tanks; and by the "dhows" and sailing-ships which fill the port. These ships are only made by certain families of constructors, and they, alas! seem doomed soon to disappear. For the details of their building have been handed down in these families from generation to generation for thousands of years, and when they cease their calling their boat-building secrets will die with them. A utilitarian and mechanical age requires more modern means of collecting wealth, and the coasting steamer will soon leave the "dhow," dependent as it is upon the elements for its means of transit, so far behind in the race that its construction will not "pay."

We English people look nowadays upon Aden as a most unpleasant coal depot. We regard it with feelings of commiseration for those of our race who labour there to uphold the Empire, and we are devotedly thankful when our lot is not cast around that black and unpleasant-looking mass of rocks, and equally devoutly hope it never will be. We may, or may not, go to see the world-famed Tanks; or look for the almost mythical mermaids, which we find to be a couple of nasty-looking brown-coloured "dugongs" kept in an hotel by a tailor from Mauritius as the price of his being fed free; or we tell stories of the place, such as that of the sailor who died in Aden and went in due course to the "nether regions," where he never ceased to bemoan the fact that he had left his blanket behind him, as he had lost considerably in warmth by his change of abode!

For romance connected with Aden there is plenty. Is not Belkis, Queen of Sheba, said to have come from Saba in the Yemen—that "Arabia Felix" of the Romans, which lies to the north and west of the Aden Protectorate—and to have embarked at Aden for her visit to King Solomon, that he might be the father of one of her sons? And as for history—well, we have to go back to the very dawn of time for it. Does not the chronicler Tebrian tell us that Cain, after killing his brother, was tempted by Eblis, the common enemy of mankind, to become a fire-worshipper, such as his brother Abel had been, saying to him, "Be thou also a worshipper of fire, and the sovereignty of the earth of which thou hast been deprived shall be restored to thee and thy progeny," and did not Cain and his progeny erect their first fire table at Aden? And is not the tomb of Cain pointed out to this day high up and hewn out of a rock on the south side of the Main Pass?

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To be sure, also, we who live in Aden find the letters "B.C." on our hired furniture, though we suspect this to have not a chronological significance showing the "period" of the furniture, but to be merely an indication of ownership by the Parsee merchant who rents it to us. But let us turn to the Holy Bible, to find in the 23rd verse of the 27th chapter of Ezekiel the first mention of Aden positively known to modern historians. There we see Aden described in equal terms with Sheba in its commercial relations with ancient Tyre. Aden was great when the Western world was unknown. Tyre and Sidon had their day in history and they passed away, but our rocky possession is to-day as important as it ever was. Are not history and romance blended equally in this fact alone? Of geological history little can be said. But there can be seen in one of the rocky bays of Aden a large petrified tree, which is an indication at least of the earth's early years, when life was unknown upon it, and when the greater part of its surface was covered with primeval forest. There are no trees worth mentioning in Aden now, and it would appear that the tree described above had been for many centuries beneath the sea when took place the great volcanic upheaval which made of a portion of the open sea a precipitous peninsula.

The history of the people of Aden is inseparably bound up with that of the people of the Yemen, although on occasion incidents peculiar to the peninsula have not affected that more fertile tract. But the earliest inhabitants of Aden were doubtless those also of the other parts of Southern Arabia bordering the Red Sea and beyond, and the evidence of the Bible and of tradition is that the Cushites were the first known race who peopled those tracts. How long they endured cannot be even conjectured, but Ibn Khaldun, the Arabic historian, tells us that they were succeeded by a tribe who were the descendants of Shem. These people did not remain long in southern Arabia, but migrated northwards along the west coast. But they left behind them the tribe of Uz, of whom Shedad—so says tradition—built, not far from Aden, a wonderful city and a beautiful palace, and a garden stocked with fruit of all descriptions. Arabic romanciers have told us that these delights were miraculously hidden from view, excepting from that of those who, with pure hearts and simple faith, take the trouble to walk up to the fort on the top of Seera Island (which commands the old harbour), at midnight exactly, on the night of the full moon. Such will be rewarded by a view of the city of surpassing splendour. But, alas! tradition is silent as to whether the sight has ever been seen by human eyes—and Seera is now known to the Arabs as "Gehenna"!

The next invasion of Southern Arabia differed from previous ones in that it came from the West, when the Amalekites of Scripture, called the Beni Omar, overran the country. It is supposed that in course of

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time this people became amalgamated with the Sabæans and formed the Himyarites. But, however evolved, we find a line of Himyaritic rulers of Aden and the Yemen for several hundreds of years before the birth of Christ. The Himyarite power declined and finally disappeared in the destruction wrought by the Roman expedition to the Yemen, under Ælius Gallus, Prefect of Egypt, in the reign of Augustus, in about A.D. 110. With eighty ships of war, 130 transports, and 10,000 Roman infantry did this General make his incursion, and he left traces of Roman civilization behind him, although he did not penetrate as far as Aden, and soon returned to Egypt. For the author has himself seen a beautiful relic of those days in the shape of a gladiator, cast in brass, which was dug up by an Arab recently not very far from Aden, and brought in by him under the impression that it was gold, and that he was going to get for it its weight in that precious metal. But he came too late—no gold has been seen in Aden since 1914. And he went away disappointed, but carrying his gem with him.

It was, perhaps, in the centuries before and after the birth of Christ that Aden attained its second period of greatness. The world was very luxurious at that time, and the civilized peoples of the old world were demanding spices and other precious commodities from the East, for which they paid handsomely. Aden thus became a great entrepôt. Spikenard, alabaster, and frankincense were much in demand not only in Europe, however, but also in India and China, and merchants and their ships crowded the ports of the Red Sea, where these and other luxuries were obtained. The fame of Aden was great. Its harbour was full of ships either passing up the Red Sea with the products of Arabia and Northern Africa or waiting for the favourable monsoon wind which would blow them to the Gulf of Cambay in India—whence also they would be blown back to Aden by the return monsoon. It is difficult for us of the twentieth century to picture the scenes of activity that must have marked the Red Sea in those far-off days. About this time, too, the Three Wise Men pass across the stage of history. They brought to the manger at Bethlehem their gifts from distant countries —gold and frankincense and myrrh. Possibly one of them came from Abyssinia, where gold is found. Another most probably came from Hadhramaut or from Socotra, that island off the coast of Northern Africa which was the centre of the trade in frankincense. This precious commodity was so renowned and sought after that to the ancients the ruler of the regions from which it was obtained was called "the king of the frankincense country." His name, and that of his realm, were probably to most people unknown, and mattered little. Myrrh was also obtained through ports on the Red Sea, and it is pleasing to think that the Three Wise Men began their common journey to Palestine from Aden, which is the most likely port of their first meeting.

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It was only about half a century after this pilgrimage that the unknown author of the "Periplus" placed on record the prosperity of Aden in his immortal book of mercantile jottings. He calls the place "Eudæmon Arabia"—which is only the Greek for "Arabia Felix"—and tells us that it "is a village by the shore, having convenient anchorages and watering-places sweeter and better than those at Ocelis (the modern Sheikh Saad, near Perim); it lies at the entrance of a bay, and the land recedes from it. It was called 'Eudæmon' because in the early days of the city, when the voyage was not yet made from India to Egypt, and when they did not dare to sail from Egypt to the ports across this ocean, but all came together at this place, it received the cargoes from both countries, just as Alexandria now receives the things brought both from abroad and from Egypt. But not long before our own time Charibæl (*i.e.*, an Arab ruler) destroyed the place."

After the destruction of the town of Aden, referred to in the "Periplus," we find no historical mention of the place for two or three hundred years, when Christianity had begun to supplant other creeds in Europe. The Emperor Constantine sent Christian embassies to many places, and among them one to Aden, where a church was erected in 342 A.D. But Christianity did not flourish in Aden, although it had a longer run in the Yemen proper, which, however, ended in a disgraceful massacre, which drove out the new religion. A few survivors of this massacre (which is anathematized in chapter lxxxv. of the Koran) fled to Abyssinia, where they induced the king, who was a Christian, to take up arms to avenge the fate of their brethren. The king agreed to the suggestion, and despatched an army of 70,000 men—so says Crichton in his "History of Arabia"—under the command of his son Aryat. This force landed at Aden, and marched into the Yemen, after Aryat had burnt his transports to show his troops that for them the question was one of death or glory. This happened about 525 A.D., and the Abyssinians, after routing the Jew authors of the Christian massacre, and after driving the Himyarite ruler, Dthu Nowas, to his death from a voluntary jump over a cliff to avoid being taken, remained in the land they had captured.

But Seiph, a descendant of the Himyarite kings, seeing the people turning against the Abyssinians by reason of their cruelty and oppression, sought aid to regain the kingdom of his fathers, and applied to Kosroes, King of Persia. There were four Abyssinian kings of the Yemen, and it fell to the last of them, Masruk, to meet the new invaders. At first Kosroes had refused to entertain the request of Seiph, but the latter changed his ground when he saw that his appeal to sympathy was likely to be ineffective. He described the wealth of his lawful possessions, and played upon the cupidity of the Persian with better effect. Finally, the king collected an army of 3,600

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men—mainly prisoners and condemned criminals—and despatched them by sea to Aden with the remark: "If they conquer these regions, it will add to my kingdom; if they perish, they but suffer the just punishment of their crimes." Seiph himself led this force, which fought its first battle just outside Aden. Masruk was killed, and the Persians established their dominion over the Yemen, where Seiph ruled as a Persian Viceroy. This was in about the year A.D. 575. Can it be that none of the ruling family of Abyssinia again came to Aden until Ras Tafari, the present heir-apparent, came there on a visit of friendship towards the end of 1922? The last Persian Viceroy, Badan, became a follower of Mohammed, and after his death in A.D. 632 Aden and the Yemen passed into Mohammedan hands, and was governed by the house of Umayyah until A.D. 749, when it passed into the possession of the Abbaside Caliphs, Daud ibn Abdal Majia being then appointed Governor of Aden. In A.D. 932 the Yemen threw off its allegiance, and its rulers became independent under the style and title of Imam. It is a remarkable fact that many of the rulers of the Yemen after Badan bore Persian names.

It is supposed by some that the Tanks at Aden were constructed about the time of the Persian invasion. But some, again, date them back at least 1,500 years B.C. When authorities disagree, who may judge between them? But, at any rate, the more recent date assigned to them would appear to be the more correct. Aden is notoriously a rainless place. Why it should be so is not quite clear. But about once a year only there is a downpour, when the inhabitants of the town have their annual bath. To fashion such stupendous works for one day's rain a year seems wasteful. The population of Aden in those days was something approaching 40,000, and even the filling of all the Tanks would not have ensured the people against thirst for the greater part of the year. The few wells there are contain brackish water. So the climate of Aden must have changed considerably since the days when the Tanks were hewn. A wonderful work they are, cut in tiers in the solid rock, so that when one is full it overflows into the next, and so on. The rain-water collects above the highest one, and they are filled in succession, the total capacity being nearly eight million gallons. In 1839, when we occupied Aden for the first time, these magnificent historical objects were filled in, and even their site was unknown. But in 1856 their excavation was undertaken, and their restoration was completed the next year. On October 23, 1857, a heavy fall of rain filled them for the first time since those distant days when they had been one of the glories of Aden in prosperity.

In 1038 Aden was captured by a petty chief, Ibn Omar of Lahej. It remained the prey of intrigue and local warfare until in A.D. 1325 it was again taken by the Imam of Yemen, in the hands of whose successors it remained until 1454, when it was captured by two brothers, one

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of whom was styled "Imam of Aden." He was succeeded by his nephew, who, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, constructed the first aqueduct to Aden across the isthmus from Bir Mahait.

In what may be described as the "middle times," the position of Aden as an entrepôt is seen to be again modified. In place of the frankincense, alabaster, and spikenard of former days, we find the principal trade at Aden consisted of horses and spices. So, at least, Marco Polo tells us. This great traveller, who died in 1323 at the age of seventy, called at Aden in his travels. In his short account of the place he says that "there are despatched from Aden to India a very large number of Arab chargers, and palfreys, and stout nags adapted for all work. For horses fetch very high prices in India, there being none bred there, as I have told you before; insomuch that a charger will sell there for an hundred marks of silver or more. On these also the Sultan of Aden receives heavy payment in port charges, so that it is said that he is one of the richest princes in the world." How strangely the needs of the times are reflected in trade commodities! In these prosaic days Aden's chief commercial interests are in hides and coffee!

It was inevitable that those magnificent navigators the Portuguese should make a bid to possess themselves of Aden, and one of the instructions given to Dom Affonso d'Albuquerque was to capture the fortress. His expedition for the purpose left India in 1513, and consisted of twenty ships, manned by 1,700 Portuguese and 800 Indians. These arrived on Easter Eve, and they proceeded at once to attack. They first took by storm the island of Seera, and here they killed many of the defenders and took thirty-nine guns. Then for four days they attacked the great wall which ran along the front of the harbour. But they were beaten off with heavy loss, and were forced to retire after burning all the shipping in the roadstead. They proceeded up the Red Sea, and established themselves on the island of Kamaran, near Hodeidah, where they built a strong though small fort, which is even now in comparatively good condition. A Portuguese artist, Correia, has left a very interesting picture of the attack on Aden by his countrymen as he saw it from the high poop of a warship. His four days' work with pen and brush has left us an interesting picture of what Aden looked like then. Some of the buildings depicted are even now discernible! Verily the pen is mightier than the sword!

Three years after the Portuguese attempt, Soleiman, an officer of the Mameluke ruler of Egypt, attacked Aden. He met with no more success than had the Portuguese. But the attempt so frightened the inhabitants that when towards the end of 1516 the Portuguese again appeared in the harbour, the Governor of Aden offered them the keys of the town. The Portuguese commander took them, and then left on some other business. But when he came back shortly afterwards, the

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defences had been repaired, and the Governor refused to deliver up the place. So the Portuguese did not attack it, but retired discomfited, never again to attempt the capture of the fortress which was in those days so strong.

In 1517 Selim I. of Turkey, after overthrowing the Mamelukes in Egypt, determined to seize Aden, so as to make for himself a base for his attacks upon the Portuguese in the East. His son Suleiman carried out the project, and in August, 1538, the Turkish fleet arrived in Aden harbour. The Sultan was invited on board to do homage to the "Grand Seigneur" through his representative. But as soon as he arrived on board he was hanged, and this was the signal for the seizure of the town by a number of Turkish soldiers, who had been sent ashore lying on beds as if sick. The Turks left a garrison in Aden, and the fleet proceeded to Diu, where it suffered a repulse in the following November. On its return journey, on December 5, 1538, one hundred pieces of artillery were landed, and a further garrison of 500 men. Some years later the inhabitants rose against the Turks and killed all the troops, after which they handed the place over to the Portuguese. But the return of a Turkish fleet and army regained Aden once more for the Islamic power.

It is one of the curious facts of history that Moslems have always preferred Christian to Turkish rule when they were not in a position to wield their own. Aden proved no exception to this, and the Turkish hold on it and on the Yemen was one of the sword alone. In Aden itself we have many evidences of a domination which was entirely military in nature. Possibly, when our Empire has passed away, the same will be said of us. But, at any rate, there will be ample evidence also that the people progressed under our sway, and did not sink to a position little better than that of slavery, as did the people of Aden in the years of Turkish sovereignty. In 1642 the Imam of Yemen drove out the last vestige of Turkish rule, and at some time subsequently the same thing must have happened in Aden, for in 1708 the ruler of Aden was an Imam of its own. It were well to remember the blighting influence of Turkish power when we ask ourselves the explanation of the seizure by the Arabs of the opportunity to rebel when it came to them in 1915.

In December, 1708, a French trading expedition under two noblemen, De Champloret and La Roque, called at Aden. The leaders and officers disembarked to pay their respects to the Governor, and the account of the voyage describes fairly clearly their entry through the great gate of the rampart, which was where the main road to Seera Island now runs. Subsequently it was arranged that the party should spend a day or two ashore as the Governor's guests. They came; they supped; and, as the author describes it, they passed "Une assez mauvaise nuit"! The small but troublesome companions of the night

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watches were apparently no less plentiful in Aden then than they are now. The author (La Roque) goes on to say: "It must be confessed that we have seen nothing so fine of their kind as the baths at Aden. They are lined with marble or jasper, and are covered with a handsome dome, which has a hole at the top to admit the light, and they are decorated inside with galleries supported by magnificent pillars. The whole building is conveniently divided into chambers, closets, and other vaulted rooms, which all adjoin the main domed room. It is unnecessary here to give a more minute description or to speak of what happens in these pleasant places, which is such as one sees in the large cities of Turkey." Further on he writes: "The city is situated at the foot of high mountains, which surround it on nearly every side. There are five or six forts on the summits, with earthworks and other works in large number at the necks of the mountains. A fine aqueduct leads from there the waters in a large canal or reservoir, situated at a quarter of a league's distance from the town, which furnishes all the inhabitants with very good water; for there is no other source of water at Aden, and I do not know why our geographers show a river to pass through the town. Abulfeda says that there is at Aden a gate on the landward side called the 'Gate of the Water Carriers,' and it is by that gate that sweet water is brought in from outside. The place is surrounded by walls, which are to-day in very bad condition on the side facing the sea, where there are, however, several platforms at intervals with five or six batteries of cannon, of which some fire 60-pounder shot. It is believed that this is some of the artillery that Suleiman II. left there after having seized the town and conquered almost all the country, and which the Turks were obliged to abandon to the Arab princes. To reach Aden from the land side there is only a single road on a narrow piece of land, and which stretches to the sea in the form of a peninsula. The head of this road is commanded by a fort with guardrooms at intervals, and at cannon-shot distance below there is another fort, which mounts forty pieces of large cannon in several batteries, and a garrison, so that it would be impossible to attempt a descent upon that side, and to go to the town from this last fort there is yet another fort of twelve pieces of cannon, with a garrison. As regards the sea, from which the town is really accessible, it is a bay with eight or nine openings, and is as if divided into two road-steads, of which one is very large and at a considerable distance from the town, and the other smaller and nearer, which is called the Port. This is about a league broad, counting from the citadel which commands it, with fifty pieces of cannon, to the advanced point where are the forts of which I have just spoken. I will say nothing of the interior of the town, of which the size is considerable, and where can still be seen several fine two-storeyed houses in terraces, but there are also many ruins. One can easily understand by that which remains, and

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by reason of so advantageous a situation, that Aden was formerly a live and important town, a strong place, and the principal 'boulevarde' of Arabia Felix. The country around is very pleasant, although confined, with much verdure at the foot of the sides of the mountains."

Much of what La Roque describes is, of course, traceable to-day. But gone are the marble baths, and to find them would necessitate extensive excavations in the crater, for, like most of the glories of Aden, they lie buried beneath the dust and débris which had already accumulated upon the town when the English took it in 1839, and upon which so much of what they subsequently built stands. In 1916 an excavation, made in the course of digging a foundation for a building, brought to the light of day a house, complete, with its roof. But to a later age than ours must be left the task of unearthing the marble baths and the two-storeyed houses which La Roque describes. Perhaps the newly formed Aden Historical Society may be in a position in the future to direct some of its energies in this direction. The citadel mentioned by La Roque is, of course, Seera Island; the Port is the old harbour. The "Gate of the Water Carriers" is near where "Bell's Battery" stands overlooking the Main Pass; and the fort "at cannon-shot distance below" is Jabal Hadid.

It was a century prior to the Frenchmen's visit that the first English ship, the *Ascension*, under Captain Sharkey, visited Aden, and the visit was not a happy one. Captain Sharkey himself was seized, and it was some weeks before he could procure his release. He was followed the next year by Sir Henry Middleton, who was treated little better than his predecessor.

In 1735 the Abdali Sultan of Lahej seized Aden, and the place remained in the hands of his successors, becoming steadily less important and less prosperous. In 1829, when the East India Company thought of making Aden into a coaling station, they had to abandon the plan because they could not obtain labour. So far had the place deteriorated that the population is said not to have exceeded 400, of which the most part were fishermen. In 1839 Captain Haines writes: "The little village (formerly the great city) of Aden is now reduced to the most exigent condition of poverty and neglect. In the reign of Constantine this town possessed unrivalled celebrity for its impenetrable fortifications, its flourishing commerce, and the glorious haven it offered to vessels from all quarters of the globe. But how lamentable is the present contrast! With scarce a vestige of its former proud superiority, the traveller sees and values it only for its capabilities, and regrets the barbarous cupidity of the government under whose injudicious management it has fallen so low."

In 1835 Lieutenant Wellstead, an officer of the Indian Navy, visited Aden, and he has left us a most interesting account of what he found there in his book, "Travels in Arabia." His description of the

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desolation which the place presented is illuminating. "All that remains of the former city," he tells us, "are a few minarets, about a hundred houses, and some disjointed remnants of its walls, the rest being occupied by tombs, mounds, and heaps of rubbish, roofless walls of older dwellings, or the wretched habitations of the present residents." He found only four minarets standing, two of which were then in a dilapidated condition. They have long disappeared, and none may now say where they were situated. A third, which he described as being in tolerable repair, is that tall landmark near the present Treasury. It was in 1513 as it is now, and must be the oldest erection of masonry in Aden—the Tanks excepted. "The fortifications encircling the town," says Lieutenant Wellstead, "and the artillery with which they are mounted, were constructed and furnished by Sultan Selim. . . . The town itself appears to have been walled only on the sea and western sides; it is with difficulty the foundations of the former can be traced, and the face of the latter is covered with a slope of sand reaching to its summit. . . . A battery formerly extended along the whole length of the sea face; and here, mounted on rude and frail carriages, are still seen those enormous guns which have attracted the attention of travellers. They are pierced for a sixty or sixty-eight pound ball, and their dimensions are as follows: Length, 17 ft. 2 in.; circumference at the breech, 6 ft. 2 in.; at the muzzle, 4 ft. 4 in. They are cast in brass, and almost covered in Turkish inscriptions. On the beach to the westward there are some equally large. I am surprised that the Arabs have not procured artificers from Egypt or India to cut them up, as they are now of no use, and the metal of which they are constructed is valuable. I mentioned this to Sultan Mahassan, but he replied, with more feeling than could have been anticipated, that he was unwilling to deprive Aden of the only remaining symbol of its former greatness and strength. He was much pleased when I told him that the fame of those guns had reached England. That which would have proved the most efficient battery, and the most destructive to shipping approaching the harbour, was the one erected on the projecting point Sirah. From thirty to forty guns of various calibre were formerly ranged here, but they now lie dismounted and neglected near their former embrasures. The iron guns have fallen to pieces from age, and the brass pieces only are in a condition to be used."

The fate of the large guns mentioned by Lieutenant Wellstead is now unknown. Doubtless they lie beneath the sand on the seashore in front of the British Infantry barracks. Lieutenant Wellstead mentions the silting up of the old harbour, and when he first saw it he saw the remains of a Turkish ship in the harbour, which was fast disappearing beneath the sand. There is no trace of the ship now, and from that fact we can form some idea of the depth of sand accumulated in 200 years. In 1835 the width of the isthmus was but 200

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yards. It is now more than a quarter of a mile, and Lieutenant Wellstead says that Aden was an island until comparatively recent times. As regards the city, we are told "many turbaned pillars of fine marble, very beautifully ornamented, still remain; but the greater number are broken down and destroyed, most probably by the Arabs, who still cherish the most bitter hatred against their former masters. In the seventeenth century Aden contained 30,000 inhabitants; its port was filled with ships freighted with the precious merchandise of the East; and the city was adorned with spacious and stately edifices, which were well calculated to impress the mind of the traveller with a just conception of its splendour and magnificence. But these have now all passed away; its commerce has departed, its harbours are almost empty, the city deserted; and we may exclaim, as of Tyre, in the language of the prophet, 'How are the mighty fallen!'" We can but echo Lieutenant Wellstead's pious sentiment, but we are more fortunate than he in that in our days we can see Aden's prosperity rising, Phœnix-like, from its ashes.

Captain Bettesworth Haines, of the Indian Navy, visited Aden in 1820 and again in 1835, and in 1838 he was placed in charge of the negotiations opened with the intention of obtaining restitution for an outrage committed on the passengers and crew of a "dhow" which was wrecked in the vicinity. Among other measures, it was arranged that Aden be ceded to the British, but treachery was encountered and Captain Haines left. He returned again in January, 1839, with a force of 300 men of the Bombay European Regiment (afterwards the Royal Dublin Fusiliers) and 400 men of the 24th Bombay Infantry, to supplement by arms his powers of negotiation. The place was taken by assault in a very short time with a loss of fifteen killed, who rest in an enclosure opposite the British Infantry guardroom. The defenders, who were 400 Arabs brought from the interior, lost more than one-third of their number, and Aden came permanently under British rule—the first addition to the Empire after Queen Victoria's accession to the throne. The padlock of the Red Sea had passed into our possession. Perim, the key, was not occupied until 1857. Until a few years ago there lay in Aden harbour an old lightship, which, as the *Euphrates*, had been one of the naval ships taking part in the attack.

But we were not to remain long in peace to set about the re-development of Aden's prosperity. In November, 1839, one of the local chieftains attacked the fortress from the land side, and this was followed by similar attempts in 1840 and 1841. In 1844 a new treaty was made with the Lahej Sultan, but two years later a novel form of attack was made by a horde of unarmed fanatics under one Said Ismail. "He had assumed"—I quote Mrs. Burton—"the title of 'Al Mahdi Al Mumtazar' (the expected regenerator), and resolved, before dethroning the Imam of Sanaa (Yemen), to strengthen the sinews

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of war by plundering the infidels of Aden; his first step was to promise all his followers (some thousand men lent by Abdali, the Sultan of Lahej) invulnerability against Kafir swords and gunshot wounds. One fine morning, the mob, utterly unarmed, and wearing white shrouds, rushed, in a rude column, shouting 'Allah-hu Akbar!' towards the 'Turkish Wall'; the defenders waited to the last moment, but, seeing that mischief was meant, they fired half a dozen rounds of grape, which had the effect of causing a *sauve qui peut*. The survivors, sorely disappointed, fell upon Fakih Said with threats and reproaches, which that cunning madman silenced by saying, 'True, I told you that the cannon of the *Mushrit* would have no effect upon true *Ghazis*. But your hearts were black, you dogs, as your faces are now. You went, not to purify the faith, but to plunder the goods and to carry off the women of the infidel.' His dexterity saved him this time, but in December of the same year he was defeated and killed by the Imam." Several murders were afterwards committed of soldiers and others by Arabs, but gradually the country around became pacified, and with the return of peace to Aden came also the return of its prosperity and extent of population. It is now more prosperous than ever before in its long and eventful history.

The old Turkish defences were remodelled and new fortifications were made until Aden became the formidable fortress it now is. But the utility of even these is passing away. Some forty years ago the old muzzle-loading fortress guns were removed from Seera and other places. Tradition says that this work of removal was entrusted to an artillery officer named Stewart, who, having thought things out and considered that the guns were obsolete and useless, toppled them over the cliffs and into the sea. For this he was punished by being ordered to spend the remainder of his service in Aden. There is none in Aden who can say whether the story is true. But, at any rate, from Seera Fort can be seen at the foot of the rocks a gun and a number of mountings, which prove at least that it is partly exact.

Even the Great War was not without its romantic side. In 1915 the Turks essayed again to become masters of Aden, and they nearly succeeded in penetrating its defences. But they were driven back eventually, and for the rest of the War a small force, commanded by General Sayed Pasha, kept up its position covering Lahej and threatening Aden. The General made himself both feared and respected. In the cemetery of Sheikh Othman lies the body of an airman, who was brought down by rifle fire. The courteous Turk sent in the body for burial to the British lines, and although the exigences of warfare had prevented the transfer for some days, even the money in the dead airman's pocket remained untouched. But Sayed Pasha was not a usual man. He made himself respected by the enemy Arabs around him by hanging in the nearest convenient place the head

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man of any subtribe who pillaged or made itself otherwise obnoxious. And when, as a prisoner after the Armistice, he was permitted to come to worship at the principal mosque in Aden—which was a Turkish mosque in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and is surrounded by the old Turkish cemetery—the whole town turned out to see him of whom so much had been spoken. He might have been a conqueror instead of a defeated enemy, to judge by his reception!

Aden, for all its unpleasant climate in the summer, is not without its beauty. Watch the bright starlit sky above on a November evening, and see the shooting stars beautifying the night. The Arabs say that God is in the vault of heaven being attacked continually by the Evil One, and that when the latter comes too near, He picks a star from the firmament and throws it at him! Thus they account for an astronomical phenomenon of which Western astronomers have more rational explanations. But does not the Arabic belief add beauty to the fact? Or let him who would appreciate Aden climb to the top of Shum-Shum in the hour of dawn, and from the summit see the one side of the range bathed in the mellow light of breaking day—the other side by contrast being black with the darkness of night. Can such a picture be seen in many such places on earth? Or let him look for the forty-two different kinds of shrubs which are said to exist, or for the "wog-wog," the animal who lives on Shum-Shum and can only go round the mountain in one direction, not being able to turn on account of its having the two near-side legs shorter than those on the off-side—but this is a story which is told to old ladies on passing ships who ask too many questions, and it is not believed by all! Did not a Pipe-Major of the King's Own Scottish Borderers compose a "tune" for the pipes known as "The Barren Rocks of Aden"? Perhaps he can tell us whether the "wog-wog" is a myth!

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REVIEWS

THE BABUR-NAMAH IN ENGLISH. By A. S. Beveridge. Luzac. 30s. net.

Among the conquerors who loom large on the stage of Central Asia, few can claim the fame won by Zahir-u-Din Mohammed, better known by his surname of Babur, or "Tiger." Descended from Tamerlane, he succeeded to the province of Farghana on the upper reaches of the Sir Daria as a lad of twelve. He loved his home, and he gives a delightful description of it, which strikes the modern traveller as remarkably accurate; indeed, one of the charms of his "Memoirs" is the deep interest taken in flowers, birds, and beasts.

His uncles, at first, were hostile to his accession, but matters were arranged so well that the boy-king was able to gain possession of Samarkand within two years of his accession. At that time the Princes of Tamerlane's family ruled various provinces of his wide empire, and, as lovers and patrons of art and literature, they stand unsurpassed. But as rulers and warriors, they were gradually being driven out by the rising power of the Uzbegs, or Auzbegs, being unable to combine among themselves. Babur was too weak to hold Samarkand, and, after two unsuccessful attempts to do so, he was forced to retire from Transoxiana, and, for a while, his position might well have appeared to be desperate. Fortune, however, proverbially favours the brave, and, hearing that Kabul was in a state of anarchy, Babur made a bold bid for it—and won. Thus, at the age of twenty, he had been driven out of his kingdom of Farghana, but had won another.

Kabul, as the author states, is the centre of traffic between Turkistan and India, and it is little wonder that the warlike Prince soon began to turn his eyes in the direction of the valley of the Indus. At the same time, he kept a watchful eye on Central Asia, and even visited his kinsmen at Herat to concert measures against the Uzbegs. The position of affairs was changed for a while by the rise of the Safavi dynasty in Persia. Shah Ismail, its founder, met Shaybani Khan, or Shaibaq Khan, the great Uzbeg, and defeated him, in the vicinity of Merv. The Uzbeg monarch was killed, while attempting to escape from the battle, and at first it seemed as if the Uzbegs would disappear off the scene. So promising, indeed, did the situation appear that Babur, in alliance with Persia, marched north, and, defeating the Uzbegs, entered Samarkand once again. The Persians were hated in Central Asia, owing to a difference in religion, and Babur, in spite of his personal popularity, suffered from being allied to the Shia Moslems.

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So bitter, indeed, was the feeling that when he was decisively defeated by the Uzbegs and forced to flee, his cousin, Mirza Haider, wrote that "the Uzbegs began to pour forth their arrows, and the claws of Islam twisted the hands of heresy and unbelief, and victory declared for the true faith." Babur accepted this defeat as final, and left Central Asia.

He now turned his entire attention to the conquest of India. For twenty years he made raids, intrigued, and gradually increased his power and influence. Fortunately for him, the ruler of Delhi, Sultan Ibrahim, an Afghan Prince, made himself unpopular, with the result that many of his nobles were inclined to join Babur. At last it was determined to attempt the venture, and Babur, in the spring of 1526, marched on Delhi. He met Sultan Ibrahim on the historical field of Panipat, where the hardy men of the north defeated the softer inhabitants of India.

Babur had won the "wealth of Ind," and his descendants, the Mughul Emperors, were destined to rule over most of the Indian peninsula, until the English finally overthrew their decadent representative. So much for the main facts. But only by a careful study of this work, which for members of the Central Asian Society is their special classic, can its charm and its value be understood. To give an example, Babur's description of Sultan Husayn, the ruling Timurid Prince, showed how shrewd a judge of character he was. He speaks of him as a lively, pleasant man, whose temper was rather hasty, and whose language was in accordance with his temper. He often engaged sword in hand, and no member of the race of Timur equalled him in the use of the scimitar. He had a turn for poetry, and many of his verses were far from bad. Although not without dignity, he was fond of keeping fighting rams, and of amusing himself with cock-fighting and flying pigeons. It will be remembered that Sultan Husayn was the generous patron of the poet Jami and of Behzad the painter, and of many others.

Few characters are more attractive than that of Babur himself. In adversity, he kept up his spirits as well as a British soldier, and was as full of humour. In prosperity, he never lost his head, and was always a great nobleman, and generous. How favourably he compares with Nadir Shah, who, two centuries later, took Delhi from his degenerate descendant. A great soldier, but of mean extraction, the jewels of Delhi converted him into a miser, and he died cursed by the people of Persia, while his hoards were scattered far and wide.

It remains to point out what labour has been spent by Mrs. Beveridge, for, even though it was a labour of love, the task was a very heavy one. She states her regret at the absence of maps, and it is serious, for members of the Central Asian Society who know Asia from Andijan to Delhi are few. With this exception, nothing remains but to advise readers of this review to read the immortal "Memoirs,"

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which are now, thanks to the translator and editor, available in a final form, and constitute a mine of valuable and interesting information.

P. M. SYKES.

TURKEY. By S. Lane Poole. Second Edition. Messrs. Fisher Unwin. 1923.

Messrs. Fisher Unwin have produced at an opportune moment a second edition of Stanley Lane Poole's well-known "Turkey," originally published in 1889. As the author himself stated in his preface, it does not profess to be a history of Turkey, but it tells in a popular and picturesque form the wonderful story of the rise and decline of a great empire, which was built up in the course of two or three centuries by a small tribe of Central Asian barbarians on the ruins of earlier Mohammedan states in Western Asia, as well as of Christian kingdoms and principalities in South-Eastern Europe. There is a peculiar piquancy to-day in the picture of the splendid court held at Constantinople by the haughty Sultans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when they barely condescended to acknowledge the humble salutations of ambassadors even from the most powerful Western nations. Then, just as in our own times, and indeed throughout the whole intervening period, it was the rivalry and disunion of Christendom that were Turkey's greatest assets. The original work closes with a very slender sketch of the events in Turkey during the nineteenth century, from the massacre of the Janissaries in 1826 to the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. Slighter still is the "Postscript," which only brings the story down to the Treaty of Sèvres. Considering how much has happened since then, and that the Treaty of Sèvres was finally scrapped when the Mudania Convention was concluded between the Allied and Turkish generals on October 11 of last year, one surely might have expected this "Postscript" to break off rather less prematurely.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM. By the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, P.C. LL.D., D.L., C.I.E.

If I venture to put into print a few remarks suggested by the perusal of Mr. Ameer Ali's "Spirit of Islam," it is not because I deem them worthy of being regarded as a "Review." I have no qualifications for such a "Review," but as the qualified men will not come forward, I will do my best to acknowledge the author's courtesy in sending for the use of the Society a volume which it values, and it is in that "spirit" that we, the members of the Society, all, I feel sure, welcome it.

The Introduction to the volume is a sketch of "religious progress

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among mankind," so replete with recondite learning, and embodying so concise a summary of historical, geographical, social, and doctrinal fact, that it is out of the question to undertake any analysis of it in detail. It may surprise the orthodox Christian to see "the Emperor Julian" (the so-called Apostate) styled "the greatest and most sincere of the Roman Emperors"; but anyone who has read his satirical monograph on his predecessors on the empirical throne of Rome will credit him with a very charming vein of humour, and as they read of his death in his campaign against the Persians (?) will credit him with being a brave man and capable general. One and the same page of this Introduction sets before us the "Hypatia" of Charles Kingsley and the "Theodora" of Gibbon, and we are invited to weigh in the balance the moral worth of a Christianity which could sacrifice the one and bow down before the other. From this picture of the imperfections of Christianity we pass to a descriptive, geographical, and racial account of Arabia, and we find that a great desert land, which of recent times has been mainly independent, or at most recognizing the somewhat precarious rule of the Turk, was from time to time subject to Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Persians, and even Abyssinians. The last-named "had even gone so far as to invade Hejâj, with the intention of destroying the national temple (the Kaaba). But their power was broken before Mecca by the sturdy patriotism of Abd-ul-Muttalib. After twenty years of oppression, they were driven out of Yemen, with the assistance of Persia, by a native Prince, the son of the celebrated Saif-zu'l-Yezen. On his assassination by the Christians, the sovereignty he had enjoyed under the auspices of the great Anûshirvân passed entirely into Persian hands, and Yemen became tributary to Persia."

The first chapter of "The Life and Ministry of the Prophet" opens with a clear account of the Prophet's family and parentage, and a detailed definition of the methods of the administration of Mecca. We are given a vivid picture of the life of the time. It is most interesting reading. In the midst of this life, overshadowed by the "sacrilegious wars," and often the scene of orgy and debauchery, gambling, and bloodshed, "silently and humbly, with many thoughts in his mind, the solitary orphan boy (Mohammed) grew from childhood to youth and from youth to manhood." That period of his life is traced and followed by the author, as might be naturally supposed, with the keenest sympathy up to the time of his marriage with Khadîja, a kinswoman of his own, the mother by him of seven children, and his companion and, so to speak, colleague in the early days of his ministry. She was his first disciple, as his cousin, and later son-in-law, Ali, was the second, and to the latter's father, Abû Tâlib, he was mainly indebted for protection from the persecution of the Koreish during the years that led on to the Hejira. The ingenuity of his persecutors,

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foremost among whom was an aunt by marriage, Umm-ul-Tamîl, is pictured, and earned for the lady the sobriquet of *hammâlat-ul-hatab*—*i.e.*, "bearer of faggots" [to hell].

And so we are brought to "The Year of Mourning," in which Abû Tâlib and Khadîya "followed each other to the grave at a short interval." The first chapter closes with a touching tribute to the devotion shown by these two—the woman a disciple, the man no disciple, but who had been "the guardian of the Prophet's youth," and "who had stood between him and his enemies."

Chapter II. tells the well-known story of the Hegira, and, curiously enough, records that the first man to welcome Mohammed to neutral soil was a Jew, who thus fulfilled the words of the Koran: "They to whom the Scriptures have been given, recognize him as they do their own children."

The remaining chapters (III. to X.) of the First Part of "The Spirit of Islam" cannot be summarized here. They must be read. Islâm becomes a power which triumphs alike over Koreish and Jew, and sent envoys to Heraclius, the Emperor of the Greeks, to Khusen Parvîz, the Kesrâ of Persia, and to the Ghassanide Prince at Busra, near Damascus. "The King of Kings was amazed at the audacity of the fugitive of Mecca in addressing him, the great Chosroes, on terms of equality," and tore his letter to pieces. "When the news of this treatment was brought to the Prophet, he quietly observed: 'Thus will the Empire of Kesrâ be torn to pieces.' The fulfilment of this prophecy is engraved on the page of history. Heraclius, more polite and more reverential, treated the messenger with great respect, and returned a gracious and careful reply." Subsequent inquiries convinced him that Mohammed's doctrine was sound, and that his cult was winning the hearts of men. The third envoy to the Ghassanide Prince was murdered.

In view of the keen controversy which has of late been carried on regarding the Caliphate, the chapter (X.) on "The Apostolical Succession" should be carefully read. We have read the writers of our own Faith, who have most consistently and convincingly proved that no Ottoman Sultan ever had the smallest right to call himself, or to be called by Islâm, "Caliph"; while, on the other hand, we see Islâm, or the most absolute and dogmatic of its votaries, lay down the law who is to be Caliph, and we note that the Mohammedan world bows to their dictation. That point then is settled, and Islâm itself has settled it. The ex-Caliph has repaired to the Court of the King of the Hejâz, and if Islâm chooses to veer round, why the ex-Caliph, or even the King of the Hejâz himself, may be the Caliph of the future. According to orthodoxy, as understood by many, the Caliph should be of the Koreish, but Syed Ameer Ali (pp. 126-7) points out that "the great jurist and historian, Ibn Khaldûn, a contemporary of Tamerlane,

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who died in the year 1406 A.D., long before the House of Ottoman attained the Caliphate, has dealt at length with this condition"—viz., "that the Caliph-Imâm should be a Koreish by birth." Syed Ameer Ali states that the modern doctors (the Mutâkherîn) accept the decision of Ibn Khaldûn, that "the law imposes no tribal or racial restriction in the choice of an Imâm."

With the subject-matter of the first three chapters of Part II.—viz., "The Ideal of Islâm," "The Religious Spirit of Islâm," and "The Idea of Future Life in Islâm," though replete with interest, I am content to pass over without comment. But, as Chapter IV., entitled "The Church Militant of Islâm," devotes itself to invidious comparisons between the aims of Islâm and the aims of Christendom in the pursuit of their ambitions and in the conduct of wars, why! as a Christian reviewer, I must tell my Mohammedan author that I do not agree with him. To embark upon detail in such a controversy is quite out of the question, and therefore I can but counsel the Christian student to read this chapter with due attention, and to temper it by his own knowledge. The subject of the next chapter, "The Status of Women in Islâm," is one that we can approach with a more kindly sympathy, for "the fair sex" is a theme which is fettered by no barrier, either of race, faith, or feature.

How many years have passed by since an experienced old Mussulman said to me: "When your wives are not on good terms, it is all very well, but when they form a league look out for squalls!" And, I take it, that has something to say to the conviction that is forcing itself even on Mussulmans, that monogamy is the surest path to comfort and happiness. I am, personally, of opinion that this contrasting of women of different races and religions is a purely invidious exercise; and if I feel that the author of this book is distinctly inclined to favour his own race and faith I fully sympathize with him, but at the same time I think that, in order to justify his views, he has had recourse to some measure of special pleading. We admit the Prophet's devotion and loyalty to his first wife, Khadîja, but when, after her death, we are invited to recognize that Mohammed took unto himself some ten or twelve wives from motives of "generosity and humanity" (p. 233), and to "provide helpless and widowed women with subsistence," we may imagine, indeed we may even hope, that somewhat warmer sentiment animated him. Syed Ameer Ali pursues this topic into the realms of celibacy and divorce, and I gather that he sees merit in the seclusion, and in the veiling, when abroad, of women. Intrigue, it is well known, veils itself under the *burka*.

Syed Ameer Ali concludes his chapter on "The Status of Women in Islâm" in the following words: "Her (*i.e.*, the Moslem woman's) comparatively backward condition is the result of a want of culture among the community generally, rather than of any special feature in the laws of the fathers." Very recently I had the pleasure of listening to

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a lecture by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan on "The Improvement of Education in Islâm," the chair on the occasion being taken by Syed Ameer Ali. The lecture was well thought out and most instructive, and I take it that the "improvement" which Islâm desires in its men will not be denied to the women. The "seclusion" of women in Eastern countries will also, I conceive, in process of time, die a natural death. It is but the other day that I met the first Eastern lady to be called to the English Bar, and Portia, I imagine, will not, any more than the famous Phryne or Lais, fail to use the charm of "expression" upon the Judges.

Can I venture further to follow the author through the maze of Islamic politics, art, literature, science, philosophy, spiritualism, and mysticism? It is more than forty years since I visited Shiraz, and was then for the first time told the story of "The Bâb." (See pp. 357-9.) I was then told that when The Bâb was led out to be shot, a vast concourse looked on. The first volley did not touch him, but so cut his bonds that he was free. Had he realized his freedom and rushed into the crowd, my informant added, his escape would have been regarded as a Divine miracle, and that crowd would have saved him at all hazards. However, he stood still and was re-secured, and the second volley did its work. I tell this story as it was told me in 1881. In later years I met Americans who were followers of The Bâb. Syed Ameer Ali (p. 359 note) says: "Bahâism, its latest phase, which flourishes chiefly in the United States of America, appears to have largely assimilated the doctrines of Christian science." As far as I remember, Abd-ul-Bahâ and Bahâ-Ullah, the successors of The Bâb, settled at Haifa, on the Palestine coast, and, as I understand, are visited there by people—travellers—of varied race and religion.

The Rev. E. Sell, in his very interesting work "The Faith of Islâm" (1896), tells us the story of "three lads, playfellows in the city of Nishapur, in Khurásán, each destined to become famous. One became the Wazir of Alp Arslan under the title of "Nizam-ul-Mulk," the second was the familiar Umar Khayyâm, and the third Hasan Sabbâh. I have Von Hemmer's "History of the Assassins," but I must confess that I rose from the perusal of it completely confused. It was a pleasure to find the theme treated concisely and clearly in the pages of "The Spirit of Islâm." There they are summed up as "The Nihilists of Islâm," and the Khojas of India are defined as "Hindus by origin, converted to Isma'ilism by one Pir Sadr-ud-din, an Isma'ilian Dâ'î." I certainly was told in India that the Aga Khan was descended from "The Old Man of the Mountains," but I could only myself trace him to a Persian great-grandfather, who, having married a daughter of Fath-Ali Shah, King of Persia, rebelled, and then found it advisable to take refuge in India. Umar Khayyâm, whom most English people know only as the author of the "Quatrains," was a very accomplished astronomer, as Mr. Sell and Syed Ameer Ali alike inform us.

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It is startling to find certain European institutions traced by the latter author to these Isma'ilias, whom he has classed as "The Nihilists of Islâm." However, I quote his words: "From the Isma'ilias the Crusaders borrowed the conception which led to the formation of all the secret societies, religious and secular, of Europe. The institutions of Templars and Hospitallers; the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola, composed of a body of men whose spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to their cause can hardly be surpassed in our times; the ferocious Dominicans, the milder Franciscans—may all be traced to either Cairo or to Alamût (the stronghold of the Assassins, situated in the mountains near Kazvîn)." It is but natural that in the eyes of a Mohammedan the Crusader should be but a "Christian marauder" (p. 381); but if "the intellectual life of Syria has remained dead from that day (the day of Saladin and the Crusaders) to this," it is not the Crusaders that have delayed the resurrection. What has put life and learning and education into many a Muslim country during the last two centuries has been a rule and training and guidance for which the Near and Middle East has been in the main indebted to Great Britain and its daughter nations.

A. C. YATE.

OBITUARIES

SIR HAROLD STUART

SIR HAROLD ARTHUR STUART, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., whose death was announced on March 1, was one of the ablest and most resourceful Indian administrators of his day, and rounded off his years of devotion to the public service as British High Commissioner on the Rhineland, and subsequently in Silesia. He came home from the Continent in poor health last summer, and never recovered his old vigour.

Born at York on July 29, 1860, he was educated at Bishop's Stortford School and at King's College, Cambridge. Passing the Indian Civil Service Examination of 1879, he was posted to Madras, where an elder brother was serving in the Education Department and in due course became its head. Stuart's ability and enthusiasm marked him out for early promotion, and after both district and secretariat experience he was selected by Lord Connemara to be his private secretary.

His next post, that of Inspector-General of Police, Madras, was the stepping-stone to an important part in the development and improvement of the Indian police services. Lord Curzon, ever on the look-out for capable men, chose him as Secretary of the Police Commission which toured the country in 1902, and made the first thorough examination of the problem as a whole. The setting up of a Criminal Intelligence Department was recommended, and after a period of furlough Stuart was selected to be the first director. It was well that its organization was completed before the emergence of the wave of anarchist crime which followed the partition of Bengal. Though often the subject of bitter political attack, the C.I.D. under his direction did

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invaluable service in thwarting the subversive movement. It fell to Stuart to make all the police arrangements when their Majesties, then Prince and Princess of Wales, visited India in 1905-6, and it was for this that he was created K.C.V.O.

Next he became Home Secretary to the Government of India, in which post he had a large share in framing the regulations under the Minto-Morley Reforms. A man of liberal views, he is known to have put forward the first authoritative suggestion for the appointment of an Indian to each of the Executive Councils in India.

Stuart, who had received the K.C.S.I. in 1914, came home in 1916, before the expiry of his five years' tenure, to work in the Ministry of Food. After the peace Lord Curzon, as Foreign Minister, took care to avail himself of Stuart's many-sided capacity. At the beginning of 1920, on the final deposit of ratifications of the Versailles Treaty, he was appointed British High Commissioner on the Inter-Allied Rhineland Commission. In this difficult position he showed his usual tact and judgment, and in the following year he was selected to be British Commissioner in the Allied Administration for the plebiscite in Upper Silesia. For these services he was made K.C.M.G. in 1921, and G.C.M.G. a year later.*

MAJOR E. B. SOANE

It is with the deepest regret that his friends will learn of the death of Major E. B. Soane, C.B.E. He had been in bad health (contracted on active service) for some time, and was recommended a change of climate to the north coast of Africa. His death occurred at sea on February 24. Major Soane was probably the greatest authority of the day on Persian and Kurdish languages and customs, and had written several books on these subjects, one of particular interest being that entitled "To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise." Mr. Soane's first acquaintance with the East was in 1903, in which year he was appointed Accountant of the Imperial Bank of Persia in Yezd, whereafter he held appointments in Bushire, Shiraz, and Kermanshah. Upon the outbreak of war he was in commercial employment in Baghdad, but as soon as he returned home he at once applied for and obtained employment with the Mesopotamian Political Department. Space does not permit of our recording in any detail the unique and varied activities of Major Soane during this period—how, after a brief term of tuition in the Intelligence Department, he was appointed editor of *The Bazrah Times*, a Government organ, and the only English-cum-Arabic daily in Mesopotamia, indispensable to British propaganda, but at the time enjoying only a trifling circulation, which, however, under his able management, quickly attained not only political but financial success. But Major Soane's great gifts and ability could not long be afforded for this comparatively unimportant work, and he was despatched into Bakhtiari country on the particularly difficult and risky task of tracking down certain German and Persian seditionists (followers of the famous Wassmuss), who were endeavouring to stir up trouble in Arabistan and Bakhtiaristan by preaching a holy *jehad*. Disguised as a Persian, travelling the desert, living in a black tent, with a bodyguard of six cut-throat but faithful Kurds, it was some two months before his patient efforts were rewarded, and the ringleaders captured. Major Soane's greatest achievement, however, was

* By kind permission of *The Times*, March 2, 1923.

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his administration of Dizful, a town of some 30,000 inhabitants (an unruly admixture of Lurish tribesmen, Bakhtiaris, Arabs, and Persians), over which he was appointed Governor on behalf of the British in the spring of 1916. With his aforementioned bodyguard of Kurds—six only in number, but, as already stated, all good men and true—Dizful was entered unpretentiously early one morning, the native Governor interviewed, it would seem satisfactorily, as within a few days the complete control of the town—one which, before the war, was rarely visited by any European—had been usurped by Major Soane. His rule continued undisputedly for some eight months (when he was transferred elsewhere by the British Government), and although essentially of an absolute and autocratic nature, being just and fair, was supremely successful. Major Soane's final appointment was that of Political Officer at Sulaimanya, next to Mosul and perhaps Kirkuk the largest and most important town in the villayet of that name. In closer touch with headquarters (Baghdad), his hands were not so free as was the case in Dizful, but he, nevertheless, pursued his usual policy—*i.e.*, of ruling the native on native lines in so far as these were compatible with British justice and honesty—which policy was again proved to be completely successful. It may not be generally known that at the outbreak of war Mr. Soane was the representative of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in Baghdad, was made prisoner by the Turks, and, with some twenty other European Baghdad residents, was marched across the Syrian desert to Mersina, where he remained in prison for some weeks. Previous to his appointment in Baghdad, he had represented the Oil Company at Kasr-i-Shirin, where he also held the post of H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul.

Major Soane's activities in Persia and Mesopotamia can be classed as almost if not quite unique, and are only comparable with the work of Colonel Leachman and Captain Shakespear, two other members of the Mesopotamian Political Department, both of whom, unhappily, met their deaths during the war.

C. A. W.

E.I.U.S. Club,
March 6, 1923.

At a meeting of the Central Asian Society on October 21, 1920, Dr. W. A. Wigram spoke of the work done by Major Soane at Sulaimanya as follows: "Captain Sheppard has spoken of our good fortune in that the unruly Kurds of Central Kurdistan had given no trouble of late, or taken any part in the recent troubles. I should like to bear testimony to the services of one particular officer, the man in charge of Sulaimanya, the key and capital of the whole district of Kurdistan. Major Soane, as political officer there, being left practically alone, merely by means of his personal influence and his knowledge of the turbulent people whom he knew so well, had been able to keep control of the situation."* And it may also be remarked that during Major Soane's régime in Southern Kurdistan no officer of the Civil Administration lost his life, no insignificant fact in that district in those days of unrest.

G. C. S.

* *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, Vol. VIII., Part i., p. 26.

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NOTICES

THE following books have been added to the library:

For review: "Life and Letters of Sir Mark Sykes," by Shane Leslie.
"Lands of the Thunderbolt," by the Earl of Ronaldshay.

By gift: "The Persian Revolution, 1905-1909," by E. G. Browne.

By purchase: Doughty's "Arabia."

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on February 22, 1923, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, when a lecture was given by Major Holt, R.E., on "Some Journeys in the Syrian Desert." Colonel Sir Charles Yate was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to introduce to you to-night Major Holt, who has been, I understand, surveying across the Syrian desert for a proposed railway. It will be a most interesting address, for we shall hear a great deal about a new country. But I will not detain you now; I will ask Major Holt to commence his lecture at once.

SOME JOURNEYS IN THE SYRIAN DESERT

BY MAJOR HOLT, M.B.E., M.C., R.E.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject of my lecture this evening is "Some Journeys in the Syrian Desert." These journeys were carried out by me as a railway engineer for reconnaissance purposes, with a view to discovering a possible alignment for a railway across the desert from Baghdad to the Mediterranean, so it is from a railway standpoint that I propose speaking to you to-day. I hope at the same time to show you, not only the possibilities of the railway as an engineering proposition, but its superiority over the existing means of transport and the important part it would play in the future development of the Middle East.

The desert about which I am speaking is somewhat triangular in shape. The Western boundary runs from the Gulf of Akaba past Amman and Damascus to Aleppo. The Euphrates is the Eastern boundary. The Southern one is the base of the triangle, and it runs along the southern edge of the Nafud right to the Persian Gulf.

For desert travel and for reconnaissance two important factors have to be considered: Firstly, the means of transport; secondly, that vital necessity, water-supplies. If we exclude walking, which is impractical for extensive work, there are three forms of desert transport —camel, aeroplane, and car. As I have tried them all—camel from Amman to Jauf and across to Karbala, in Iraq, a forty-one days' trip, and then again from Amman to Burqa; by car three times across the desert

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between Baghdad and Amman, and by air three times—my criticisms of the various methods are made from experience, and I believe I am the only person to have sampled all these three means of going right across the desert. I hope some day to try a fourth—namely, a train.

The camel has one great advantage in that it can travel almost anywhere in the desert, and as a proof of this I can mention the Harrat, or lava country. It is a great area, south of Damascus and east of the Jordan basin, of a continuous volcanic nature, of some 2,000 square miles. You can imagine the awful difficulties of travelling through a country whose surface is closely strewn with lumps of lava upwards of a cubic yard in size. As the camel passes along it pushes the lava boulders from side to side, and on occasions when they are round one is apt to come over. You can realize right away that nothing but a camel can go through that. For a motor-car it is quite impassable. But that is the only advantage of camel transport, that it can go anywhere. Its disadvantages are the way in which one is limited. For instance, a camel in daylight can travel a maximum of about forty miles. Now, in the summer, as we found in the journey to Jauf, and from Jauf to Karbala, forty miles was very good going for one day, and two days of such was the limit that our camels could go without water. On one occasion we were rather more than two days, and in the evening the camels were so done up that they were licking the water-bags in which were the few remaining drops of water that we had for ourselves. Thus, when carrying out summer reconnaissance on a camel you are limited to eighty miles between watering-places, and even that distance necessitates continuous hard travelling from daylight to nightfall, except for a couple of hours in the middle of the day, when the camel must graze. For reconnaissance work it is often necessary to deviate from the line of march in order to make minor investigations, and this is impossible when waterholes are some distance apart, and the most direct route has to be taken. You will see, therefore, that the camel is not a good means of travelling for reconnaissance work.

The next means of transport is the aeroplane, and it is the most valuable means of preliminary work. I never realized its importance until I chanced to go up in a machine in connection with the laying-out of the Royal Air Force route; and later, when I was about to do the reconnaissance through the lava country, I asked for aeroplanes for the work. I had found in travelling by car through the lava country along the air route that a car was quite useless, and I realized that it would take me weeks and weeks of camel work—that in parts I couid not even take a camel; so I asked, rather tentatively, for the assistance of the air. In ten hours' flying I was able to discover the drainage of the country, and to get a clear idea of where to find a suitable alignment through the lava country. In ten hours I was able to do what would have taken me months of groundwork.

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During these flights I made some rather interesting discoveries. I discovered, first, the remains of ancient habitations, in the form of a series of stone formations, originally built, I imagine, up to a height of five feet. They are five-, six-, or even eight-sided in shape, and at each corner there is a strong point—what we should regard as a machine-gun post now. Radiating from the corners you see long walls, extending, perhaps, three or four miles, with occasional small fortifications. These remains are sometimes as much as 300 yards across. I had no knowledge of them until I flew over the lava country, and I do not think they would ever have been discovered otherwise. On a subsequent flight I noticed a remarkable depression in the desert. It is some three hundred and fifty miles from Baghdad, and looks like a crater when seen from the air. I made notes of its whereabouts, and was subsequently able to visit the place when doing some more work for the Air Force. It is about 2,300 yards across, and the bottom is a sort of mud flat, 130 feet below the surrounding plain. It is particularly interesting, because along its southern and western slopes (those are the sheltered sides) you see regular villages of these circles of stones, as if the place had been very much inhabited at some period.

But suitable as the aeroplane is for trans-desert travel, with its comparative comfort and immunity from hostile raids, it fails as a final factor in reconnaissance work, because it only enables one to get a surface impression, instead of a true idea of the ground, or the thorough and exact knowledge necessary for railway work.

For railway reconnaissance in the Syrian-Arabian desert the best form of transport is the motor-car, but I do not mean an ordinary motor-car, such as you have in the street. For our desert work a condenser was specially designed, in which the steam was conveyed through a rubber pipe from the radiator cap to a condenser over the dashboard. The condensed water returned to circulation through another pipe. From the condenser there was a small escape pipe, leading to a box which held about a quart of water, and every few hours the box would be taken out and its contents emptied into the radiator. The result of that was that our daily water consumption per Ford was only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints, representing two or three pounds additional weight to the amount of motor supplies that we were obliged to carry for each day out in the desert.

The great feature of the motor-car is that, although it will not go everywhere in the desert—it will not go in the lava country—it will go round almost every obstacle, and it has an extraordinary radius. Instead of being compelled to go to water every eighty miles, I have been as much as 350 miles without touching water. On one occasion I started out from Hit for the desert with four Fords, and arrived back, after travelling 503 miles, with sufficient petrol and water for another ninety miles. You can realize the value of any form of transport which

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will take you nearly 600 miles and is self-supporting. But even a motor-car is not perfect; it has its drawbacks, and one of the things we were up against was occasional wet weather. In places the desert is so flat that a storm of forty minutes' rain turns the surface into a series of small lakes, through which all our Fords had to be man-handled. In connection with our car work, I would rather like to mention that one of the principal reasons why we were able to make such continuous, I might say very hard, journeys was because of the drivers. We had selected Indian drivers, and the way they hung together, and their loyalty to work, which was not really of great interest to them, were astonishing. They never failed us on any occasion.

The other and more important factor—in fact, the most vital thing in desert travel and reconnaissance—is water. I want just to mention some of the principal watering-places in this extraordinarily large area of some quarter of a million square miles. Leaving Ramadi, and travelling along the air route in a westerly direction, the first permanent water is at Rutba, just about 200 miles away. This is a very great distance. Continuing along the air route, water is found about 35 miles farther on at El Jidd. There is no other permanent supply till one arrives at Qasr Azraq, some 250 miles away. If one follows the Damascus route, the old trade route between Baghdad and the west, there is plenty of water between Baghdad and Hit, and a good supply at Muhaiwir, distant 96 miles. There is a small place, about ten miles from Hit, which does not affect the situation much. The next permanent water is at Bir Mulissa, 200 miles from Hit, after which water is fairly frequent as one nears Damascus. Going from north to south the distance from El Jidd to Jauf is over 160 miles, and there is no water that I know of between these places; while, on the other hand, from Amman by Jauf to Karbala water is fairly frequent. It occurs at Azraq, Amari, Kaf, Minwa, Ghatti, Qaraqar, Maasir, Qasr Nabaq, and other places on the way to Jauf; thence towards Karbala at Sakaka, Suwair, Ab al Dufuf, Judaidar al Arar, Judaidar al Hamir, Nukhaid, and Ukhaidir, where there is a remarkable old Arab palace. I do not think that there are many other permanent watering-places in the part of the desert of which I am speaking. Burqa practically always has a water-supply, but it is what you might call "last resource" water, very frequently not fit to use at all.

In a general way there are two types of life to be found in the desert. In winter, when there is a fairly plentiful supply of grass, sheep grazing is a common scene. When the grass is dried up in summer the Bedouin move their flocks to the well-watered areas of the Jordan basin or east to the Euphrates. The other form of Bedouin life, not quite so pleasant, met with in the desert is the raiding party. These Bedouin swoop down on any party considerably smaller than, say, one fifth the size of their own, for the purpose of acquiring sheep,

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goods, or arms. On one occasion a party tried to rob Flying Officer Wynne-and me, but we got away without anything more than a show of arms. I was anxious to take the arms of all the Bedouin there, but was persuaded by Captain Williams, the Political Officer with me, that it would be an injudicious thing to do, and I have no doubt he was right.

Before leaving the water question I want to make some suggestion about the railway. I do not think that water will be required for locomotive purposes, because the engines will be oil-driven ; but we shall undoubtedly need it for the personnel who are going to operate the railway—I mean the little station staffs stuck out in the desert there, so for them we shall endeavour to conserve rain-water. The stations with a little care could become quite pleasing oases with the planting of date palms and ithl trees. The latter, after careful watering during the first two years, flourish on the most barren ground without any further attention. The ithl resembles the tamarisk and grows to a height of 35 feet. I saw many at Jauf.

And now about my journeys. They began in 1920. I very much wanted to accompany Major Burton on a journey to Muhaiwir, but I did not get back from leave in time. He had a most unfortunate experience, for he was raided in the night ; three of the Bedouin with him were slain, and the officers were very lucky to escape with their lives. I visited Muhaiwir in 1920, a little later on, with Ford cars, and observed that a very heavy car had been there within a few hours of my arrival. Talking to a few Bedouin who were there, they said first of all that it was a car from the Shereef, and had come in the early hours of the morning. When I tried to get more information, they said there was a large noise about four o'clock in the morning, and they thought perhaps it was cars. It was a very interesting thing to have found that that car had come all the way from Damascus—I presume along the desert route to Muhaiwir—but it had not ventured further east. That was the beginning of my journeys. You must understand that we were seeking as direct a line from Hit to Azraq as we could find, and the whole of the country was unexplored. There were a few travellers' reports, but very naturally these travellers had kept as near to water as possible, so that the greater portion of the country in which we were interested was quite unknown. Our theory was that we could get a line somewhere up a watershed north or south of the Wadi Amej. During one of these journeys I went 350 miles without seeing water. One other journey in 1920 I made with Colonel Leachman, and to a hill which is now known as Tel Leachman.

My next journey and many others were all in connection with laying out the Royal Air Force route. It was during one flight from Hit past Qasr Khubbaz to the Wadi Amej that we flew over a remarkable feature as seen from the air. It was a huge mud flat some

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six miles by four, and we eventually used it for a landing ground. One interesting landmark is Jidr wa Jidrain. The name means "a cooking-pot and two cooking-pots." There are three hills. When flying you can see this natural feature for forty miles; it lies black on the surface. In one of our journeys we reached the highest part of the desert, and took the cars to the top of the Jabel Anaiza at an elevation of about 3,400 feet. I believe we were the first Europeans there.

On several of my journeys I came across lava boulders up to three feet long with inscriptions and quaint drawings on them. In some cases there are rude but distinct drawings of camels, in others of the human form. I took many photos, some of which have come out clearly, and these I am having examined.

Going west we came to the pools of Azraq. Azraq is always going to be a point of interest from a railway point of view. During the war it was a place of considerable interest, because Colonel Lawrence made it the base of his operations against Damascus. There you get beautiful pools, absolutely transparent, up to 15 feet in depth, and if you happen to be so inclined you can go and fish there. The pools are said to have been stocked by the Romans, and I have seen a fish weighing six pounds taken out. On the way from Qasr Azraq to Amman is Qasr Hallabat, an old hunting-box. It is interesting because, while most of it is of limestone, it has several courses of black lava which have been brought from some other building. On many of the stones there are Greek inscriptions. Near by are the remains of the reservoir. Hammam Es Sara is another place close to Hallabat. It is cruciform in shape, and has been comparatively recently converted into a small mosque, I should think perhaps a mosque for the hunting-box at Qasr Hallabat. There is another interesting circumstance about Hallabat. When flying over the lava country, I twice observed a long wall extending, I should imagine, about sixteen miles in a north-easterly direction. On my return to Baghdad with the Fords I came past Qasr Hallabat and Hammam Es Sara, and going about a mile or so out of our route we came across this wall. Still returning towards Baghdad through the lava country with our Fords we went towards Burqa. Once we had left the lava country we started to make direct for Burqa, a place I had observed from the air. It is important from the railway point of view as we must cross the desert somewhere between the Air Force route at El Jidd and Burqa. Flying Officer Wynne accompanied me on most of my journeys, as did the Solubi sheik Faraj, my guide (and a favourite one of the late Colonel Leachman).

My last journey right across the desert was from Amman with Mr. Philby. We went on camels along the Wadi Sirhan to Jauf and thence of necessity to Karbala. On the way we passed Kaf, with its salt-pans, and finally reached Fort Marid, at Jauf al Amir, which has

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been the scene of many a conflict in tribal life. After leaving Jauf we went to Sakaka, a number of hamlets forming a town of some importance with perhaps 8,000 inhabitants. At Sakaka we were detained as guests by Sultan ibn Shalan—in somewhat similar manner to the King's guests at Dartmoor. From Sakaka we travelled via Suwair and the Wadi Arar and thence through Nukhaid to Ukhaidir—three hundred miles of desert. Then on to Karbala, near the Euphrates.

When we returned from the Jauf journey I had still another expedition to make to Burqa across the lava country. You must understand that the work I had done flying and by motor-cars in the lava country was of great value, but not final. We had discovered where not to go, but had not found a way across the lava.

When we were travelling to Burqa one of our Bedouin slew a lizard. I had never realized before that a lizard could provide good food. But they opened it and extracted about a dozen eggs, from which they made an omelette for us, and afterwards they ate the lizard themselves.

I now want to get back to the railway. I have done a great deal of reconnaissance work, and have come to the conclusion that we can put a railway across the desert without a great deal of difficulty. I would like to give you an idea of the route the railway will follow.

Leaving Baghdad you would pass through some forty miles of very fertile country, which would already justify the construction of a railway, and reach the Euphrates at Dhibban, where you have to put a bridge across the river about 1,000 feet in length. From rail level to the bottom of the piers will be at least 60 feet; that is the most serious single undertaking in the whole of the trans-desert railway.

Crossing the Euphrates you run up through Ramadi to Hit, striking off into the desert past Qasr Khubbaz and Qasr Amej to Rutba. From Rutba you cross the desert most probably to Burqa. From Burqa to Qasr Azraq, and from Azraq to a place called Samra, about 22 miles north of Amman. You cannot get the railway to Amman, for that town is in the centre of a very hilly country, and quite unapproachable for a railway which is to be as economical in cost as a trans-desert railway can be. Before you reach Hit, between it and the bridge that crosses the Euphrates, there is one rather serious piece of work. This is a rock cutting half a mile long, with a maximum depth of about 50 feet.

After leaving Hit our first important stop would be Qasr Khubbaz. Although we shall not want water for the locomotives, we must make watering arrangements for the station staff, and here there are the remains of a very fine reservoir. Qasr Khubbaz was a fort on the old Damascus trade route. I was lucky enough to be there after rain, when there was a considerable stream of water flowing down the wadi. The rain must have come down in torrents, for there were new watermarks showing a depth of 18 inches of water over the dam.

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The next place which the railway will touch on the desert route is Qasr Amej. That also was a water station on the old Damascus caravan route, and it will be so again I expect. Here the tank is about 220 yards in length, and is of engineering interest, for it was very well constructed indeed, and I have no doubt that until it was neglected and burst its sides it was very efficient. The walls of the tank are about 3 feet deep and 3 feet thick at the base. Travelling across the desert you come to Rutba. Rutba is a watering-place on the Wadi Hauran, which is the largest watercourse in the desert, leading from the top of the Jabel Aneiza to the Euphrates, some 300 miles distant. The Hauran bridge is the biggest piece of engineering work we have to do in the desert; it will be 300 feet long and about 30 feet high. The wadis in the desert only run water immediately after rains, but there are occasions when they are impassable for two or three days, as I found to my cost in May, 1920, when we were laying out the air route, and we got stranded on one side of one of these wadis for two and a half days. It is most indiscreet to be in one place in the desert for a long period, but if we could not move, neither could the raiding camel riders, so we were not too anxious.

Rutba is one of the summer camping-grounds of the Solubi tribe. They are a very interesting people, quite distinct from the Bedouin. Instead of depending on camels, they have a special breed of donkeys, which are said to be able to go five days without water. Their tents are not more than about 4 feet high. The Solubi use these tents to maintain their reputation for extreme poverty; but as a matter fact you live better in a Solubi camp than if you stay any length of time with the Bedouin, for the Solubi are great hunters and good shots, while the Bedouin are very poor marksmen. The chief peculiarity of the Solubi tribe is their immunity from all raids; tradition has it that when the world was parcelled out among the tribes the Solubi got no portion as their Sheikh was asleep at the time, but as compensation Allah promised that they should be free to roam the world without molestation. They are the gipsies of the desert, and work as tinsmiths and doctors. They are also said to be descended from the Crusaders; the Arabic word for cross is *saleab*.

Crossing the Wadi Hauran, you come up to a depression known as the Wadi Abailie. There are one or two rather striking features as you pass; some witty fellow in the winter of 1921 called one of them Champagne Cork Hill.

The next point of interest is El Jidd, a rather remarkable place; it is 250 miles from Baghdad, and very nearly on the summit of the desert. Here the ancients did a great deal of work. There are many wells, two of them over 160 feet deep; that is an extraordinary depth to cut through solid limestone, and I may say that the top of these wells is not 3 feet in diameter. Once you leave El Jidd you go across

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140 miles of desert. When I got to Burqa in 1921 with the Fords we took an observation that night and worked out roughly where we were, and then we took a compass course right across to El Jidd. It was quite a new journey; I do not think any European had ever been across that part of the world before. We hit the place in a remarkable fashion; we were only two or three miles out at the end of our day's journey. This Burqa is of particular interest from a railway point of view, as it is almost certain to be an obligatory point. There is a large ruined fort or Kasr there and a reservoir, which was constructed in some remote period. I do not know the date of Burqa. There is a Kufic inscription on a door lintel, but I never heard what its date is. The wall which formed the tank at Burqa is a piece of fine masonry about 5 feet high. Originally it extended across the depression for about 200 yards, and the total length of the water held up would have been about 600 yards to a depth of 8 feet. Even now, with the reservoir silted up, I have actually seen it contain a million gallons of water.

When you leave Burqa, which is on the western edge of the smoother desert, you come at once into the rough lava country. Here are found lava boulders with sometimes blown sand between them. The Jebel Umm al Ithm is a series of volcanic cones, which probably account for the lava you see there so extensively.

Travelling for 80 miles across the lava country you come to Qasr Azraq, rather an interesting place, with its wonderful blue pools of water and the date palms that are the only trees I have seen in the desert proper. The Qasr is built of lava and basalt, and near it are mounds of lava blocks piled up into cairns, like graves. At Azraq there is a door of stone about 8 feet high, 5 feet across, and 18 inches thick, and made out of a solid lump of basalt. I suppose it weighs two or three tons. Above the archway is an Arabic inscription.

Continuing along towards the Hajaz railway, which the trans-desert railway would cross, you pass Qasr Hallabat, where there is the reservoir which I should think the Arabs must have built. It is quite dry now, and the place is of course no longer inhabited. We find another tank at Samra, a place of great interest to us, because it is the most southerly point at which we can cross the Hajaz railway. Any further south you get to the hilly country, and to go further north is only adding to the length of the line. The reservoir is of basalt blocks, and the place is known as Khirb es Samra from the ruins which are a little to the north. In the early days of the trans-desert railway you will complete your journey by going along the Hajaz railway to Haifa, and will pass en route the Yamuk Falls, a feature in a very big electric light concession in Palestine—actually they are in Trans-Jordania. Amman is the principal town of Trans-Jordania, a very interesting little town, the Rabboth Ammon of the Old Testament and the flourish-

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ing Philadelphia of the Romans, and was for a very great length of time quite uninhabited. Some forty years ago the Turks sent down a colony of Circassians from the north, who have built the place up. They have destroyed practically all the magnificent old Roman ruins, and used the material to put up their own houses.

Now I have explained to you about the route, perhaps I had better tell you a little about the railway itself. The reconnaissance showed us quite clearly that the railway is possible. The engineering works are quite easy. There is sufficient water for us, and there is ample opportunity to conserve water in necessary places. I do not want to name the places at which we could get the water for maintenance purposes, but they are there; some of them have no names. You may ask what are the purposes of this railway. Its principal purpose is the development of Mesopotamia and the shortening of the journey to India through Persia: Mesopotamia will never arrive at a full measure of prosperity until a railway runs to it from the Mediterranean. What there is to come out of Mesopotamia is a question frequently heard and easily answered by those who have studied the past history and future possibilities of the country. Its claims to wealth and importance are twofold: first agricultural, and secondly as a centre of commerce for the Middle East. Mesopotamia was once the granary of the world, as its splendid irrigation works show, and it can be so again, but its chief importance to us is as a cotton-growing area. Experiments have shown that Iraq cotton is as good as any the world can produce for length and fineness of staple. The importance of this and the advantage of conveying the bales by the quickest and cheapest route to the Mediterranean need not be emphasized.

Another purpose of the railway, and one which I think is of very great importance, will be its use as a pilgrim route. Thousands and thousands of pilgrims will travel over that railway to Mecca. It will be the cheapest journey from the East to the Mediterranean, and at the same time Baghdad will become, more than ever before, the commercial centre and clearing-house for the Persian trade.

Now I have frequently been asked what is the security of the railway. By its security I presume is meant security against the Bedouin. Why does the Bedouin carry out his raids at all? Simply with the idea of getting something out of them that will be of use to him. But a locomotive is of no use to him. He makes his tribal raids for camels and sheep. He does not raid with the purpose of taking life; that is one of the last things he wants to do. The reason that these people live in the desert at all is simply that they have nowhere else to go. They have no means of existence except that of the desert. They would farm if they had the chance, and once you open up a country like Iraq these people will flock to it and cultivate the lands—and when they are doing that the Bedouin who might have raided the

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railway will have gone, so the problem of the security of the railway rather solves itself. Another consideration is that the Bedouin must have water for his raids. It is a singular coincidence that the best alignment for the railway, and the one which we propose to follow, touches at the principal watering-places. To show you the extraordinary necessity of water to the Bedouin in his raids, I may say that in July, 1921, a very big party of Bedouin, several hundred strong, came across from Trans-Jordania to raid the Amarat tribe in the Wadi Hauran. They arrived there, raided a big camp, and got away with five or six hundred camels. They had been two days without water, and their next watering-place was El Jidd. But when they got there they found our big motor-car party of twelve cars encamped on the spot, and though there were at least 500 raiders, they did not venture near the water. We came across this party on two occasions afterwards, and I believe that as many as eighty of these Bedouins perished from thirst. If the railway sits on the watering-places, raids from the Bedouin point of view become difficult, if not impossible. One other thing I would like to mention about these raids. I have been told that the railway in Mesopotamia was cut in 1920 on account of the value to the tribesmen of its innumerable sleepers. They got away with a quarter of a million sleepers, but on the trans-desert railway that reason for raiding would be gone, because I do not suppose that wooden sleepers would be used; they will be concrete or steel. For myself, I have little doubt about the security of the railway. I do not deny that there may be a certain amount of "fees" to be paid in the manner of bribes to the tribes on the way, but it will be a very small amount compared with the operating expenses.

The last feature of the railway is whether it is going to be an economical and commercial success. Those who have dealt with the matter believe that after the railway has been working for four or five years it will more than pay its way. No one pretends that the line is going to pay its way from the day it is opened—no railway can ever do so; but when it has been working for four or five years, and has had the chance to open up the country, both Mesopotamia and Persia, we have little doubt that it will not only pay its working expenses, but good dividends as well. Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very much for listening to me.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had a very interesting lecture, and I daresay many of us have got quite a new idea of what the desert is. I believe that General Lubbock promised to come and speak to us this evening.

General G. LUBBOCK: I think I have only very little to add to Major Holt's lecture. Probably everybody is asking himself, What is the object of this railway? Major Holt has given an explanation. I

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think he might have pointed out the importance of Baghdad as a great trading centre, apart from the actual development of Iraq itself. In old days Baghdad was the distributing centre for the trade of Western Persia, a great part of Kurdistan, and most of what we now call Iraq. It is the natural centre and I think always will be, so that when conditions in that part of the world become more settled, as we think they will do in time, Baghdad will become again a great trading centre. In time to come the trade between Baghdad and Europe will grow, and it is obvious that whereas it is 350 miles by land and nearly 4,000 miles by sea, to get from Baghdad to the Mediterranean by the sea route, it is only about 700 miles by the route that Major Holt is describing. Therefore the railway short-circuits a very long détour. Nowadays one is not supposed to mention oil. (Laughter.) Well, there may be oil there, and it is obvious that if there is oil there it will have to get to the sea. That is another point for the railway, for I imagine that to get oil from the northern part of that country to the sea it will have to go across the desert, and whether you take it in trucks or by a pipe-line I do not think it can be done without the assistance of a railway. There is one other point in favour of the railway, but if any Air Force officer is here to-night, I hope he will take up that point. I believe I am right in saying that the present air route as a commercial proposition is not feasible without the railway. The Air Force does carry mails to and from Baghdad at present, but I believe the amount they carry is very limited and the expense is considerable. With the assistance of a railway to form the depôts of the desert, I believe that the utility of the air route would be very much increased. The other day I heard Major Holt stigmatized by the chairman at the lecture he was giving as an optimist. He said that all engineers were optimists. I do not think that is anything to be ashamed of. Probably the world would not be so advanced in civilization to-day if engineers had not been optimists. (Applause.) Certainly anybody who talks about a scheme of this sort is apt to be regarded as an optimist and a visionary. But sometimes these things come off. (Applause.)

Jafar Pasha: I am not prepared to say anything, but what Major Holt talked about was really very interesting to me. Certainly, I have been in Arabia, and I am an Arab myself, but I could not give so exactly the details about everything. But I say, as His Excellency the General has also said, that this railway will be a big benefit for the whole world and not only for Mesopotamia. (Applause.)

Colonel Leveson-Gower: I would like to ask a question or two. I conclude that the railway has been projected by the Government, and that the route has been provisionally surveyed by Government officials. In the first place, has the scheme got far enough for the lecturer to tell us if the railway is to be eventually built by the

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Government, or if a concession is to be given to a company or syndicate? If it is to be built by Government, is the cost to fall on the *English* taxpayer again? (Laughter.) I am also interested to know what gauge it is proposed to utilize for the railway.

Mrs. WOOD-PAYNE: You say you caught a six-pound fish. What was it?

The LECTURER: The fish in the ponds are trout and bream.

Lieut.-General Sir AYLMER HUNTER-WESTON: I think it would be of interest to a good number of us to know what the green patch is on the map. Does it represent cultivated land or land which will be cultivated later? Also, upon the green patch there is a whitish line. Does that represent that projected waterworks or anything of that sort?

Major BURTON: May I add a few words. I am very much interested to see Major Holt on this platform, because we have had dealings before, and I regard him as the successful man, and myself as the failure; Major Thomas, Major Yetts and myself formed the party which was referred to by him as that which was raided and practically left for dead, so I envy him his journey, which was more or less the journey we set out to do. We started on this railway job, to look for the air route, and an oil pipe-line, and also to go down to visit Ibn Raschid with an enormous sum of money, which may have been the attraction to the raiding party. The last time but one that I saw Major Holt, I borrowed a complete outfit of clothes from him, and came all the way home in them because I had nothing but Bedouin kit. The clothes fitted me very well, but I must join issue with him about camelling. I am much keener on camels than on cars, and have never been in an aeroplane in my life. I have done a good deal of reconnaissance on the desert, not only the Syrian desert, where I was only about a month, but on the Libyan Desert, where I once spent twelve months reconnoitring for a line which is now built to Khargeh. There we found that—in all excepting the two hottest months of the year—camels would go for six or seven days without water; on our way to Muhaiwir and beyond, the camels had to go six days. In the two hottest months I think camels will not go for six days, but for week after week and month after month on the Libyan Desert our camels went the full seven days. They were doing a round trip of 200 miles every week. I tried reconnaissance in cars in Kurdistan. Those cars were inflicted upon me by the Government—including General Lubbock—only I don't think it was his fault. (Laughter.) I found that one crossed the country much too quickly to be able to get a real impression of any gradients that were other than easy. I speak with great diffidence before the successful lecturer up there, and I can only say how it appeared to me, for although I crossed and recrossed the whole stretch of country three or four times in cars,

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I eventually had to go back to the wretched old business of going on horseback and even on foot in several parts. In ten years spent in different countries, I always found that my best reconnaissance was done on foot. Of course, you cannot go on the Syrian desert on foot, but the slowest means of transport is the most satisfactory from the railway point of view. Next to that, horses and mules—of course, camels are in the same category, though taking on a very big stretch of desert it is very tedious to do it on camel-back, and the Government first of all arranged a scheme for taking out a top-heavy agglomeration of thirty-three cars for the Syrian desert work. I was very glad when, owing to trouble on the Euphrates, all these cars got despatched to other parts, and we were allowed to choose camels. Although, of course, the expedition failed, it was not for that reason, particularly so because the raid was made about midnight, and if we had had cars it would have happened just the same. I personally regard cars as a desecration of the desert, and in that I merely quote Miss Gertrude Bell, who has done a good many thousand miles on camel-back. I think that was her expression to me. I think I have joined issue long enough, so I will just raise one point—that is, I did not notice mention of Bir Molussa as a watering place. I got within two or three miles of this point, but had to turn back because the country was altogether too unpleasant. There was no cover and I was single-handed, for my companions were *hors de combat* and could not come on with me; the Bedouin allege that there are three good wells there. Halfway between Molussa and Muhaiwir I personally saw three wells north of Major Holt's route, not very far away, and I actually saw the Bedouin getting water there. I drank it, but it was not very good. Another question in connection with water is as to how long these wells would be likely to hold up against pumping for railway purposes. I got a good deal of data from the Bedouin there, and they told me how quickly the water disappears when there is a constant drain even by a portion of the tribe of Bedouin. They very soon get away with the water, and I am under the impression that if one began to pump for railway purposes the water would disappear very quickly, and might take some time to filter in again. My recommendation was that there appeared to be so little to be gained by locating the railway near any of the wells I saw, that it would be better, for topographical reasons, to try the watershed south of Wadi Hauran, and I am much interested to find that this forecast has proved to be a sound one.

The Chairman: I have done a good many miles on a camel in my life, but generally on good trotting camels, and I think we can all sympathize with the last speaker when he says that camel travelling in the Syrian desert is tedious work. To do forty miles a day on a camel that only goes at a walk is a very tedious business, and it shows the hardihood of our men that they can go through it. I was

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glad to hear what good service the Indian motor drivers did in crossing the desert. Major Burton says a motor is a desecration of the desert, but I think it is a great thing that our Indian drivers should have done so well as they did in carrying out such work. One of the things that most struck me in the lecture to-day was the extraordinary remains of those ancient buildings that we saw on the screen; those huge blocks of limestone that have been cut and worked in some ancient time. Nobody seems to know what date they belong to. They are really an extraordinary feature in the desert; they astonished me very much indeed, and I think they must have astonished all of us. Also, when we hear of wells 160 feet in depth, all lined with stone, and only three feet in diameter, we see what wonderful work the ancients did. Every day we live we seem to realize more and more what extraordinary work the ancients did at any time up to three thousand years ago or more, and these works excite our admiration. The lecturer told us that this railway, whoever it is projected by, is destined to work out the salvation of Mesopotamia. The question of Mesopotamia, as you all know, at the present time, is one of very serious import. We had a debate on it in the House of Commons, as you may have read in the papers, within the last day or two. The question is of great interest at the present time, but none of us can say anything about Mesopotamia until we know whether peace with Turkey is going to be obtained or not. Everything hinges on peace with Turkey at the present moment. Oil has been mentioned, and, as General Lubbock said, if oil is found a railway will be necessary for the carriage of that oil; or, if a pipe-line is made, a railway will be necessary to carry the pipes and deposit them along the route. Oil, as far as we know, has not been proved to exist in Mesopotamia yet; that is to say, there are indications of oil, but nobody knows at what depth it will be found, or whether any really workable oil strata will be found or not. We know that the indications of oil stretch down from opposite Basra along the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf, but whether the oil-bearing strata commence at Mosul or where we cannot tell. One of the principal things on which I think the future of Mesopotamia will depend is cotton. If long-stapled cotton can be produced there in good quantity you may say that the whole future of Lancashire may depend on it. If it can produce long-stapled cotton it will be one of the most valuable countries for us to have an influence in. I think the possibility of things of that sort ought to be borne in mind. We have a great outcry in various newspapers at the present time for the immediate evacuation of Mesopotamia, bag and baggage. I think we must consider very deeply whether with all the possibilities there may be in Mesopotamia—and the lecturer has touched on some of them—that bag-and-baggage policy of immediate evacuation is really the right one, or whether we should be given a little time to consider what Mesopotamia may bring

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forth. As to the question of the carriage of cotton or oil—viz., whether seven hundred miles of railway would be a cheaper mode of transit than four thousand miles by sea—is a question between railway rates and sea freights that will require elucidation in the future. Whether the railway will be able to compete with the cheaper sea carriage or not, no one can say at the present moment. Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. I would just like to ask our lecturer to-day if he would now reply to the various questions put to him, and if anybody else has any question that comes to mind, I hope they will ask the lecturer to give them the benefit of his experience on the subject. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After the enormous number of questions that have been fired at me I feel like asking for "Lights Out." I will deal with them one by one. "Who did the railway reconnaissance, and who paid for it?" It was done in the course of the laying out of the Royal Air Force Baghdad-Cairo route. Undoubtedly H.M.G. bore the cost of it. As regards the building of the railway, and who is to bear the cost, the time is far too early to say. A decision is not even arrived at whether we are going to stay in Mesopotamia. I do not now whether, if we evacuated, a railway might still be required, but certainly its coming would be postponed. Another question was as to the gauge: the nature of the desert is such that there is no physical feature which limits gauge at all. The obvious thing to do, then, is to fix the gauge to the country which would be subsequently linked up with Mesopotamia—I refer to Persia. A very extensive, detailed railway survey has been carried on in Persia, and the result is a decision in favour of the metre gauge. The railway through the desert would be of metre gauge also, conforming to the existing gauge of the major portion of the railways now in Mesopotamia. As to the green colour on the map, that ensnared me also: I always pictured the Wadi Sirhan as a fertile country; but the green is merely a colouring distinction to show elevation. It is below five hundred metres. That is the only reason. The white line I do not recollect; it may have been a scratch on the plate. We come to the controversy Camels versus Motor-cars. (Laughter.) My cars in 1920 were some of the original thirty fitted out for Major Burton's expedition; but we had one extra attachment which I regard as an essential—a mileage recorder, registering up to one-tenth of a mile. This for reconnaissance work is immeasurably superior to the approximate distances estimated from the varying pace of a camel, mule, or horse, or even of a man walking. I am afraid I have not the sentiment that attaches one-self to the camel at all. (Renewed laughter.) The most awful agony I ever endured in my life was during the first four days of the expedition. I had never been on a camel, and the only way to do the expedition was on a camel. Rowing is alleged to stir

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up every muscle, but there are a million other muscles which the camel finds out. But of course our personal discomfort is a very small thing; my point about the camel is this, that, working in the summer as we were, we could not do more than two days without water. You must realize that we travelled from dawn to dark—reconnaissance after dark is utterly useless: if you cannot see the surface features you might as well not do the work. I agree that car reconnaissance in Kurdistan and such places is not very effectual unless you combine it with a great deal of walking—I have no great use for riding a horse in reconnaissance; I find it impossible to make the notes I want. The final point as regards the camels and motors is this: the camels would never have accomplished the laying out of the Royal Air Force route. The only way it could ever have been done is by car. The sentimental question of the desecration of the desert is entirely a personal equation. If the desert was desecrated by motor-cars, still more so was it desecrated by the empty whisky bottles and tins that once contained bully beef, that I have seen lying about there. (Laughter.) I am sorry if I omitted reference to Bir Molussa; it was a fault on my part if I did, but I thought I had mentioned it. There are one or two intermediate supplies which are not permanent—the supplies I have mentioned are supplies that we can rely on. As regards the quantity of water, it has interested me deeply. On both camel journeys and motor journeys it has been one of the things I have enquired into very much. At Rutba and El Mat, where the railway would come to on the Wadi Hauran, it is alleged that fifteen thousand camels can water day after day, and that the water replenishes itself as fast as it is drawn. I have watched them water at El Mat, and can bear out as to the speed at which the water replenishes. That was in July and August, 1921. As regards El Jidd, it is not a feature of railway importance for water. I do not think there are any further cross-examinations that have been thrown at me; if there are, would someone remind me.

Major BURTON: One more question: when those tanks are reconstructed, can you count on any rainfall to fill them?

The LECTURER: I surmise between six and eight inches of rain in the part of the desert where I was working. That would provide a great supply of water. In the old days of the pilgrim route from Damascus to Mecca, the water-supply was entirely dependent on what fell—and if there is sufficient water in that part of the desert I think you will find sufficient in the Syrian desert where the railway would go. Thank you for your patience.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will join in giving a hearty vote of thanks to our lecturer. (Applause.)

LECTURER'S NOTE.—Since giving the lecture I have learned that the inscription on the door lintel at Burga mentions that the building was erected by the Prince Al-Walid in the year 81 or about A.D. 700.—A. L. H.

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CHINA AND THE POWERS

At a meeting of the Central Asian Society held on Thursday, March 8, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, a paper was read by the Right Hon. Sir John Jordan, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., on "China and the Powers." General Sir Charles C. Monro was in the chair.

Prior to the reading of the lecture, the Hon. Secretary, Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, made the following statement:

"Since our last meeting we have elected thirteen new members, viz.: The Lord Raglan, Sir Claude Hill, K.C.S.I., Mr. R. Mitchell Banks, M.P., Colonel A. J. Turner, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel E. C. Bayley, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel J. H. M. Cornwall, C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Shakespear, I.A. (ret.), Mr. S. F. Stewart, C.I.E., Mr. F. E. Whittal, Mr. E. R. T. Lyall, Major F. J. Collas, O.B.E., Major R. D. Furse, D.S.O., Captain J. M. Mackenzie, M.C.

"We have recently added to our library the following books:

"(*a*) By gift: From Mr. Moon, 'The Causes of the Afghan War,' by McColl (autograph copy).

"(*b*) For review: 'The Heart of Arabia,' by H. S. J. Philby; 'The Turkish Empire,' by Lord Eversley and Sir Valentine Chirol; 'Travels in Eastern Tibet,' by Eric Teichman; 'The Spirit of Islam,' by Syed Ameer Ali; 'The Ins and Outs in Mesopotamia, 1920,' by E. R. T. Lyall; 'Turkey,' by S. Lane-Poole; 'The Insurrection in Mesopotamia, 1920,' by Lieut.-General Sir A. Haldane; 'Siwa: The Oasis of Jupiter Ammon,' by C. Dalrymple Belgrave; 'The Babur-Nama in English,' by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge.

"(*c*) By purchase: 'New World of Islam,' by Lothrop Stoddart; 'Three Years in Tibet,' by E. Kawaguchi; 'Lhasa and its Mysteries,' by Waddell; 'Exploits of Asaf Khan,' by Afghan; 'Recent Happenings in Persia,' by J. Balfour; 'The Caliphate,' by Muir; 'Bolchevisme et Islam,' from the *Revue du Monde Musulman*.

"The Council of the Society is desirous of gradually forming a library which in process of time will become worthy of, and, moreover, a great help to, the Society. That library now consists of some 400 to 500 volumes, which we mainly owe to the generosity of Lady Trotter, Miss Tanner, Sir Percy and Miss Ella Sykes, Mr. Moon, and some other members. We are indebted also to authors and publishers who have sent books for review in our Journal. The Council further wishes it to be known that books can be borrowed from the library by members under conditions which have been framed by the Hon. Librarian, Mr. Roland Michell."

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The CHAIRMAN: It is my good fortune to introduce to your notice as our lecturer to-day Sir John Jordan, and it is my equally good fortune to find it perfectly unnecessary for me to say anything further in reference to Sir John Jordan, with whose knowledge and experience in respect to China we are all well conversant. Without further ado I will ask him now if he will kindly read his paper. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN JORDAN then read his paper:

The problems which confront China and the Powers are so numerous that it is difficult to know where to begin. For their proper understanding it will perhaps be best to give a short account of the events which have led up to the present political situation in China. It is not necessary to go back more than a quarter of a century or so. The China-Japan War of 1894 was the first rude shock which China experienced in recent times, and it was followed in the next few years by a bewildering succession of similar awakenings. A year or so later Russia, anxious to link up her remote possessions in Eastern Asia with her European system, obtained a concession to build the line which is now known as the Chinese Eastern Railway, through the heart of Manchuria, and saved the long detour which going round the River Amur would have involved. That was the first concession of the kind granted by China, and it was the ominous precursor of the many subsequent complications which befel the country. Shortly afterwards the German Emperor, after sounding, as his recent book explains, his imperial colleague in Russia, seized the port of Kiaochow, and obtained the lease of a large slice of territory with extensive railway and mining concessions, which converted the province of Shantung into a German preserve. England and France followed suit. We took Wei Hai Wei and the Kowloon extension opposite Hong Kong on a similar lease, and Kuang Chou Wan opposite the island of Hainan in the south fell to France. For a time it seemed as if China, which had survived Mongol invasions by land and Japanese attacks by sea all through the ages, was at last to fall a prey to Western aggression, and appropriately enough a British Admiral appeared on the scene and gravely warned the world of the imminent break-up of China. Then came the Boxer movement, which made confusion still worse confounded, and completed the tale of Chinese misfortunes. But in some ways all these troubles were a blessing in disguise. They served to disabuse China of her innate feeling of superiority and dislike of foreigners, and marked the beginning of a new outlook. The Manchu dynasty had exhausted its mandate, and although the Empress Dowager, in spite of advanced age and failing health, made a gallant effort to retrieve the fortunes of her house, it was morally certain that she would be the last of her race to rule China. In the ten years which followed despairing efforts were made to give China a brand-new Constitution on foreign lines, and to prop up a tottering fabric by buttressing it

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with supports borrowed from the West. But all was in vain, and in 1911 the collapse came. A revolutionary movement in Hankow, which could easily have been crushed had there been any support for the Manchu cause, brought down the age-long monarchy, and China became the latest and, in many respects, the strangest addition to the ranks of Republican Governments. That she was not fitted for such an advanced form of government is beyond all question. It is true that there has always been a marked democratic spirit amongst the people, and that there was a certain amount of self-government of a crude description in the village communities. But education was still very limited, and a very large proportion of the population could neither read nor write. To foist representative institutions upon a people who had no political training was the rash experiment of a comparatively small group of men who had been educated abroad, and it carried with it the certainty of failure. The Parliament which assembled in due course in Peking offered an interesting study in political science. One thing in particular impressed an observer who knew the Chinese of old. It was amazing to see how easily men drawn from all parts of the country—some coming from a distance of 2,000 miles—adapted themselves to the new order of things, how rapidly they acquired all the technique of Parliamentary procedure, and with what facility and total absence of all self-consciousness they expressed themselves, although the majority had probably never before addressed an audience in their lives. But the material for practical constructive statesmanship was wanting. They had no force of public opinion to sustain or check their action, no principles to guide them, and, as was only natural in the circumstances, split into partisan cliques, with little cohesion to cement a common policy. It is only fair, however, to say that they had never a fair trial. China was a Republic with a Dictator as President. Yuan Shih-Kai had no faith in Republican institutions for China, and did not conceal his contempt for the chattering youngsters who tried to curb his authority by the new-fangled Parliamentary restraints. In the end he dissolved the Assembly, and for two years China presented the spectacle of a Republic under the absolute rule of a President-Dictator. Much progress was made in consolidating and unifying the provinces under one central authority, and had not Yuan been so ill-advised as to launch his monarchical project, it is probable that the country might have enjoyed a period of comparative tranquillity under his benevolent despotism. But his untimely death in 1916 deprived China of the only really strong man it has produced in recent times, and the last six years have witnessed the growth of a pseudo-militarism which has made all China the prey of warring factions. The military governors, or *tuchuns* as they are called, are mostly old subordinates of Yuan Shih-Kai, whom he had stationed at various centres to strengthen his

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hold over the provinces. The system worked well while he lived, but on his death the *tuchuns* became a law unto themselves. They recruited and maintained their own armies and formed combinations amongst themselves, either to overawe the Central Government at Peking or to secure ascendancy in the provinces. The Government at Peking exercised little authority over the country, and was only recognized by the *tuchuns* so far as it suited their own interests. Exact statistics are not available, but it is estimated that over a million of men are on the pay-rolls of these provincial satraps, and that about 65 per cent. of the total revenue is absorbed in the support of useless troops. There are, however, some noteworthy exceptions to this state of general maladministration. The province of Shansi, west of Peking, is admirably governed by a most active and energetic man, a veritable hustler and a drastic reformer. Yen Hsi-han was an obscure military officer when the revolution of 1911 broke out, but he at once came to the front and took supreme control of his native province, which he has ruled so well ever since that it has justly gained the reputation of being the model province in China. I paid a visit to Governor Yen some four years ago, and was amazed at his boundless energy and the range of his activities. There was nothing from athletics to foot-binding in which he did not seem to take an intelligent interest. He makes frequent tours of the province, is in telephonic communication with all his district officers, delivers lectures on the work of administration, and takes care to select subordinates who share his enthusiasm. He insisted, amongst other things, on all his subordinates riding bicycles, and on finding that the suggestion was coolly received, challenged them all to a bicycle race, in which he proved an easy winner. He neither smokes nor drinks, and is a drastic opponent of opium in every form. Shansi used to be a large producer of opium, but there is not a stalk of the poppy to be found in the province.

Another noted reformer is the Christian General Fêng Yü-hsiang, who seems to be a sort of Eastern Cromwell. He is now in command of some 30,000 men at Peking, who have received no pay for over a year, but do not falter in their allegiance to their chief. Some 10 per cent. of them are Christians, and both he and his officers carry on evangelization work in the ranks. The presence of such a large force of trained troops in the capital suggests, however, grave misgivings and the possibility of renewed conflict for the control of the governing machinery at Peking.

But these are only exceptions which prove the rule, and generally speaking, China, as a whole, fell into a state of confusion after Yuan Shih-Kai's death, and the Great War in Europe reacted to the serious detriment of her interests. Yuan Shih-Kai had made an effort to bring China into the war on the side of the Allies, but the attempt was frustrated by outside influences. A year before his death he had

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been obliged to make important political concessions to Japan as the result of the Twenty-one Demands of 1915, and in subsequently entering into the war in 1917 at the invitation of the American Government, China was doubtless largely actuated by the hope of retrieving the ground she had then lost. But as the war continued, China's position gradually became worse. She suffered not only from increased internal confusion, but the successive Governments at Peking, deprived of all the customary sources of revenue, borrowed immense sums of money from Japanese financiers, all of which was spent on futile military preparations and other unproductive objects, with the result that the country's resources were pledged to the hilt, and that the breach between Peking and the South was widened beyond repair. Early in the war the Germans had been dislodged from Kiaochow by the Japanese, aided by a British contingent, and Japan had thus fallen heir to the great inheritance which had been built up by Germany during her fifteen years' occupation of the leased territory. The other Allied Powers, with the exception of America, had given Japan assurances of their support in the assertion of these rights when the terms of peace came to be considered, and in conformity with this pledge, the Treaty of Versailles transferred to Japan all German rights, title, and privileges in Shantung. China had, it is true, undertaken, as part of the Twenty-one Demands, to consent to any settlement which Japan might make with Germany, but her main object in entering the war was to evade this obligation, which had, she contended, been forced upon her. The Treaty of Versailles has been described on high authority as a "human charter." The human side, which it assumed in Chinese eyes, was that it handed over the interests of 35 millions of Chinese to a foreign Power. China refused to sign it, and the Paris decision raised a storm of protest throughout the country. For the first time in its history Chinese public opinion became a potent influence, and an outcry went up from all parts of the country against what was loudly denounced as a cynical instance of Western injustice. Mobilized public opinion organized a boycott of unparalleled severity and intensity, and proved itself a very formidable weapon of defence. Fortunately for us the Americans had to bear their share of the blame for a transaction to which their President, on whose support the Chinese had placed special reliance, had given the full weight of his authority. The rejection of the Versailles Treaty by the United States Senate was hailed by the Chinese as a justification of their attitude, and strengthened their determination to accept no compromise short of the restoration of the territory which had been filched from them by Germany twenty years before. Things dragged on for a year or two until the Washington Conference, which will always form a great landmark in the history of the East, undertook the solution of this and other Chinese problems. The Conference was primarily convened for the purpose of considering

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what measures might be taken for the reduction of armaments, but as it was obvious that a removal of existing causes of misunderstanding was a necessary preliminary to the success of any scheme of the kind, it was suggested that the Conference should embrace in the scope of its work an examination of Pacific and Far Eastern questions. The whole situation in China was full of danger to the world's peace, and there was urgent need of something being done to straighten it out. A quarter of a century's competition in securing leased territories, spheres of influence, railway concessions, and all the other numerous privileges regarded as useful levers for territorial absorption or economic exploitation, had tied China and the Powers up in knots which it seemed better to unloose by peaceful means than to leave them to be cut some day by more forceful measures. The time was opportune for taking stock of all the circumstances. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which had been the dominant factor in Far Eastern politics for nearly twenty years, was due for renewal. That Alliance had never been liked by China, and had in recent years become very unpopular in America. China regarded it as derogatory to her dignity that an arrangement which had originally applied to Corea, her quondam vassal State, should, without her consent, have been extended to her, and the fate of Corea was the measure of the confidence she was disposed to place in the Alliance as a means of securing her independence. The Shantung decision had further weakened her belief in the efficacy of the instrument as helpful to China. In America the Alliance was regarded as a barrier to Anglo-American friendship, and it was felt both in Great Britain and Japan that with the disappearance of Russian and German aggression it had no longer any reason for existence. The first step, therefore, at Washington was to merge the Alliance into a wider compact, which comprised the four Powers chiefly interested in the region of the Pacific—viz., Great Britain, Japan, the United States, and France. In the quadruple Pacific Treaty each of these Powers agrees to respect the rights of the others in that region. Should any controversy arise between them as regards these rights, a joint Conference is to be called to adjust the dispute, and if the rights in question are threatened by the action of any other Power, the signatory Powers are to consult together fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to how they are to deal with it. Senator Lodge, in reporting the conclusion of this Treaty to the Conference, dwelt upon its essentially pacific character—in contrast with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which it superseded, it contained no provision for the use of force to give effect to its terms. The surest way to prevent war is, as he said, to remove the causes of war, and this was an attempt to remove the causes of war over a great area of the globe's surface by relying upon the good faith and honest intentions of the Powers who had attached their signatures to the agreement. Probably no document

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of such vast importance and covering such immense and widely separated regions as Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, and Honolulu, was ever compressed into fewer words—only four short and simple clauses which are to test this great experiment in Treaty-making for the next ten years.

Three other Treaties dealing exclusively with the problems of China were signed at Washington, and these require some examination. First in importance comes the nine-Power Treaty signed by the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, defining the principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China. As already stated, China had been carved into spheres of influences and leased territories, and had been so enmeshed in railway and other concessions that the Powers found it as much in their own interests as in those of China to arrive at some understanding which would minimize points of friction and obviate the possibility of a world conflict. China, with its teeming population and great natural resources, is perhaps the most promising potential market in the world of to-day, and its importance has been immensely enhanced by the severe restrictions which the Great War imposed on the producing and consuming capacity of the nations of Europe. At Washington the Powers realized, as they had never done before, the necessity of conserving China for the common trade of the world at the cost of sacrificing, in some measure at least, their special rights and privileges. In times past some of them had entered into agreements between themselves recognizing the sovereignty and independence of China and accepting the principle of equal opportunity as the basis of their action, but China had never been made a party to any of these transactions, the fine professions of which had too often been disregarded in practice. Now for the first time the Powers associate China with them and make a joint and solemn declaration that they will respect her sovereignty and independence, both territorial and administrative; that they will uphold the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations; that they will refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China to seek special privileges. As a means of giving effect to the principle of equality of opportunity—the principle which is known as the "Open Door" policy —all monopolies and preferences are forbidden, and by way of abolishing spheres of influence, no Power is permitted to acquire a general superiority of commercial or economic rights in special regions of China. Full publicity is hereafter to be given to all matters affecting the political and other international obligations of China, and detailed arrangements are to be made for having existing commitments and all future contracts recorded with the Secretariat-General of the Conference.

It may seem strange that the Powers should have found it neces-

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sary to make such elaborate arrangements, to regularize their action in China, but it must be remembered that China had become the happy hunting-ground of concessionnaires, and that foreign exploitation, encouraged by the corruption of Chinese officialdom, had brought things to a pass where collective self-denial and common action became an imperative duty.

There was hardly a province in all that vast country in which the Powers themselves and their nationals were not in acute conflict on questions arising out of their special interests, accruing from Treaties and agreements dating back in some cases 20 or 30 years. In the case of Great Britian spheres of influence had ceased to have much operative effect, but some other Powers were rapidly coverting them into close preserves, from which British and American trade was gradually being excluded. We opened China to the commerce of the world, and we opened it on terms of perfect equality to all nations. The early Treaties left nothing to be desired in that respect, and, had they been observed in practice, there would have been no necessity for the Washington Conference. But as China gradually weakened under the impact of foreign aggressiveness, and her own gross maladministration, a whole series of Treaties, agreements, and other documents of a still more dubious origin, the text of which fills two large volumes published by the State Department at Washington, came to be overlaid on, and to supplement, the early Treaties. These dealt almost exclusively with concessions, and rights granted to particular Powers, and as the same rights were often granted to two or more Powers, the confusion which ensued can be readily imagined.

The Washington Conference made an earnest effort to find a way out of this morass, and to prevent China and the Powers from slipping back into it in the future. That the attempt will wholly succeed can hardly be expected so long as human nature remains what it is. Only those who have lived in a great undeveloped country of immense potentialities to the commerce of the world can realize the temptation which China offers to the restless and enterprising foreigner. He chafes daily at seeing human beings straining under burdens which ought to be conveyed by railways, at seeing carts struggling axle deep in roadless tracks, at seeing the hills stripped bare of every vestige of grass for fuel, where there are some of the richest coal seams in the world—in short, at witnessing all the hundred and one disabilities under which a splendid people labour through lack of organized government. And so the foreigner, impatient of Chinese ways, wants to make railways and roads, to open mines, and to develop the country generally, and for fully a quarter of a century Peking has become a second Constantinople where the atmosphere is heavily charged with loans and concessions, and where hosts of foreign promoters live handsomely on funds subscribed by guileless people at home. Washington swept a

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good many of them away, and did as much as the varied interests at stake permitted to substitute for the fierce and sordid competition of the past a spirit of fair co-operation and equal opportunity. As one who has had to deal practically with these matters, and has, indeed, been in the thick of this competition for many years, I realize only too well that mere verbal formulæ are a weak barrier to resist or restrain the onset of rival national ambitions, but the fact that the Powers themselves have recognized the danger of continuing to exploit the weakness and corruption of Chinese officialdom, and have entered into this self-denying ordinance, furnishes some evidence of their desire to make it effective. China had asked that she should be freed from the danger or threat of foreign aggression, and from the limitations which prevented her solving her problems in her own way, and at Washington she obtained at least an instalment of these requirements.

The next Treaty signed at Washington related to the Customs Tariff, and is too technical to be noticed in detail. The Chinese Tariff was fixed by treaty sixty years ago on the basis of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on imports and exports. The arrangement is admittedly a one-sided one which requires modification. But the fiscal conditions obtaining in China are of a very primitive and cumbrous nature, and the whole system requires overhauling in the interests of Chinese and foreign trade alike. Shortly after the conclusion of the early Treaties, the whole country was devastated by the great Taiping rebellion, and to recoup their shattered finances, the Chinese instituted new inland taxes known as *likin*, which are collected at barrier stations dotted thickly all over the country. These exactions, from the uncertainty of their incidence as much as by their amount, constitute a great burden upon trade, and both Chinese and foreigners have always regarded their abolition as an essential condition of commercial expansion. By Treaties concluded in 1902 and 1903 the British, American, and Japanese Governments had undertaken to increase the Customs duties to 12½ per cent. in return for the abolition of *likin* and other inland dues. This arrangement has never been put into effect, and at Washington the Chinese practically put forward a claim for Tariff autonomy. But to have conceded such a request irrespective of the reduction of the inland dues would, in the present state of the country, have been a very doubtful blessing. Recognizing that the question was one which could be best settled on the spot, the Conference decided to appoint a Commission, to meet in the near future in China, whose main duties will be to pave the way for the abolition of *likin*, and arrange, in the meantime, for the levying of a surtax that will raise the import duty to 7½ per cent. *ad valorem*, with an increase to 10 per cent. on articles of luxury.

Before any practical steps are taken to give effect to this provision of the Washington Treaties, it is, in my opinion, essential that the whole political situation in China should be submitted to careful study.

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The provision is, it will be observed, contingent upon some arrangement being made for the abolition of inland dues. Any such arrangement presupposes the existence of a Government exercising control over the country. At present there is no such Government nor the prospect of any in the near future. China should be frankly told that the Powers are willing, and even anxious, to grant the increased duties the moment she is in a position to perform her part of the contract, but not sooner. To give the proceeds of the increased duties to Peking or to any of the numerous Governments which are striving for mastery of the country would be a disservice to the Chinese people and would only perpetuate the vicious system of financial extravagance which Peking has practised for years. Crude suggestions that the money should be utilized for the disbandment of superfluous troops under foreign supervision seem hardly to call for serious consideration. Equally unsound is the idea of using it to meet the service of a loan to fund the unsecured debts which now amount to close upon £100,000,000. All loans should be taboo until China is in a position to carry on productive enterprises—in other words, until she has a Government.

Extra-territoriality was another problem which received consideration at Washington. In the early days of foreign intercourse China, like the Ottoman Empire, accepted the principle that aliens within her borders should remain subject to the laws and customs of their own country, and this principle became a recognized Treaty right. Foreign residence was confined to the Treaty Ports, and as the residents were comparatively few in number and drawn from the law-abiding classes, Consular Courts had little difficulty in controlling their nationals. Great Britain made her judicial system effective more than fifty years ago by establishing a Supreme Court in Shanghai, and this example was followed more recently by the United States. But, as a rule, the judicial procedure of the other Powers leaves much to be desired. At first there were only five Treaty Ports, now there are nearly fifty, and the number of Japanese and Russians in China must not be far below half a million.

The first breach in the extra-territorial structure, which had remained intact for over seventy years, occurred during the Great War. When China declared war against Germany, she assumed jurisdiction over the persons and property of enemy subjects, and Germans and Austrians are now amenable in all things to Chinese jurisdiction. The next step was the assertion of jurisdiction over the nationals of all Powers which had no Treaty with China. This applied principally to the new States created by the Treaty of Versailles. Then came the most important case of all, that of Russia. As early as 1689 Russia had concluded a Treaty with China stipulating for exterritorial treatment for her people, and this had been exacted with drastic severity for nearly 250 years. The Russian upheaval brought

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China's opportunity, and in September, 1920, China denounced the Russian Treaties and cancelled. their exterritorial privileges. The Russian Consulates, nineteen in number, were handed over to the Chinese authorities, and the Russian Concessions at Hankow and Tientsin came under Chinese administration. Some 200,000 Russians living in different parts of China, who had enjoyed an exceptional measure of protection under the Czarist régime, have fallen from their high estate and are now entirely at the mercy of the Chinese authorities, whose treatment of them has been severely criticized by the foreign press in China. It will be seen from the foregoing that a large part of Europe no longer occupies an exterritorialized position in China. But that only renders the importance of the question all the greater to a nation like Great Britain, whose subjects have many millions of money invested in the country and whose immense trade requires protection from the unbridled licence of militant *tuchuns*. In accordance with a resolution passed at Washington, it was agreed that a commission, in which China would be represented, should be appointed to examine the question in all its bearings and report.

The importance of the whole question of exterritoriality is accentuated by the recent negotiations for the abolition of the much older system of capitulations in Turkey. According to press reports, the Allies consented to their abolition on the sole condition apparently that during a period of five years the Turkish judiciary should be assisted by a body of "Legal Councillors" appointed by Turkey herself. Whatever may be the case in Turkey, it is safe to say that no such substitute for exterritoriality could be accepted as a sufficient safeguard for foreign rights in China. China has produced numerous Codes of Laws, but her judiciary, such as it is, is powerless in the face of military adventurers who recognize no law. It will be a generation at least before China is in a position to assert her claim to judicial equality with more civilized Powers. Shanghai may be cited as an example of the magnitude of the foreign interests at stake. It is rapidly becoming the most important and prosperous commercial centre East of Suez, and is a self-governing community which has no parallel elsewhere in the world. Some 800,000 Chinese and over 20,000 Europeans live under the benevolent rule of a municipal council composed of nine men, seven of whom are British, which administers a revenue almost equal to that of a small European State and is a model efficient Government. For Chinese and foreigners alike in these large commercial centres exterritoriality is, in the present state of China, the sheet anchor on which all their vast business relations depend.

Far the most important result of the Washington Conference was the rendition of Shantung to China. On this the whole success of the Conference depended, for without it the U.S. Senate would not have ratified the Washington Agreements and China would not have signed

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them. In England nobody seemed to know or care much about Shantung, but in America, where public opinion was much better informed, it became a very live question. It was felt that a great public wrong had been done which had to be rectified. There were, however, great difficulties in submitting the question directly to the Conference. Seven of the Powers sitting at the Conference table were signatories to the Treaty of Versailles handing over all German rights in Shantung to Japan, and were already committed. No favourable result could therefore be expected from a direct appeal. The Conference, however, offered an admirable opportunity for bringing Japan and China together and letting them thresh out their differences under its auspices. To facilitate this, the good offices of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour were offered to both sides and gratefully accepted. Representatives of both these statesmen were to be present at all the interviews and were to have the right to interpose with friendly suggestions. The delegates on both sides were admirably equipped for their task, and had the advantage of foreign expert advice of the highest order. A long duel was fought, extending over thirty-six meetings of three hours each, in which every foot of the ground was contested with courteous patience, great dialectical skill, and firm tenacity of purpose. Time and again there was a deadlock which necessitated reference to Peking or Tokio and threatened to end in a rupture. The proceedings were conducted entirely in English, and offered a striking example of the use which can be made of the English tongue in the hands of highly trained Oriental diplomatists. If the spoils of victory went to the Chinese, the palm for moral courage must be awarded to the Japanese delegates for shouldering the responsibility of a great unpopular act of self-denial. China not only regained all she had been obliged to cede to Germany twenty years before, but became the reversionary legatee of valuable public works which Germany and Japan had constructed during the long term of their occupation. During the fifteen years of their tenure of Kiaochow the Germans spent millions of money in developing the port of Tsingtao, in building fortifications, in constructing excellent roads throughout the leased territory, and in afforestation schemes in which the Emperor took a keen personal interest. The whole territory, embracing an area of 190 square miles, was a veritable piece of Germany transported to China. Their greatest achievement was the construction of a first-class railway, 265 miles in length, which connected the port with the capital of the province and opened up a rich country in which they carried on large mining enterprises. The whole of the leased territory was restored to China, who undertook to have it opened to foreign trade and residence. The railway was transferred to China on her agreeing to pay its assessed value. All Japanese troops were to be withdrawn from the railway and the port of Tsingtao, and thereafter no Japanese troops of any kind were to remain in any part of

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Shantung. The Custom House at Tsingtao, which, under the German régime, was exclusively staffed by Germans, was to be made an integral part of the Chinese Maritime Customs under the British Inspector-General at Peking. The submarine cables, wireless stations, public buildings, etc., were taken over by China on payment of fair compensation. During the year which has elapsed since the Washington Conference, the Japanese have carried out all these engagements with scrupulous exactness, and China is now in full possession of her ancient province. Her best friends feel grave misgivings as to the use she will make of the port, the railway, and all the other numerous gifts she received at Washington.

I have given a very brief outline of some of the problems between China and the Powers which were solved at Washington, but there are other problems almost as important which await solution by China herself. Of these there is only time to notice one or two. In the forefront, perhaps, stands the reunification of the country under a Central Government. It would be an unprofitable task to attempt to describe the factional struggles which have kept China in a constant ferment during the past few years. The fundamental fact is that there is no longer any Government which can claim control over more than a very limited area of the country. There is a Government at Peking which is recognized by the Powers, but which has little authority outside the walls of the capital, and receives hardly any revenue from the provinces. It lives largely upon the surplus that remains over from the customs and salt revenue after meeting the service of the foreign loans, and is at the mercy of warring *tuchuns*. Then there is a Government at Canton, which administers two or three provinces, and has again entrusted its fortunes to the idealist visionary, Sun Yat-sên. In Manchuria the so-called war lord, Chang Tso-lin, smarting under his defeat by General Wu Pei Fu, threatens to proclaim his independence, and to make the three eastern provinces a separate State, presumably under the protection of some foreign Power, as Manchuria is in no position to stand alone. Yunnan and Kueichow, both poor provinces, maintain their independence by growing opium and raiding their richer neighbours; while in the far west a great and rich province like Szechuan passes through such bewildering and kaleidoscopic changes of government that it is futile to attempt to follow them. All this confusion is the work of ambitious militarists seeking their own selfish ends, with no regard for the interests of the country. There is absolutely no reason why China should be disunited. The Chinese are a homogeneous race, with a common language, a common literature, and common traditions, and left to themselves would only be too glad to live together in harmony. It says much for them that, in spite of the political confusion, they sow and reap and carry on much as usual. Such is the wonderful vitality of the people that it surmounts

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all obstacles, and that the trade of the country goes on increasing, *tuchuns* and other pests notwithstanding.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the unification of the country is the lack of communications. There are less than 7,000 miles of railway in China as against some 35,000 in India and 250,000 in the United States. Vast regions are cut off from all communication, not only with the outer world, but with other parts of China. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that had Canton been linked by railway to Peking, the breach which has kept the North and South apart during the last few years would have been closed before now, and that remote provinces like Yunnan and Kueichow would not have developed such separatist tendencies if they had been accessible by through railway communication. In railway construction the Chinese have only a few hundred miles to their credit, all the rest being foreign built. The foreign-built railways are of two kinds—those constructed, financed, owned, and controlled by certain Powers as a possible means of economic and territorial penetration, and those built as Chinese Government railways by British and other European financiers on terms designed to safeguard the service of the loans and the efficient working of the lines. Railways of the former class are purely national undertakings, in which China has no part or lot—in fact, foreign railways on Chinese soil—and it is quite natural that China should refuse to grant any further concessions of the kind. But China is now going to the other extreme, and declines to give terms which will attract foreign capital to the railways of the second category. The result is a complete deadlock and the virtual stoppage of all railway construction. In spite of defective management and *tuchun* obstruction, railways pay handsomely everywhere, and the one crying need of the country is for better means of transportation. Efforts have from time to time been made to attract Chinese capital, but although there is an abundant supply in the country, the Chinese are much too shrewd to entrust their money to a Government in which they have little confidence. The potentialities of Chinese trade are boundless, but to turn them into realities the first requisite is railways.

Probably in most minds China is closely associated with opium. The controversies which ranged round the opium question for over a century are now happily laid at rest, but there is still an opium problem in China. For ten years—from 1907 to 1917—Great Britain and China co-operated in a great policy of suppression, with the result that in the latter year China was declared to be practically free from cultivation of the poppy, and the import of Indian opium, which had gone on for more than a century, ceased for all time. The Indian Government sacrificed a revenue of £4,000,000, and all through the campaign China showed a spirit of splendid self-denial. Unfortunately, there has been a grave relapse, owing primarily to the political con-

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fusion, and China is again fast becoming an opium-ridden country. The *tuchuns* encourage the cultivation of the poppy, which forms the chief source of revenue for the support of their troops. In the absence of statistics, it is impossible to give exact figures, but it is probable that the present cultivation is as much as 20 or 25 per cent. of what it was when we started the work of suppression. India still sends opium to our own Far Eastern colonies and those of European Powers, generally for the consumption of Chinese settlers, and large quantities of morphia have, since the import of foreign opium ceased, been smuggled into China through Japan from England, the Continent of Europe, and America. The whole question of narcotic drugs has been handed over to the League of Nations, but that body can do little more than skate round the fringe of the question. The real remedy lies in the limitation of production to the medicinal requirements of the world, but with China, Turkey, Persia, and India all producing opium, that seems a counsel of perfection.

Time will only permit me to affix a note of interrogation to another question which involves grave issues for the future of China. What will be the future relations of Russia and China, and how far, if at all, will Bolshevism make itself felt among the Chinese? One could not help feeling that there was a vacant seat at the Washington Conference that would some day have an occupant who would again make his voice heard on Far Eastern questions. This feeling found expression in some of the Washington resolutions, which dwelt upon the necessity of avoiding all action in Siberia which might tend to compromise the interests of a future Russian Government. Before the European War all Chinese Turkestan, with an area of 400,000 square miles and a population of less than two millions, the whole of Outer Mongolia, and the vast regions of Northern Manchuria lay at the mercy of Russia, and it seemed to be only a question of time before she would make an immense addition to her far-flung Empire in the East. The Chinese Eastern Railway was entirely under Russian control, and Harbin, in the heart of Manchuria, with a population of 50,000 Russians, was practically a Russian town. Now all this is changed. The treaties and agreements which had grown up during an intercourse extending over two centuries, and which regulated their relations on a common frontier of 4,000 miles, have all been denounced. Representatives of the Soviet Government have been carrying on intermittent negotiations at Peking for the renewal of relations, and occasional newspaper paragraphs inform us that the Soviet authorities are prepared to make a clean slate of all the concessions granted to the Czarist régime in impairment of Chinese sovereignty. But these professions are not accepted at their face value, and are in marked contrast with the action of the "Reds" in Outer Mongolia, the evacuation

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of which would, as the Chinese suggest, form a desirable preliminary to the negotiation of a treaty.

An American bishop, who has lived long in China, uttered a warning the other day about the alarming spread of Bolshevism, which was, he said, undermining the home and family life of the whole country. There can be no doubt that Bolshevist propaganda is a very active influence, especially amongst a certain section of the student class, but although a few advanced politicians have been coquetting with it and advocating a *rapprochement* between Russia, Germany, and China, I have sufficent confidence in the stability and good sense of the Chinese people to believe that they will never look for their regeneration in that quarter.

One word in conclusion. The picture I have drawn of China may seem a sombre one, but I would not have you think that I despond of the future. To get the proper perspective, one must sketch in the past and compare it with the present. A lifetime is not much in the history of a nation like China, and a survey of the immense changes which have taken place there in my time would leave a large balance to the credit of progress, both material and intellectual. When I first knew the country it was practically in the state in which the old Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, had found it six centuries before. There were no telegraphs, no railways, no postal facilities worth mentioning, and now one is no more immune from all those things in Peking than he is in London. In those days there was only one newspaper in the country, if the *Peking Gazette*, the oldest and surely the oddest news sheet that was ever published, could be dignified by such a name, and now there are over a hundred newspapers in the Peking district alone and probably several thousands in all China. The old literary style of composition which was a monopoly of the educated few has been discarded, and tons of literature are now being published in the vernacular or the new phonetic script, both of which are intelligible to the masses of the people. The old examination system was still in full force at the time of which I am speaking, and not a man in any Government department spoke a word of English. Now the modern Chinese official is at home in four or five languages, and is well read in all the current literature of the day. And yet, with all these advantages, and all this mental equipment, young China has, so far, failed to make good against the forces of reaction. But there are at least some hopeful signs. Public opinion is gradually becoming a force with which militarists and politicians will alike have to reckon some day. The mercantile classes, which comprise the cream and common sense of this nation, are beginning to scrutinise public expenditure and to call a halt to the reckless borrowing of Peking. Another significant movement is the issue of manifestos by the National Chambers of Commerce denouncing the evils of militarism and demanding the abolition

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of the *tuchun* system. This is probably only the beginning of a campaign which is likely to be a hotly contested and protracted struggle. It is one in which foreigners can reasonably join forces with the Chinese in demanding security for life and property, and there are not wanting indications that foreign assistance, especially British and American, will be warmly appreciated. Already the British and Chinese Chambers of Commerce at Hankow and Shanghai have taken the initiative in mobilizing public opinion for the removal of the military incubus which is now paralyzing their common interests, and this is likely to prove far more effectual than any form of Government intervention.

China is passing through a tremendous evolution which, whether we like it or not, cannot be stayed in its progress. Personally, I think that the feverish activity of the present, in spite of all its depressing features, is more healthy than the stagnation of the past, and I still cling to the belief that, given time and patience, the Chinese will work out their own salvation and earn for themselves the place in the family of nations to which their number, intelligence, and industry so fully entitle them.

Mr. Arthur S. Jelf (Malayan Civil Service): Mr. Chairman, Sir John Jordan, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel great diffidence in speaking, first of all because I am a very junior member of the Society, and secondly and more important, because, although I have been to China, I have not had the long residence in that country which alone produces the first-hand knowledge that Sir John Jordan, as we all know, possesses. But I have had the honour of working for twenty-three years in the Government Service of British Malaya, which, as I dare say most of you know, was built up very largely upon the industry of the Chinese, and in Malaya we are nowadays more and more interested in, affected by, and sensitive to, Chinese politics. It also so happens that in recent years circumstances have turned my attention very particularly to what is going on in China, but I hope that nobody here will think that I am claiming to be an expert in Chinese affairs: I speak merely as a looker-on who perhaps sees something of the game.

We have all listened with the greatest interest to what Sir John Jordan has said. His knowledge of the subject is, of course, colossal, and perhaps unrivalled in England to-day. What he said about the situation in Shanghai was particularly interesting, because there Britishers still seem to be rather in charge; and his account of Shantung specially claims attention. The present position in China is certainly unique in the eyes of the world: whether it is unique in the eyes of the Chinese I do not know, because they seem to have been oppressed by dynasty after dynasty for centuries. Perhaps it is

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rather worse now. In China at the moment there is the ex-Emperor, in Peking, and there is the Peking Government, which, as Sir John Jordan said, is the only Government recognized by the Powers; there is a self-styled, but not recognized, Republic in Canton; and there is in China itself a number of bandits, for that is what they really are, some large and some small. There are five principal bandits. There is the man in Yunnan, whose name I have forgotten for the moment. In Canton there is Sun Yat-sên, facing Cheng Chiung Ming. What has happened there recently is somewhat obscure, but Sun Yat-sên seems to have got the better of it at present. In Northern China there is Chan Tso Lin back at Mukden, and there is Wu Pei Fu. Throughout the country, we gather from Sir John Jordan, there are bandits robbing each other and the people, and yet through it all the great trade of China, centuries old, goes on, with silk and tea and the hundreds of other things that the country produces, flowing out, and millions of people toiling, quite regardless, as Sir John Jordan said, of political parties. It is a most extraordinary spectacle.

Now, the subject of the lecture is "China and the Powers," and I suppose we are all agreed that the record of the Powers in China during the last thirty or forty years is not very creditable. The British went there in the first instance, doubtless with the best of motives, and did very well out of it! America and Japan have gone there, also doubtless with the best of motives, and they too have done very well out of it! A Chinese gentleman wrote a letter not so long ago, in which he said: "The Chinese political ship has been boarded by the pirates of the world, and in their dark rivalries they may scuttle it and all sink together, but not until they have first plundered and burnt civilization as we know it." That seems rather a good picture of China during the last three decades; and what are the Powers doing now? Are they playing the game? Sir John Jordan gave us a most interesting account of the Washington Conference, but whether China is going to be permitted to start with a clean slate or not is not very clear. What, for instance, has happened to the loans made by Japan? Have they all been wiped out, or has Japan still got a stranglehold? Have, indeed, any loans that have been made by the various Powers been cancelled? Which of the Powers is really most interested? Perhaps it may fairly be said that we are, with America and Japan almost as much. Russia is, or was, exceedingly interested, but rather seems to have passed out at the moment, and really Great Britain, America, and Japan seem the principal Powers concerned. Portugal, at Macao, and France, are also interested, but if only the three Powers, Great Britain, America, and Japan, could agree on some common policy, it might be very beneficial to China. In the old days there was the local financing by single exploiting Powers in

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spheres protected by European influence. That, we hope, was ended by the Washington Conference. I say "we hope," but we do not know that it was. Is it now possible to get any international control of the financial situation with a real desire to help, and not to make money out of it? There was recently a very interesting article in the *Quarterly Review*, which Sir John Jordan has doubtless read, in which the writer thought that the solution of the problem was international control and policing of the railways. That does seem a solution, but are the Powers ever going to come together and police them without fighting among themselves? There are all these miles and miles of railways, and many more thousand miles to be made; but, human nature being what it is, it is difficult to imagine British, American, Japanese, French, Portuguese, and Russian soldiers and policemen working very well together at the moment. If that could be done, and if we could get control of, and guard, the railways, so as to let the great stream of commerce flow out of China without hindrance, that might be the solution, as Sir John Jordan evidently thinks.

Another thing that seems very important, to-day, is to get on good terms with "Young China." I have the honour of knowing several "Young Chinese" in Singapore, and very good fellows they are too—exceedingly keen and very intelligent. If "Young China" could make common cause with the great Chinese merchants, whose word is a bond all over the world, and get the "bandits" to sink their enmities, then progress might be made. In this connection, the expert, and devoted, "Chinese Protectorates" (as they are called) in Hong Kong and Singapore and the principal towns of the Malay States, and the British Consular representatives all over China, can do, and are doing, a great deal of good by thus getting into touch with "Young China." Sir John Jordan's account of the action taken by the Chambers of Commerce at Hankow and Shanghai was of great interest. That seems the right policy, and a much better way than any attempt by the British Government, as such, to do anything. Whether the League of Nations will ever be asked by China to lend a hand can scarcely be said yet, and anyway we can hardly suggest it.

The restoration of the Empire might be a solution of the difficulties of China. The present ex-Emperor is a boy of seventeen. He lives in Peking, and as he is being looked after by an Oxford man he is sure to be all right. (Laughter.) He is reported to be of great intelligence, and as wanting to come to Europe and so on, and if that figurehead, or whatever you like to call it, was restored to China, the millions and millions of people would feel that, as in the old days, they had something to look up to. I am not a great believer in republics, especially for a comparatively primitive people like the peasantry of China, and I think Sir John Jordan agrees.

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One more point. From the British point of view, a great improvement and extension of our Consular Service seems highly desirable. I know several members of that Service, and if I may be permitted to say so, they do very good work, but a great deal more might be done by them, and by the newly created department which works with the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade—the Department of Overseas Trade, in the way of what used to be called "Peaceful Penetration." If we can only get on better with the Chinese we can do something for them, but if we get their backs up they can make it extremely unpleasant, if not entirely impossible, for the foreigners in the various Treaty Ports of the country, and indeed, as was seen recently, in Hong Kong.

Sir John Jordan spoke about opium. Perhaps there will never be agreement on this very vexed subject. Personally, I venture to think that the moderate use of opium, like the moderate use of anything else, is not harmful, and the price of opium, at any rate in Malaya, is so high that only a moderate consumption is possible to the average man. There seems something inconsistent between the reputation that the opium-smoking Chinese have for being the hardest-working nation in the world and the theory that opium is harmful. In the Straits Settlements, some years ago, we had a Commission on the subject, and some very striking evidence was given in direct contradiction of the common theory. And the alternatives, brandy, morphia, and cocaine, are having results too dreadful to contemplate.

I do not think that I have anything more to say, except to thank you very much for listening to me so patiently. (Applause.)

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. YATE: I have myself only touched the fringe of China, but I have in mind one or two reminiscences which may be interesting. The first time I visited China was in the winter of 1887-88, when, starting from Mandalay, we annexed the Shan States. That brought the British frontier to the Salwin River. The officer commanding the Expedition and I, being his Intelligence Officer, crossed the river and had an interview with the Chinese official at Kunlon. An important trade-route crosses the Salwin at this point, which is marked on our maps as "Kunlon Ferry." At that time the construction of a railway from Mandalay to Kunlon and onward into Yunnan was thought of, but I believe I am right in saying that that railway stops at Lashio, and does not reach China.

My next visit was in March, 1898, to Peking, at a very interesting time. The Russians were on the point of occupying Port Arthur, and, as you will imagine, excitement ran high. If I remember rightly, British, Russian, and Japanese squadrons were all cruising round or lying off there. We British travellers visited our own squadron from Chefoo. At the Astor House at Tientsin, to my surprise, I ran across an old German friend who had played a very prominent part indeed

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in the annexation of German East Africa, a man of the name of Eugen Wolff, the right-hand man and commercial adviser of Major Von Wissmann. I had met him originally at Aden, coming back extremely ill from East Africa, so ill that I thought there was no hope for his life. He came to India for an operation, and I was of some help to him. He was very much alive when I met him again at Tientsin. He had been in the interior of China,* closely watched, naturally, by the British Legation, and when I was found to be a friend of his, the British Legation were almost equally inclined to closely watch me. Eugen Wolff said to me, "I am starting across Shantung to-morrow." I fancy Kiaochow was his destination. Anyway, about that time Germany occupied Kiaochow. He was a curious fellow, and in some way offended his own missionaries. I was extremely surprised a little later to take up *The Times* and see that my friend was charged by his own German missionaries with having gone into a Chinese court, turned the magistrate out of the seat, occupied it himself with his dog—a very characteristic dog, hight "Herr von Schuster," of which I have a photograph still—tried the criminals, who were charged, if I mistake not, with the murder of German missionaries, and acquitted them. I never got to the bottom of that story. I wrote to my friend and said, "What is the meaning of all this?" and he wrote back in German, "Er ist ein Lump der keine Feinde hat" ("He is a very poor fellow who has got no enemies"). More than that I never got out of him. My son being at Hanover recently studying German, I took the opportunity to try and find out through him what had become of Wolff. His fellow-countrymen understood him well. The pith of the reply that reached me was, "Had Wolff been alive, we should have known it. His light hides under no bushel." Early in the twentieth century he was up in a Zeppelin at Lake Constance. I have not heard of him since.

In April, 1905, I again made a journey homeward from India via China and Japan, and that was an equally interesting moment. We watched from the verandah of the Singapore Club Rodjestvensky's fleet coming through the Malay Straits to its doom, and then I passed on to Japan. Port Arthur had surrendered, and we carried home a number of Russian prisoners who had been released from Port Arthur; among others a young Count Keller, a somewhat rabid Russian. He was on parole. A curious thing happened to him on the voyage. His uncle, General Count Keller, had been killed in one of the battles of the Russo-Japanese war in Manchuria, and when his body was found, his dog was beside it and would not leave it. The dog was removed finally and brought to Yokohama. There it was brought on board and handed over to young Count Keller. It travelled with us to Vancouver, and the Customs officials of Canada and the United States were so

* I have his book "Im Innern Chinas."—A. C. Y.

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affected by the story that they gave that dog very special treatment. I believe there was a six months' quarantine in the United States for dogs, but they at once saw it right through to New York, and it went away home with young Keller. Another point about that journey. I happened quite accidentally to take up the other day an old magazine article that I had written in 1905, and there I found it recorded that I had met during the journey from Vancouver to Ottawa a certain Lieutenant Kolchak of the Russian Navy, and had several most interesting conversations with him. I had forgotten that we had ever met, but there was the record in the article. Lieutenant Kolchak told me that he had been sent from Russia in 1903 to try and trace the fate of a Russian expedition to the "New Siberia" group of islands, headed by Baron Toll. He discovered in Bennett Island that the entire expedition had perished. He then came to the mainland of Siberia and worked his way up the Lena River to Yakutsk, and so had found his way to Manchuria and Port Arthur, where again, in due course, he had become a prisoner. I am not perfectly certain whether that Kolchak is the man we all so highly respect as having fought Bolshevism in Siberia until he himself fell a victim to an ill-fortune which was too strong for him, but I am inclined to think that he was. He was a quiet man of very nice manners, rather a contrast to some of his fellow-countrymen and women who travelled with us. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it occurred to me to mention some of these reminiscences, which I hope you will accept for what they are worth. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I have really very little to say in reply to the very kind criticisms that have been made. The gentleman who spoke about the Malay States indicated one or two questions with regard to loans. I think that the position as regards the loans in China is that the loans secured on the Customs and salt are perfectly safe—so far as anything financial can be safe. The others, the unsecured loans, are not, and those loans amount to about £100,000,000. Nothing has been done with regard to those loans at all, and I do not see much possibility of anything being done. About half of them are Japanese loans made during the war on conditions which no one knows. As a matter of fact the only sound policy now is to give China no money at all; loans will certainly be misspent, and I have not much sympathy with people who give loans to China under present conditions. As regards international control of police and railways, it is a panacea not likely to be of much practical effect. It is easy to use such expressions as "International Control," "Intervention," and all those terms, but putting them into practice is very difficult. I have had some experience of international work at Peking, and it is not the remedy that I would suggest. I think that what has been done in trying to work up Chinese public opinion may

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be of some assistance: at any rate it is the only lever apparently that one can use. There is a certain amount of control at the moment: the Customs revenue is entirely under a British Inspector-General, and is practically an international asset, and the salt was placed in 1913 under Sir Richard Dane from India. Those are the two great sources of revenue which go to Peking—hardly anything else. But for these two sources of revenue under foreign control the Peking Government could not live six months—it lives upon them and upon nothing else. The Provinces have fiscal autonomy, and the position now is, that Peking simply lives upon those two sources of revenue, both of which are under foreign control. The Customs money is handed over to the banks in the first instance, who use it to meet the service of the foreign loans, and only the remainder is passed on to the Chinese Government—the surplus is released, in fact, by the diplomatic body at Peking. That is pretty close control, but all that close control does not do much good in one way; it does not interest the Chinese in their own affairs, and until you can get the Chinese to work out their own salvation, I am afraid that foreigners can only assist them and cannot initiate. As regards the restoration of the Emperor, I am afraid that is very unlikely. I think the Manchu Dynasty is finished. I know the young Emperor's tutor, who is an excellent man. The Emperor is a very intelligent lad indeed, but I do not think the South of China would ever have a Manchu Emperor again, or that a Manchu Emperor could reunite China. A republic is the last thing that China is suited for, but I do not know the alternative. As regards the Consular Service, I am an old Consular man, and I venture to say that no service in the world is better than the Consular Service in China. It does excellent service. (Applause.) As regards the commercial work, when the Department of Overseas Trade was first established it could do no better than take men from the Consular Service in China. So far as that department is concerned, it has made no difference in China at all. It has simply utilized the Consular men to do the commercial work that they were doing before. I entirely agree with regard to the Hong Kong strike, but it is a very delicate question. I think Hong Kong should be run in very close co-operation with China. It is an extremely difficult situation; China is always in a position to organize a strike, and, in fact, almost starve out Hong Kong. The relations between the two have to be carefully adjusted. On opium we must agree to differ, though I have no doubt if I were in the Malay Straits I should hold exactly the same view as Mr. Jelf. I think Singapore derives nearly fifty per cent. of its whole revenue from opium, and that in itself is a very strong argument from the colony's point of view. I agree that opium is better than morphia. I was exceedingly interested in what Colonel Yate said about Kolchak, and I imagine he is right. I knew Kolchak well for some time in Peking, and often saw him and

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had many talks with him, and my impression is that he had been in that part of the country before. I saw him just before he started on his ill-fated expedition, and talked over his project with him. He was an extremely patriotic man. I never thought he would succeed, but he was an absolutely fearless man who faced a hopeless business. As regards the railways, that railway never materialized.

It never went further than Lashio. I think Lord Curzon did not favour the proposal, and looking back, I feel that he was right. At the time a great many of us in China were disappointed with the attitude of the Indian Government, for, as you know, France had made a railway from Hanoi up to Yun-nan-foo. That was a purely national railway, a French railway in every respect. Looking back on the whole thing, I think that Lord Curzon was decidedly wise in not sanctioning the expenditure of public money on the construction of a British railway on Chinese soil. I thank you for your kind reception. (Applause.)

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CASPIAN NAVAL EXPEDITION, 1918-1919

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, April 12, 1923, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., General Sir Charles Munro presiding, when Captain David Norris, C.B., R.N., gave a lecture on "The British Navy in the Caspian, 1918-19."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasure to introduce to you this afternoon Captain Norris, our lecturer, who has been kind enough to give us a lecture to-day on the "British Fleet in the Caspian during the years 1918 and 1919."

Captain NORRIS: In the spring of 1918 those in Mesopotamia heard of a "hush hush" force going up to Persia. This was Dunsterforce. Its object was to raise local levies against the Turks. Its composition was a small staff and a number of junior officers and N.C.O.'s. Probably few such forces were so carefully picked for fighting men or had a higher percentage of decorations among their members.

Dunsterforce never gained its object, for the Russian collapse and the Persian famine put an end to the idea for the time, but it remained in Persia as a Famine Relief Force, as also a force of some great military potentiality.

As events in Russia moved and the wave of Bolshevism started to spread east and south, the value of Persia flanking the railway line from Krasnovodsk to Turkistan—with the port of Enzeli on the Caspian as a means of reaching Baku, and Baku itself as an important link in the chain to Merv—came more and more to the front. Two railway lines lead to Turkistan and India from Russia: the northern one from Samarra passes over the head of the Sea of Aral, and, turning clockwise through Tashkent, Samarcand, Bokhara, and Charjui, reaches Merv; the other runs through Northern Caucasia, down the west coast of the Caspian to Baku. On the east coast it runs from Krasnovodsk to Merv; from Merv the line runs south to Afghanistan. The northern line was in the domain of Kolchak and "Malmiss," and it need only be said that as Kolchak retreated, so the Red Army moved down to Turkistan. The question of sea-transport did not enter into the matter at all as regards the northern railway. With the southern line it was different, for if Baku or Krasnovodsk could be held, or the sea between them controlled, or the means of sea-transport removed, then no threat along this line could mature. It seems im-

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portant that this point should be kept in mind, for it appears to be the real reason why we were sent to the Caspian. So long as we maintained control of the gap between Baku and Krasnovodsk, so long we prevented any Bolshevik Army which might be organized in Turkistan being transported to Russia, and also we prevented any munitions such as cotton, of which the Germans were in need, being transported via Russia to Germany.

A clear idea of this is necessary to understand the reason for some 1,000 officers and men of the Royal Navy finding themselves on an inland sea, hundreds of miles from blue water.

The first idea we in the navy had of any movement touching us was in June, 1918, when G.H.Q., Baghdad, asked if a *Fly* class gunboat could be taken to pieces, put on lorries, and thus transported to the Caspian. The gun was limited to a 12-pounder; the maximum weight on any lorry not to exceed two tons. Workshops were to be provided at the other end to reassemble the ships. The reply was against the idea. It was, however, proposed that certain 4-inch guns might be transported to the Caspian and mounted on whatever craft were found there. Our knowledge of the Caspian was very limited. We had little idea of what ships might be found on that sea, but we knew that the Russians had four gunboats, two fairly modern. It was known that there was a fishing trade, so there might be fishing-boats, sail, steam, or motor.

Nothing more was heard until July 11, when orders were received that it was "desired to obtain control of the ships on the Caspian," and a consultation was held at Baghdad as to:

(*a*) Removing the gunboats and as many other ships as possible from Baku to Enzeli;

(*b*) To mount 4·7-inch guns in merchant ships;

(*c*) To set up a seaplane base at Enzeli; and

(*d*) A naval officer was to start off and see what was available at Enzeli and what was required.

Here was a fairly ambitious plan. It included:

1. A visit to Baku to obtain possession of the gunboats, but they were to be removed. We were not to remain at Baku and retain control of the gunboats there, but we were to take them away—*i.e.*, we were to deny sea-power to others.

2. To remove as many ships as possible—*i.e.*, to deny sea-transport to others.

3. To mount guns and start a seaplane base—*i.e.*, to gain sea-power for ourselves and provide for local defence by aircraft.

No general command of the Caspian was mentioned. It was to be a dash to Baku, get the ships, and prevent the enemy from spreading oversea to Trans-Caspia, not by holding the terminal ports, but by removing the ships which he would need for this purpose.

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The East India Station was ill adapted to meet the call of providing a naval expedition. The cruisers manned by the Royal Navy were required for commerce protection, while the majority of the remainder were manned largely by Lascars, men not suited for such an enterprise. There were but a few guns in reserve, and these were of an old pattern, so a start had to be made with what was available on the Tigris. There were two gunboats, *Moth* and *Mantis*, from which certain men could be drafted, and there were a certain number of 4-inch ex-*Fly* class gunboats, which could be made available.

A party of two naval officers and twenty-two seamen were equipped by the military for shore service, and the 4-inch guns were dismounted from the gunboats and prepared for loading on lorries.

On July 23 the naval Commander-in-Chief ordered that a party was to start for the Caspian as soon as the conference with G.H.Q. was over, and he was sending all available white ratings and officers and guns to Baghdad. These did not, however, arrive for some time. On the morning of July 27 our party left Baghdad with one 4-inch gun and two 12-pounders.

The transport difficulties were very great. The distance from Baghdad to Enzeli is about 700 miles. West of Hamadan there was no metalled road, but from that town the Russian road ran to Kazvin and Enzeli. What happened was that we followed the camel and mule track, one car behind the other; but the going was dreadful, and with heavy weights, such as 4-inch guns, the wear of the transport was deadly. Over and above this was the question of petrol. Until we were assured that we could obtain petrol from Baku, each gallon had to be carried up the line by lorries, which practically ate their cargo as they went. There was a famine of tins, and the tins had to be brought back to Baghdad. Our route lay through Baquba, Qasr-i-Shirin, Karind, Kermanshah, and Hamadan, to Kazvin.

Apart from the difficulties of the road, there was the question of the famine. Three armies had been through Persia in two years, and there was a famine in the land, so it will be understood that the advent of the British Army in large numbers was not very popular; for while we paid, the merchants profiteered, and the poor went without food. It is actually a fact that in July, 1918, two women were stoned to death in Hamadan, just as one hears described in the Bible, their offence being that they caught children and sold their flesh in the market for food.

The towns I have mentioned will be familiar to you all. There were the old bridges and the villages perched on the side of the hills. We climbed Pi-Tak Pass and saw Alexander's Arch, and reached Kazvin on August 2.

Here was General Dunsterville, seeing Dunsterforce become a real force as regards numbers.

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The news was:

1. The Russian General Bicherakov, who had fought his way out of Persia to the sea, had gone to Baku, but being convinced that the place could not be held, and not wishing to be trapped, had left Baku and gone on to Derbent.

2. A few weeks before Baku had overthrown the Bolsheviks. The town was besieged by Turks and Tartars; the defence was in the hands of Russians and Armenians. British help had been asked for, and petrol had been promised.

3. A set of bandits, called Junglies, who lived in the jungle near Resht, had attacked our troops in the town. The Hampshire Regiment had lost about eighty men, and the Gurkhas had wiped out the Junglies.

4. It seemed that the Turks were none too friendly with the Tartars. The Tartars wanted revenge on the Armenians. The gentle Armenian had in the previous March massacred about 9,000 Tartars. The Turk was being driven by the Hun, who wanted oil.

It was clear that the success of the naval effort depended on the fate of Baku. No Baku meant no ships, no oil fuel, no petrol.

On August 4 we started from Kazvin to the Caspian—a most wonderful ride, for we passed from the bare uplands of Persia to Manjil, which is reputed to be the windiest place on earth, but at least is green, and then down through every sort of scenery that might be—Scotch mountains, then an English park, then through green valleys, like Japan, down to muggy swamps. We expected to be attacked by the Junglies, and the road was one very easy to block, but nothing occurred. We passed many signs of the Russian retreat, where lorries, vans, and cars had gone over the edge, and as we neared Resht we saw where the Gurkhas had destroyed the houses from which they had been sniped. It was quite clear that the Gurkhas had put the fear of heaven into the local inhabitants.

Enzeli produces a particularly virulent brand of mosquito.

Pending the time we were to sail to Baku, we set to work to dig ourselves in. We found some steamers, borrowed their charts, and got some Russian ex-naval officers to translate their names. We examined the oil storage, and put out feelers for the tank to be filled. We "took over the port," paying a month's rent in advance, thereby driving a wedge between the Enzeli folk and the Baku folk. The people at Enzeli got the money and the people at Baku wanted it. We prospected for a seaplane base and took stock of things generally.

On August 14 the party of two officers and twenty-two seamen and their three guns arrived. They had done very well, and we went to live on board s.s. *Kruger*.

On August 16 we left for Baku, and reached there on the 17th.

You will know of Baku, of a town that is Tartar and Russian; of

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the confusion, intrigue, and double-dealing; of the many Generals and the still greater number of Committees; and now when once the British came to Baku the Armenians were well content to eat the food we collected and paid for, and to leave us to do the fighting while they obstructed in every possible way. It is notable of the mistrust with which we were looked upon by the people at Baku that such simple things as putting up notice boards and numbers on the pier were at once declared to be a proof that we were trying to annex the place.

Talking of the food question, food was scarce, and a ration of excellent caviare was served out to the troops. This strange food was not appreciated, and a portion of caviare which would probably have cost five or seven shillings at the Carlton was thrown away with the remark that they "did not like this —— fish jam."

Another incident showing our difficulties was, that by means of their friends inside the town the headquarters of the besieging General was lit by the power-station inside Baku.

We found in the harbour a number of steamers, including thirteen which had been seized by the local Bolsheviks, who had endeavoured to clear out with most of the guns and ammunition from the arsenal. These had been chased and brought back by a force which we came to know very well—the Centro-Caspi Flotilla. This force consisted of the ex-Russian naval gunboats and some armed steamers. The crews were to all intents and purposes Bolshevik to a man, and they quite understood their own power. They were the only force with heavy guns or with any sort of discipline. They had bombarded the town, they could control all the shipping, and they were quite determined that the British should not share their power; and we had no means of enforcing our wishes. However they were short of ammunition, and hoped to get our guns and ammunition, with British crews serving under their control.

From the start efforts were made to get merchant ships and arm them, but so complete were the nationalization and the determination to obstruct us that nothing could be bought or exported; and, added to this, the largest shipyard, Nobel's, was Swedish, a country which had anti-British ideas.

Of the siege you have heard; of the fine work of our troops; of the way in which those for whom we were fighting left their posts; and of the repeated warnings given by the British General that the town could not be held if this went on, but all to no effect.

The enemy had excellent information as to what was going on in the town, and our ship *Kruger* was shelled from pier to pier.

As time went on the situation seemed to get worse. We heard that the Turks were coming down from Tabriz to cut our road lines of communication from Baghdad, moving down to Zenjan, Bijar, and Sehneh, so reinforcements were held up. The "powers that be" decided that if

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we were to be captured in Baku the numbers there were quite enough to lose.

On September 1 a big pow-wow was held ashore, and General Dunsterville pointed out that the place could not be held, and that unless the Armenians did more, the Turks could walk into the town when they liked; that the British had not been sent to Baku to be captured, but to assist in the defence; and that if the inhabitants could not or would not do their share, then they must make the best terms they could and the British would evacuate. This was taken very badly, and the Tartar revenge seemed close. They talked and they raved. One man rushed to the telephone, rang up the dockyard, and warned the Centro-Caspi Flotilla to fire on us if we went to sea; and they said that the Armenians were very brave and could defeat any number of Turks. After this the Committees eased up their opposition a little as regards their co-operation.

A gunboat did go out with the idea of bombarding the railway by which the Turks drew their supplies, but the ship's Committee came on the forebridge, and having looked at the chart (which they did not understand) decided that the ship was too close in, and they steamed away.

Suggestions were made that the British should arm two ships with their guns, these ships to be under the control of the Russians. There was no idea of allowing this last, but the opportunity was taken to start preparing the ships.

September 4 was a memorable day. At breakfast General Dunsterville said: "Commodore, I am going to rate you a Rear-Admiral; I think it will increase your prestige with the Russians." The reply was made that he could not rate the Commodore a Rear-Admiral—only the Admiralty could do that. However, Stalky-like, he persisted, and finally the Commodore clinched the matter by saying: "Very good, sir; if you make me a Rear-Admiral, I'll make you a Bishop." And the subject was then dropped.

The bombardment eased up for a few days, and we were told that the Turks were getting their heavy guns into position, and spies told us of an intended attack.

On the 13th we got definite news that the attack was to be made next day. A Tartar schoolmaster, who had been badly thrashed by the Turks, came in and said the attack would start at 4 a.m. next morning. His information was quite correct. At four o'clock on the 14th the attack commenced, with a feint on our right and centre, the real attack being on our left. We on board could do little except to prepare to receive the wounded, and the troops if they had to retire. We found a number of bales of cotton, and with these we rigged traverses on the pier and made protection for engine-room and steering gear. The pass up the cliffs at Volche-Vorota, or Wolfgate, was forced and our troops driven

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back, and by 4 p.m. the heights above the town were taken, and it was just a question of time, and also if the Turks would press into the town that night. This they did not do, for the Armenian is a good street-fighter, and the attacking forces were worn out.

Gloucesters, Worcesters, Staffords, all did well, and we were told that they could hold their line until 8 or 9 p.m.

At 6.30 p.m. one ship was sent away with women, wounded, and various small parties. No movement was made by the C.-C. Flotilla, and it was noticed that the guard-ship had her guns covered. All the craft that could move got up steam, and the smoke and a southerly wind combined to hide the ships. Other parties and wounded were got into s.s. *Kursk* and *Kruger* without difficulty, but when guns, carts, and wagons began to arrive matters were difficult. It was dark; there were no working parties, and there was ever a chance of a stampede. However, bit by bit they were got on board. It was very hard to refuse the gunners to take their mules which had come all the way from Baghdad, or a man who said he had had his charger for three years, but there was no room, and the men just fell asleep as they got aboard.

Meanwhile messages and deputations were coming from the Armenians, who said that the town could be held and the British must stay; but the General was firm. He said that he had pointed out what would happen. The British had done all possible, and now they must go. One Armenian was more insistent than the others. He said that we *must* stay, and that if we attempted to go the gunboats would sink us; and *still* he was told that the troops were going. Finally he said to the General: "Tell me, are you determined to go?" and being told "Yes," he said: "Then will you give me a passage for myself and my family?"

Except for odd rifle shots the firing ceased towards 11 p.m., and having waited till we thought all who could possibly come in had come, the engines of the armoured and other cars were smashed, the animals turned loose, and in *Kruger*, the last ship, we left the pier.

We were nearly caught owing to the action of a suspect Russian on board, who switched on the charthouse lights just as we passed the guard-boat, which opened fire on us. However we went full speed at it, and having nearly come to grief over a large barge floating in the harbour, reached the open sea. We brought away between eleven and twelve hundred folk, including refugees, and Colonel Rawlinson brought away the pick of the arsenal. The men lost all their kit; they just had what they stood up in, and most of the officers were the same.

We reached Enzeli about 9 p.m. on the 15th, finding there many ships, including the two we had sent ahead. The menace from Tabriz was so great that orders had come to evacuate Enzeli and fall back on Kazvin, but these orders had not been complied with.

Here ended the first stage of our expedition. Baku had been held for six weeks; Turkish troops needed elsewhere had been forced to

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remain at Baku, and thus some help was perhaps given to General Allenby, whose victories were shortly to relieve the pressure on Persia. It is not easy to say if it was wise for us to go there, or the opposite, for one does not know the inner political side. Was it a gamble, or was it a dash? Did we want to keep Baku, or only to stop oversea traffic? Or was Krasnovodsk more important? But it seems fair to put forward this point:—

The British force as sent was itself too weak to defend Baku. The poor fighting qualities of the Armenians might have been foreseen. The extraordinarily obstructive tactics of the Committees could not have been so well foreseen. Perhaps our principal difficulty was the help given to the Turk by the Tartar as a fellow-Mohammedan, but anyhow it was quite certain that the people in Baku, whether Armenian, or Russian, or Mohammedan, had no idea of allowing us to destroy the oil wells, or the port, or the dockyard, as part of a war scheme in which they were not interested, or of allowing us to take their ships away. Lastly, it may be added, we were far from the sea, our line of communication was long and liable to be cut, and nobody knew very much about Baku or the Caspian.

The fall of Baku finished the first phase of our time on the Caspian, and at one period it seemed that we were a great deal further off doing what we had been sent to do, but after a bit it seemed clearer. So far, we had been merely defending Baku, and while Baku remained, so the Committees remained to thwart all naval efforts. Now Baku had fallen we were free to start on our own.

We risked that the Turks would not come oversea to Enzeli, and the first thing to do was to take stock of what we had in hand.

1. A number of ships had run from Baku to Enzeli: some might be suitable.

2. S.s. *Ventuir* was one of these, and work had been started on her with a view to fitting guns; she could be carried on with.

3. The army might lend us craftsmen.

4. We might get some help from among the refugees.

But after a deal of hunting we could get neither a suitable workshop nor material at Enzeli, and so we had to go elsewhere to look for it.

Kruger was armed with four field guns bedded on the bales of cotton that we had used to protect her machinery when evacuating Baku; and on September 20, less than a week after we left Baku, we put to sea an armed ship with a British crew of R.F.A. gunners, and sailed for Krasnovodsk. This was a railway terminus, and we might find workshops and material. We reached there about midnight on September 21, and were received with a large brass band—and the Committee. Here we did find machine shops and material (though the main workshops were at Kizil-Arvat, further up the line), and a very

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keen helper in the shape of Mr. Khun, late a ticket collector on the railway, and now President of the local Committee. He was pro-English and anti-Bolo. The workshops were put at our disposal, and it was arranged that we should shift from Enzeli to Krasnovodsk, and make that our fitting-out base. As more men and guns came from Baghdad, so more ships were taken up. Enzeli was organized and some sort of discipline re-established among the mercantile Russian crews. The Enzeli garrison gave us valuable help, and by the end of October—six weeks after the fall of Baku—there were five British armed ships on the Caspian. They were small, not in good condition, and their guns were old-fashioned; but there they were.

On October 31 came the news of the Armistice with Turkey, which changed the situation very materially. Early in November five armed ships went north to Petrovsk, and one went on as far as Guriev to get in touch with the Ural Cossacks, who were acting under Kolchak.

Thus we started to stretch out oversea to the north. At Petrovsk Bicherakov was being besieged by the Turk. He eventually left there and came to Enzeli. Here a meeting was held between the British, Russians, and certain representatives from Baku. These last were willing that the British should re-occupy the town, but did not want the Russians back.

On November 17—two months after our evacuation—a fleet of transports organized by the British, convoyed by the armed ships manned and gunned by the British, anchored off Baku, and the town was re-occupied.

The Turks were encamped outside the town, and it was a job to get them away owing to the large amount of loot they had collected. They were compelled to disgorge a good deal, but they certainly did not go empty away.

So here we were back again at Baku, with five armed ships and three more arming. We were certain of our oil; touch was being opened with the Mediterranean via Batum and the Dardanelles, and we had our base at Krasnovodsk. But our troubles were only just starting again. The confusion at Baku was no better. The Tartar had had his revenge on the Armenians and had murdered some 16,000—this, of course, in return for the Armenians having massacred Tartars in the previous March; the Tartar was cross at having lost control of the city; the C.-C. Flotilla was notoriously Bolshevik, and up north the Bolsheviks were bringing ships down the Volga and arming them at Astrakhan. So the same routine had to be started as for Enzeli. First a squadron started to cruise for the north, and we had eight ships in the early part of December. Next, the base was shifted from Krasnovodsk over to Baku. The docks were cleared of mud. Tact and Irish humour got the right side of the workers, who were given their back pay and steady wages. Better guns came by rail, and a fair

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supply of ammunition, this last being most important, for previously everything had to come up through Persia on camel-back.

But difficulties were very great; the Bolshevik element was very strong and anti-British. There was only paper money to deal with; food was scarce, and there was a general unrest. We heard that the Bolsheviks from Astrakhan were endeavouring to form a base on the mainland near Chechin Island.

Early in December two of our ships were attacked at anchor by three Bolshevik armed ships convoying three transports. The British ships weighed and gave battle; the enemy ran and got away. The expenditure of ammunition was serious, as there were no reserves, but the moral gain was there. Three Bolsheviks had run away from two British, and the transports had been prevented from bringing troops.

Another anxiety was that of the intercepted signals from the C.-C. Flotilla in Baku, showing that they were in touch with the Bolsheviks at Astrakhan; so we had an actual enemy to the north and a possible enemy to the south.

However, at the end of December a squadron of five of our ships closed in on the enemy's base, bombarded it, and burnt it to the ground. All that we could do now was to wait and see if the enemy would make any further attempt before the ice came. They had failed to reinforce their friends on the mainland; their ships had run; their base was destroyed; and they did nothing more.

By the middle of January the northern part of the Caspian was frozen over, and we were free to go on with our reorganization. One of the first things to do was to try and make the ships more habitable, for they were only tankers, and not adapted to carrying the large number of men required. Their engines were in poor condition, and our guns were still inferior to those of the enemy. Labour troubles increased, and the rouble, which was worth 2s. 3d. in time of peace, fell to 3d. in January, 1919, and was only two-thirds of a penny in September, 1919. Twelve C.M.B.'s—*i.e.* small wooden torpedo-boats—came over by rail; a base was formed at Baku and at Petrovsk, and two ships were adapted to carry two boats each. The Air Force arrived; they started their base at Petrovsk, and one ship was adapted to carry two seaplanes. This Air Force was under the command of an ex-R.N.R. officer, a real seaman as well as a very competent airman, and it was of the utmost value to us that we were co-operating with a force commanded by a seaman who understood our needs. Two 6-in. guns were mounted for coast defence at Baku and two at Petrovsk. Naval barracks were commissioned at Baku, and a small depôt at Petrovsk. A further advanced base was started at Chechin for the Air Force—this to be their jumping-off ground when bombing Astrakhan. The type of aircraft was improved and the numbers grew.

Ever our difficulty was with discontented workmen, Bolshevik

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propaganda, and strikes, and it was a very anxious time. We wondered if we should be ready before the end of the winter, when the ice would break up and the Volga would be open.

The question of the Russian forces at Baku gave rise to a great deal of anxiety. Nominally they were under General Denekin, actually they were playing for their own hand, and it became clear that we should have to deal with them. Denekin did not care to pay the C.-C. Flotilla, who were not very loyal to him, and whose work was done by the British. He sent a General to pay off the Flotilla; unfortunately the General brought no money, but appealed, as usual, to the British. The Flotilla, rather like the executioner in "Alice in Wonderland," said it was impossible to be paid off if there was nothing to pay them with, and declined to move. Finally an ultimatum was given to the Russians that the Russian Volunteer Army was to leave the town, and that the Russian crews were to leave their ships.

This was on February 28. We were a very weak force from the naval point of view. The ships actually at Baku were refitting, but we had the C.M.B.'s.

Part of the C.-C. Flotilla—some five ships—broke out of harbour and anchored outside, where they thought we could not reach them; part remained inside the harbour. Nothing could have been better from our point of view, for the enemy had divided his forces. The Fleet Commissar, one Vorensky, a cavalry officer, was summoned to G.H.Q., and was told that if his ships did not surrender they would be sunk His reply was to ask for a special train to Batum; he said he could do nothing.

The C.M.B.'s then appeared. Such ships as had remained in harbour were shepherded to certain piers; the essential parts of guns and engines were removed, and the crews made prisoners.

Then we dealt with those outside. The C.M.B.'s went out carrying an interpreter and a representative of the Commissar. They were told that if they did not surrender ten minutes after the last ship had been visited they would be torpedoed. Two torpedoes were actually fired; luckily they ran deep, but the effect had been obtained—they thought it had been done on purpose, and in one of the ship's logs we found the following:

3.25—They fired a torpedo.
3.28—Decided to surrender.

The five ships weighed and returned to Baku. As they reached the piers the friends of the crews went off in their boats and took away their pals, who apparently all expected to be shot. The same routine was carried out: breech-blocks and essentials of engines were removed, British guards put on board, and by 8 p.m. the teeth of the C.-C. Flotilla had been finally drawn. The Russian crews were kept on board for a while and then disbanded.

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We heard news that the Bolsheviks had got T.B.D.'s down the Volga and were preparing a number of ships, and there were numerous local troubles round Petrovsk; but the removal of the Russian forces from Baku meant the easing up of a great deal of anxiety.

Early in April the Volga was reported free from ice, and the state of the squadron was four ships fairly efficient, and nine ships at Baku in various stages of fitting and re-arming.

We now come to the third stage of our time in the Caspian—*i.e.*, the events after the breaking up of the ice.

We knew that the Bolsheviks were very short of oil fuel; that they intended to make efforts to join hands with their friends at Baku. Practically they could only come by sea. It was a race who could get their ships ready first and who would be top-dog on the water.

On April 19 *Asia* had a long-range action with two T.B.D.'s. She chased them into shallow water and the enemy retired.

Towards the end of April we got a very welcome addition in the shape of improved wireless gear, but unfortunately we remained short of wireless ratings.

At the end of April and early in May there were various small scraps with the Bolsheviks, who kept in shallow water and were evidently seeing what forces we had and what lines we were going on.

Fog was very prevalent, and so were boiler troubles. Our four ships could only do 4 to 5 knots, but at that speed at least we *did* keep at sea.

On April 21 the first raid was carried out on the Bolshevik fleet bases, and these went on continuously during our time. It is worthy of notice that the airmen were actually flying as long distances over sea as had been flown over land in France.

The result of the air reconnaissance showed that the enemy had six to twelve torpedo craft, six large armed merchantmen, and a number of small armed ships.

Early in May various Russian naval officers arrived from Denekin, bringing proposals for combined operations with the Russian Volunteer Army. Their presence was a little bit awkward, for we could not allow another Russian flotilla to grow up, and they had nothing themselves and could only start their navy by borrowing from us, who were none too strong. In addition the plans they brought up were wild to a degree. The Russian G.H.Q. apparently had no charts of the Caspian, and their proposals included ships covering troops from positions where there was only four feet of water, or landing troops where ships could not get within twenty miles of the shore.

The whole atmosphere was one of expectation as to when the Bolshevik would come out. On May 12 we heard that a party of Bolsheviks had landed at Alexandrovsk. On the 15th, whilst recon-

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noitring the place, we sighted a Bolshevik convoy of three armed ships, two C.M.B. carriers, and one seaplane carrier. The weather was bad, too bad to hoist out our C.M.B.'s. We gave chase, the enemy slipped the two barges and escaped into the fog. However, the capture of the two barges was important, for one was full of coal and the other full of wood. Each had a crew of about twenty. The coal was of importance because the enemy T.B.D. were coal-burners. There is no coal at the Caspian, and if we could cut off their fuel they could not move. The two craft were set on fire and sunk. One was flying a flag of truce, which was ordered to be hauled down before we opened fire on her.

There was something interesting about this flag of truce. You will all remember that Mr. Midshipman Easy, on one of his numerous cruises, when wishing to make a signal to a frigate, could find nothing better to hoist than an Arabella coloured petticoat. Well, when we hauled down the flag of truce, we found that it was not a flag at all, but a pair of unmentionable undergarments belonging to an old lady of sixty, who was one of the crew of the barge. It was proposed to send it to the War Museum. This was not done. An examination of the prisoners showed that practically the whole of the Bolshevik squadron was in Alexandrovsk, and consisted of eight T.B.D.'s, six to eight armed merchantmen, two submarines, ten motor-boats, a mine carrier, a workshop ship, and two depôt ships.

With the force in hand we could not attack these ships. Owing to the difficulty in fixing our position (all lights were extinguished in the lighthouses) it was not easy to make a torpedo attack. So we started to bomb them with the seaplanes. The weather turned against us and the seaplanes were damaged, and the carrier had to go back to Petrovsk to get others.

The next few days we had very thick weather. On May 20 a bombing attack was carried out. Two more armed ships joined up, giving a total of five. On the 21st the weather was fine, the first really fine day we had had, and we closed in on Alexandrovsk to see what was to be seen. Outside the harbour we saw a number of craft. There were two or three T.B.D.'s, and one or two big ships, and more torpedo craft near the entrance. As we closed we saw more ships in the harbour. Now our real object was to reconnoitre. As far as was known the whole of the Bolshevik squadron was in Alexandrovsk, and it would have been preferable to have waited for the three other ships which were completing at Baku, but as we steamed past there seemed a chance of cutting off some of the torpedo craft outside the harbour, so the course was altered to the east. The torpedo craft to the north vanished. Those to the south opened fire and then retreated up harbour. The risk of attacking seemed very great, but the risk of not attacking seemed still greater, for if the enemy once got an idea into their heads that we were afraid of them, then they might make use of their superiority

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in numbers, guns, and men to attack us. It was all-important that we should grasp the initiative and keep it, so we stood across the harbour's mouth and then turned south into Alexandrovsk.*

Nobel with her 6-inch guns was the only ship that could reach the enemy. Later *Ventuir*, with a modern 4-inch gun, was able to do so, but the remainder of us were outranged. *Nobel* got a shell in her engine-room—she was a Diesel engine ship; she lost several men, and reported she would not be able to steam much longer.

After steaming down the harbour some way, we deployed to starboard, bringing our broadsides to bear. The enemy retreated still further down the harbour. Clouds of smoke began to come up; it was seen that either they were setting their ships on fire or else that we had done it.

The situation was not an easy one. All navigational marks had been removed; the harbour was rather too narrow to manœuvre in; and the long-range guns of the enemy kept us under fire, while we could not reach them. Also, it became clear that we were only dealing with a portion of the Bolshevik fleet, and one had to consider where the remainder was and what they might do. The enemy's fire slackened; there were some more explosions; and it was determined to break off the action and finish the enemy craft off with the torpedo-boats next morning. *Kruger* was hit by a shell, which destroyed the engine-room communications. We circled round to the north and then out of harbour.

Whether or no it was wise to have broken off the action then still seems a moot point. On one hand it might have been wiser to have gone close in on the enemy and have made certain of finishing them off. On the other hand, the impression was that they were well beaten; they would be a certain target for a torpedo attack; there was no point in shooting at dead meat; there was a large number of Bolshevik ships still to be accounted for, and we had but three ships in reserve.

As we cleared the harbour so the clouds of smoke increased, and we saw more explosions. There appeared to be no doubt that the detachment we had been dealing with was finished.

* Alexandrovsk is a V-shaped harbour lying on the north and south line, with its opening to the north, about six miles long and four miles broad at the entrance. The western side is bounded by a number of shoals, the eastern side is formed by high cliffs. About halfway down the eastern shore is a lighthouse called the High Light. At the southern side is the town of Alexandrovsk—a fort and fishing village. The coast round is not an easy one to recognise; there are few outstanding marks which can be picked up at any distance, certainly not by those who are unacquainted with that part of the coast. The water is about seven fathoms in the middle of the harbour and shoals towards the south.

It was this very peculiar shape of the harbour, narrowing rapidly as it did as one got closer in, which as the mark-buoys on the shoals had been removed, made manœuvring so difficult.

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The next idea was to remain on the line between Astrakhan and Fort Alexandrovsk to prevent any ships coming down as reinforcements, or any ships which could still move from escaping. But the state of *Nobel* forbade this; she could barely move, and it was not safe to risk another action with a lame duck tacked on.

We tried to get wireless telegraphic communication with the three carriers—*i.e.*, the two C.M.B. ships and the seaplane ship—to carry out a torpedo attack next morning, but here our lack of wireless telegraphic operators hit us hard, and signals could not be got through, so the opportunity of finishing off what was left in Alexandrovsk, as also of creating a great moral effect by the use of torpedoes, was lost. It was nobody's fault; it was just our bad luck that we had not got enough wireless ratings.

Early next morning, May 22, we heard more explosions, and it was queer to see the clouds of smoke coming up and then opening like mushrooms. During the day we gained touch with the 3rd Division, the C.M.B., and seaplane carriers—the latter reported they were bombing Alexandrovsk. *Nobel* was sent into harbour under escort, and we had news that two other ships were joining which were complete with ammunition. We had to wait for these, and then others were sent into harbour to complete. Again bad luck hit us: one of the fresh ships—another Diesel engine—broke down. She had to be sent into harbour under escort, and, like the Little Nigger Boys, there were only two of us left.

However, it was determined to go back to Alexandrovsk and risk it, to see what was going on. We arrived off there in thick weather on the morning of the 23rd, and were very nearly cut out by two large Bolshevik destroyers. Their speed was something like 20 knots to our 9, and they were dropping shells round us at a range of 17,000 yards —a most uncomfortable position. Touch had been got with the C.M.B. carriers, and as our course was leading direct on to them, they were told to clear away. However, the senior officer of the 3rd Division, a V.C. of the Dardanelles, who had a grievance that he had been out of the fun, was afflicted with a Nelson blind eye. He hoisted out two torpedo-boats, sent off his one remaining seaplane, made all the smoke he could, and waited to see what would happen. The enemy appeared to think that we were leading them into a trap; they turned round and departed. When it is added that within five minutes of this one of our engines broke down and we were reduced to something like 4 knots, you will understand that their departure was a great relief. We then went into a dense fog, and remained in it till early next morning. The C.M.B.'s were hoisted in, but the seaplane had to come down through the fog, land on the water, and could, of course, see nothing. The sea got up, and the framework began to break. In the morning (24th) five ships came out from Petrovsk, having completed

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with ammunition and fuel. They were spread on the line to search for the seaplane, as the fog had now cleared, and late that evening, when all hope had been given up, an officer low down in one of the ships saw something against the skyline. It was the last float of the plane, to which the two officers were clinging; they had been something like thirty-six hours away from their ship, and about twenty-four hours in the water. On the previous day—*i.e.*, 22nd—in their flight they had carried out five bombing raids with that one plane at Alexandrovsk, and when one thinks that for each trip the plane had to be hoisted out, fly off, carry out the attack, return, land on the water, be hoisted in to obtain fresh bombs, and then start off again, it will be understood what a fine lot of airmen we had with us.

On the 28th Alexandrovsk was entered by a squadron of eight ships. The harbour had been reported clear; it was found that a total of twelve enemy craft had been sunk or otherwise destroyed; and fishermen told us that two other Bolshevik destroyers had fought between themselves, one of which had sunk—this, however, was never verified. Summing it up, although it was not the complete knock-out that we had hoped, still it was a serious blow to the enemy, and except for *Nobel*, we were in sufficient strength to hope to deal with the remainder if they cared to attack us; but the extraordinary long range of their guns compared with ours made it quite clear that we could only do so on our own terms, not on theirs.

We set to work to re-arm our ships as new guns arrived, and about this time we received a welcome addition of twenty lieutenants, sub-lieutenants, and watchkeepers. Before we had been deplorably short.

In the action on May 21, in the senior officers' ship the Officers of Quarters were the Secretary and the Secretary's clerk, whilst in the *Windsor Castle*, the ship of the second senior officer, there was no officer at all in the ship except himself.

The next few days was a time of waiting to see if the enemy would come out of the Volga. We were up to our full strength of eight ships, and felt that we had kept our end up. The Air Force carried out persistent bombing raids on Astrakhan. Reports showed that there were a number of ships lying at the mouth of the river, but gradually they went further and further up beyond Astrakhan and out of range. We got news that the enemy had decided to have no more fighting; that the Commander-in-Chief had been shot, and that a new Commander-in-Chief, one Rascalnikoff, had been appointed. He was a man in whom the Bolsheviks had great belief; he had been a prisoner in the hands of the British forces in the Baltic, and was exchanged for, I believe, over a dozen British officers. His wife also arrived, and took command of a flotilla of motor-boats.

As things seemed quieter we could carry on our convoys to the Ural Cossacks, who were badly in need of ammunition.

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General Denekin began a rather aggressive policy towards the Azerbaijan State. The people at Baku got rather frightened that he would invade them, and there was considerable unrest. This was increased by rumours that started of the coming departure of the British Army. There were rumours of the Italians taking over the Mandate for Caucasia. Another party of Russian naval officers arrived, and hearing of the possibility of the Italians coming in, they were very anxious to start their own navy again. Thus the political situation was very difficult. The Tartar Government in Baku seemed quite satisfied that the British Navy and Army should remain, because they knew that so long as we were there General Denekin would not worry them. They had no wish to see a Russian Navy start afresh. General Denekin's party were anxious to start a Russian Navy so as to have their claim pegged out when we left and before the Italians took over. The Italian representatives, who had no further direct orders, were probably not keen on seeing a revival of the Russian Navy in a sea for which they themselves would be responsible.

In June we got further news of Denekin's success in the recapture of Tzaritzyn, a very important town on the Volga, and it seemed that Astrakhan must shortly be taken. Anyhow, the enemy fleet could not go far up the river, and if they came out they would have to fight us. We heard that their discipline was getting very bad, food was very scarce, and they had very little fuel left.

In the middle of June they sent out a flying-boat to attack us. It had a crew of two: Comrade A sat in front and worked the machine; Comrade B sat behind with a revolver to see that Comrade A did his work. When well away from Astrakhan, Comrades A and B formed a little Soviet of their own; they decided that Astrakhan was a poor place, and they did not want to go back; so the Soviet decided to surrender. When they sighted the squadron they came down on the water and gave themselves up. The flying-boat was hoisted in by one of the carriers, sent to Petrovsk, repaired by the flying crew, and within a week was working with the Volunteer Army, bombing her former owners.

A visit was made to Guriev, and the Commodore was made an honorary Ural Cossack. It is believed that he was one of a dozen people who ever had this distinction, and of the only two Englishmen.

The Volunteer Army was organizing a sea attack on Astrakhan, and used the small craft we had turned over to them with certain guns. The attack came to utter grief; the Bolsheviks developed a defensive force of armed barges, and the whole expedition was a failure. This was a pity, as there seemed to be an idea among the Russians, with whom we were really very good friends, that having defeated the Bolsheviks on sea the English did not care to do anything more. They could not, or would not, understand that our job was to try to keep

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command of the sea, and that we were not fit to go into shallow water and try and force our way up the Volga.

At the end of June and in July things were quiet and very dull. We went on re-arming; we could do a bit of boiler-cleaning and cruise; but there was a feeling of uncertainty in the air as to whether the navy would evacuate or not, though nobody wanted to go until either Astrakhan was taken or the Bolshevik squadron accounted for. It was very wearying; mails were few, and we hated the sight of mutton.

Then things began to go badly on the eastern side. Kolchak had retreated; Malmiss had been withdrawn, and the enemy were working along the line from Merv to Krasnovodsk; in fact, that side was turned. There was an outbreak of piracy down to Ashurada, and several merchant ships were captured. All this meant demands made upon the squadron, but it was felt that we must never let go of the mouth of the Volga, for if the enemy got to sea it would be hard to deal with him.

We come back to our old friend the Baku-Krasnovodsk Gap. Just because the enemy were gaining ground on the east side of the Caspian, so it was all the more important that they should not be able to bridge that gap. They could only do it by sea, and the place to meet them was at the mouth of the Volga.

It is of interest to consider the state of things existing at this, the closing period of our time in the Caspian, for it gives an excellent illustration of the interworking of the three arms.

First, the Army.—The Army held the line from Batum to Baku; it guarded the communications for the Navy, it occupied and garrisoned the naval base, and thus allowed the Navy freedom of action to carry out its job and keep at sea without any anxiety as regards that base. A sufficient amount of local defence had been given in the shape of the two 6-inch guns already mentioned, and four C.M.B.'s kept in reserve, to allow of resistance being maintained in the event of a single raider escaping from the Volga till the Navy could move south.

Secondly, the Navy.—The Navy, in its watch off the Volga, prevented the Army being attacked at Baku. It had its advanced base at Petrovsk with a small garrison, and a flying base at Chechen with a guard for the aircraft. In all three cases the Navy covered the Army from attack oversea.

Lastly, the Air Force.—In this case its functions were more to assist the Navy than the Army. The Army guarded its camp, the Navy carried its supplies.

The Air Force gave information by its oversea flights, and by bombing the enemy in those positions at which the Navy could not arrive, forced the enemy to one of two lines of action. Either—

(*a*) It must come further up the Volga, and thus give up all hope of assisting the Bolsheviks to the south, or

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(*b*) It must come out and fight, and take its chance.

Finally, on June 20, we got definite orders to turn the squadron over to the Russians—lock, stock, and barrel. The situation was that there were practically no men-of-war below Astrakhan; the Volunteer Army was starting another offensive, and was very hopeful of capturing the place, so much so that they asked us to stop bombing; and so it seemed that we could turn over with a clear mind. At the same time one was rather doubtful of the morale of the Russian seamen, and we all of us hated to clear out before the job was really finished. Added to this there was the situation at Baku. The Tartars were really frightened that if we left and the Russians had a navy, the latter would be certain to come back and occupy Baku. They thought they could meet the Russians on land, but they had nothing to meet them with at sea, and they said clearly that the British were not playing the game in turning over all the ships to the Russians. There did seem a possibility that as our troops evacuated the Tartars might turn nasty. So it was arranged that the crews of the ships turned over first should leave the Caspian via Baku and Batum, and that certain other ships should see the army clear of the town and then come up to Petrovsk, their crews leaving via Petrovsk and Novorossisk.

The first ship, *Asia*, was turned over at Petrovsk with all ceremony on July 28, one year to the day since the original party left Baghdad. All stores were moved up from Baku and turned over at Petrovsk. The Russians, who appeared to have a love of little commissions and of signing papers, were very particular at the start about mustering everything. Shot and shell left them cold; bully beef and such like were rather more interesting; flannel shirts and white trousers were very interesting; but when they saw a pile of about twenty pairs of boots the Commissar gave one whoop, each man grabbed a pair of boots for himself and one for his pal, and the work stopped while they put them on.

Ship by ship was turned over; we gave the Russians a day's instruction in our guns, and they went out and fired a few rounds. The men were extraordinarily quick in picking up the breech mechanism although the guns were quite different from their own, and they proved very good shots, but some of the folk we had to deal with were rather too good to learn anything.

When it was quite clear that there was no immediate move from the Volga, and the Russians had got some six ships to go on with, we turned our attention to Ashurada. This port, which is really in Persian territory, had been grabbed by Russia many years ago, and although the Russian gunboat there had turned Bolshevik and pirated, yet there had been a sort of indirect pressure on us not to do anything because the Russians still hoped they would be able to reoccupy the place—*i.e.*, they did not want to give up a bit of old

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Russia, even though it was in Persia. The other side was that we did not want the Russians in Persia; we did not want to leave a black spot of pirates behind us, but rather to clear up the job properly. Also, the merchants looked to us to recapture their ships. So two armed ships, which had not had a look in before, were sent down to Ashurada, one being a seaplane carrier. They gave it a thorough good clear up, capturing a gunboat, releasing two steamers, and came away with some half-dozen barges, two hundred prisoners, and a large quantity of munitions. The prisoners were brought up to Petrovsk, the merchant craft returned to their owners, who forgot to say "Thank you," and the gunboat was brought to Enzeli.

At Baku there was considerable unrest when the evacuation actually started. The Tartar Government put in a request that an equal number of ships should be given to them as were given to the Russians, and a suggestion was put forward to the Commodore that he should state his terms to become Commander-in-Chief of the Tartar Navy. The terms he suggested were £5,000 a year and a fresh carpet every week. Nothing more was heard. The Tartar Government threatened and prayed in turn, asking that the British should remain in the town, promising to pay for the troops and the squadron, to give important commercial concessions, and so on. But eventually, when they saw it was no good, they stiffened their backs, and showed some determination to come to terms with the Georgian Republic, and run their show themselves.

Two 6-inch guns that we had mounted at Baku were rather a bone of contention. The orders were that they were to be removed, but as this would have taken too long, and the military wanted to have them ready to turn on the town in case of necessity, we could not do this, so about four days before the date fixed for the end of the evacuation, a party went up and removed the breech-blocks, sights, etc., and the guns were allowed to run back on to the ground. We knew we had been watched, and two days after, the Military Governor at Baku—a very pleasing Tartar, who had been besieging us last year—came on board *Kruger*, and after the usual remarks about the weather, offered us a million roubles for the breech-blocks. He was told that there was nothing doing.

Then, just before we left, the Shah of Persia passed through, and there was the unique experience of his being escorted from Enzeli to Baku by a British man-of-war. This was the more necessary as there were many rumours concerning the pirates at Ashurada.

As the day of the final evacuation drew near, a large number of Russian steamers left Baku for Petrovsk, for no Russian knew how he would fare under the Tartar Government.

August 24 came, the day when the last echelon of British troops were to leave. The arrangements were that G.H.Q. were to leave

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the station at midnight, and the navy, having seen everything clear, were then to leave the harbour.

The Tartar Government put up a big dinner, to which the British officers were invited, and where we met various Georgian officials. There were, of course, a lot of speeches, all much in the same tone: that the British had not been welcomed at the start, but that now, after nine months, they understood and trusted us, and were very sorry we were going; that the Tartar Republic saw that it had to prove itself capable of keeping law and order and of managing its own affairs. They hoped to have an alliance with Georgia, which would embrace most of Trans-Caucasia. They did not want to be entirely independent of Russia, but they wanted local autonomy.

Soon after eleven o'clock we started to go, and the "good-byes" commenced. Our old friend the Military Governor asked the Commodore if he was not glad to leave Baku. The Commodore replied "No," that he liked Baku, but that lately he had developed "carpet fever," and he found it too expensive. "How queer!" replied the Military Governor. "I have lately developed 'breech-block fever,' and found it too expensive."

Finally, we all went off to the station in cars. The band played the Engleski March—*i.e.*, "Tipperary." The train pulled out punctually at midnight, and we went back to the ships.

We cleared at 12.30 and steamed out of the harbour, looking back on the blaze of lights from the Russian Summer Club, and here ended the second occupation of Baku by the British.

The remaining ships were turned over at Petrovsk. There were enthusiastic send-offs, a lot of bunting, and bands. We travelled in trucks, well scrubbed and whitewashed, for it is better to travel in a clean truck than in an infested first-class carriage.

Kruger, the last ship turned over, hoisted the Russian ensign on September 2, and the British Caspian flotilla ceased to exist.

It may be said that the Russian naval officers were grateful for what we had done—were glad to have ships turned over to them in running condition, with ammunition and stores; but, with that idea of a new Russia ever in their minds, they were glad to see the White Ensign disappear from the Caspian Sea, which they always regarded as a Russian lake.

Then came an interesting journey to Taganrog, where we met General Denekin. He expressed himself as being very grateful for all we had done; he struck one as being an honest man, and his worst enemies were those representatives of the old régime by whom he was surrounded, and whose actions nullified all his good intentions. Denekin himself was beset with numberless applications from local bodies to recognize various little republics—the Don Republic, the Crimean Republic, the Ukraine Republic, and so on—and to each he

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replied that he was not able to give away—*i.e.*, to give local autonomy to any part of Russia. His whole argument was, First finish the Bolsheviks, and then we can decide what is to happen.

We left Taganrog on September 8 and reached Constantinople, and the Commodore's broad pennant was finally struck at sunset on September 11.

It had been a wonderful fourteen months, and the results obtained, although we were not able to see the final finish of our work, were due to the cheeriness and good work given by all hands.

We started with a small party of twenty-two men. We were besieged in Baku and had to evacuate. We started afresh to arm the ships. The army was convoyed back to Baku, which place was reoccupied. The Bolsheviks were prevented from reinforcing their base south of the winter ice, and that base was bombarded and burnt. The squadron grew to nine armed ships, four carriers, and twelve C.M.B.'s, and our numbers were about twelve hundred officers and men of the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force. We gradually got better guns, though these did not come until nearly the end. We never got over the boiler troubles, but we did manage to keep at sea.

Baku was never threatened. The Bolsheviks, when they came out of the Volga, were given a good thumping, and had to go home again. If only we could have got the C.M.B.'s up in time for May 22 we should have finished off several more. Finally, we covered the evacuation from Baku, and came away ourselves.

The last part of our time was tedious, unsettled, and uncomfortable, for war conditions had to be maintained, but perhaps the real regret that was shown when we left made up for this.

In this lecture as few names as possible have been mentioned. You have heard General Dunsterville, and the chance is taken here of saying how much we owe to the army, especially the Supply and Medical branches. From our start at Baghdad, when General Gillman was Chief of the Staff, we received from the Sister Service all help, and very often they were hard put to it to make both ends meet for themselves. General Dunsterville, General Thomson, General Shuttleworth, who were in succession in command of the troops—to each of these must the Navy give its thanks. To the airmen under Captain Bowhill, who, I would repeat, as an ex-R.N.R. officer, so fully understood our needs, and to his officers, we owe a great deal. They gave information of what was going on up the river; they did splendidly at Alexandrovsk. To those of the Royal Navy—Captain Washington, second in command, Captain Parnell, in charge of the base, and Engineer-Commander O'Dogherty, who acted as naval constructor and chief engineer, and whose tact in dealing with the Russian workmen enabled the fitting of the ships to be carried out—to the P.M.O., who had much experience in Mesopotamia, and the chief of the

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Accountant Branch, also Commander Harrison, R.N.R., who came up with the first party—to all these and to all others, officers and men, who were my comrades in the Caspian, I give my best thanks.

The CHAIRMAN: Would any gentleman like to make any observation in respect of this extremely interesting lecture we have just heard from Captain Norris?

Major-General Sir WEBB GILLMAN: Sir Charles Monro, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Commodore has frequently alluded to what we did at Baghdad to help him at the beginning of his expedition, and I can only speak for the later months of 1918, because we handed over the Caspian Sea to General Milne on January 1, 1919. I think one of the points that stand out in these distant expeditions is that people at home, who order them, use a very small scale map, which is often a delusion as regards distances. In Mesopotamia we had to supply by river from Basra to Baghdad, and from thence on by road to Enzeli. It was much the same as if you had to supply by a river the size of the Thames at Staines, going at six miles an hour as far as the Firth of Forth, and thence by Ford vans to Christiania. The Commodore had a photograph of masses of motor-lorries: I do not know where he collected them. We had, I know, eighty, but there were always one-third undergoing repairs due to the rough roads; and they were strung out over the road backwards and forwards, so that I never saw more than three together. I am afraid he has been too kind in referring to our help, because I know full well that our ability to do so was considerably hampered by lack of transport. A Ford van carried six hundred pounds; it could go to Enzeli and back with the petrol that it carried inside it. It could go to Enzeli with half a load of petrol, and the rest would be stores; you can imagine how little got there! He started out with three officers and twenty-two men, and when you see what he did eventually you realize what a colossal task it was at the outset. As regards his mission, he very mildly said that he had to keep the gap open between Baku and Krasnovodsk—a very easy thing to say, but a very difficult thing to do. He had many instructions sent him, and I know one was fairly comprehensive: "Go and command the Caspian Sea; seize all the shipping that is hostile; destroy all the oil wells in Baku; and capture anything you can and arm it." It was an easy thing to say, but when he got to Enzeli he had to get unarmed ships and screw steel plates into the decks before he could get a gun fixed on. He had to get crews; he got twenty-five men from the army and twenty-five of his own, which does not make much of a crew; so you will realize what wonderful things he and the officers under him did. Speaking from the military point of view, I can only express my thanks for the extraordinary co-operation we soldiers always received from the Commodore. I cannot speak too strongly of this, and I know I shall be backed up by my then Com-

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mander-in-Chief, Sir William Marshall, now in India, when I say that the work done by Commodore Norris and by Captain Washington, when the Commodore met with his accident, was beyond all praise. (Applause.)

Mr. FRANCIS SKRINE: I should like to ask Captain Norris what he thinks of the strategy of this movement on the Caspian. What did our Admiralty think was going to happen? It seems to me from his interesting lecture—of course, I speak as a layman—but it seems to me to have been the most wild-cat expedition in Asiatic warfare. I know the Caspian intimately, and I should be the very last man to anticipate that such an expedition would be started at an enormous distance from our base, and with huge physical difficulties to face. Only steadfastness, courage, and the co-operation of all three branches saved us from disaster. It might have been a real catastrophe, and I should like to know Captain Norris's opinion regarding this. Was there anything in it at all? Could it possibly spell success of any kind?

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The last speaker wonders why our lecturer was sent to the Caspian. I do not pretend to know much about such matters, but I think it is very often lost sight of that an expedition sent to a part like the Caspian serves a purpose. I think Sir Michael O'Dwyer said a little while back that they might seem wild-cat schemes, but that the chief thing was to keep the enemy at bay, and prevent him getting through behind our backs and making mischief. In my own opinion the principal reply to the question about the Caspian was India—the safety of India; as there is no doubt, I think, that if Commodore Norris and his men had not done the work they did on the Caspian, there would have been certain mischief in India done by the people working in European quarters. With others, I must re-echo the last speaker on the admirable work the Commodore and his men did with small forces and inadequate means on the Caspian.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The time is late, and I think it would be your wish that in the first place we should join together in expressing our very cordial thanks to Captain Norris for his extraordinarily interesting lecture. (Applause.) One does not like to say it is a fairy tale, because it is not; but still it reads like one, this wonderful achievement in the Caspian. All difficulties overcome—difficulties only created to be overcome by him; and I feel certain that I am permitted by you to express to him our very cordial thanks for really a most delightful hour in listening to this wonderful story. (Renewed applause.)

The LECTURER: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very grateful for the kind way in which you have received my lecture. I very much regret I have kept you so long. (Cries of "No.") But I would ask you to understand that, with all the good-will in the world, it is very hard

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to squash fourteen months' hard work into an hour's lecture and make anything of it. As regards your question, sir, I think the answer has been given by General Gillman. We were sent there, as we understand, to keep that gap open; whether it was right to send us there or not I do not know. There is among the audience an officer of high rank then on the Naval Staff—perhaps he can answer; but in so far as, rightly or wrongly, we were sent there, then I think it may be fairly said that what we were sent to do we did. (Renewed applause.)

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THE ASSYRO-CHALDEANS

By Major F. F. RYND, D.S.O.

The Assyrian mountaineers were perhaps the smallest nation to be drawn into the vortex of the Great War. They have considerable claim to our interest and sympathy by virtue of their ancient origin and the part they took on our side against the Turco-German forces in the Middle East during the war. They are the remnants of a people who centuries ago had their headquarters at Ctesiphon, until they were driven into the mountains by the invasion of the Islamic hordes at the time of Tamerlane.

The Assyrians eventually migrated into Kurdistan, and formed a "millet" in the Ottoman Empire. In the course of time they became split up into three main ecclesiastical divisions:

1. The Nestorians, inhabiting the Kurdistan mountains north of Mosul.

2. The Chaldeans, scattered throughout Iraq, but predominating in the Mosul province.

3. The Jacobites, prevailing in the provinces of Diabekr and Syria.

They also claim kinship with that peculiar people, the Yezidees, who early left the Christian fold and relapsed into Paganism. The Nestorian Assyrians formed an "ashiret" or tribal government of their own within the Turkish Empire, as owing to the inaccessible nature of the country they inhabited, the Turks were only able to exercise a shadowy control over them.

Only a brief reference will be made here to the part these people took in the war, as this has been fully described in a little book by Dr. Wigram.* After the Russians entered Persia and before the declaration of war by the Turks, the latter sent emissaries to Mar Shimun, the Patriarch of the Nestorians, to endeavour to bribe the Assyrians to remain neutral. The German Consul at Mosul also guaranteed their absolute security on condition of neutrality. In the spring of 1915 the Russians advanced into Asia Minor. Van fell into their hands, and they sent a deputation to the mountaineers to rise up and fight for the Christians against the Mussulmans. In May, 1915, the Assyrians decided to throw in their lot with the Entente, and declared war against the Turks. After considerable vicissitudes, the Assyrians were forced to flee to Urmia in Persia, and when the Russians collapsed at the end of 1917 the Christians in Urmia endeavoured to hold the Persian frontier against the Turks. In this they were unsuccessful, and were eventually overwhelmed and forced to fly and take refuge with the British in Mesopotamia. The Assyro-Chaldeans now view with considerable concern recent political

* "Our Smallest Ally," by W. A. Wigram, D.D. S P.C.K.

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events in Iraq. The sudden revival of Turkish nationalism combined with anti-Christian sentiment and the Turkish threat against Mosul has raised apprehensions as to what will be their fate if the British withdraw from Iraq. A number of them have returned to their homes in the mountains north of Mosul, and have good reasons to fear reprisals for the part they took in the war against the Turks. They consider the Arabs would be unable to afford them the necessary protection.

The Assyro-Chaldeans have laid their case before the Conference at Lausanne, and a deputation headed by General Agha Petros has recently been in this country to try and obtain for their people recognition as "a Christian autonomy under British mandate." They ask to have the country north and north-west of Mosul between the Zob and Tigris set aside as a home for their nation. This territory is peopled only with Assyrians, Yezidees, and Kurds, who are for the most part friendly. They do not expect financial or military assistance, but claim that if armed and given the autonomy they ask for, they could hold their own against their enemies, and would further British interests by acting as a Christian buffer State on the northern frontier of Iraq. From a military point of view the Nestorian or mountaineer Assyrians are no doubt capable of defending themselves. The writer was in Baquba during the rebellion of 1920, when the Assyrians showed themselves more than a match for the Arabs.* A large number are now serving under us as Levies, and it is on them the brunt of the attack would fall in the event of a Turkish advance on Mosul. The future of this little nation is no doubt a difficult problem. The Turks, with whom we are now endeavouring to conclude a peace, have resisted, and will no doubt continue to resist, the granting of an Assyrian autonomy on their frontiers. The Arabs, it is believed, are more favourable to the idea, and it is perhaps through an understanding with King Feisal supported by British influence that the Assyrians have the best chance of obtaining their object. But beneath the surface in Central Asia religious antipathies are always smouldering and liable to break out into the flame of fanaticism, and the position of a small Christian nation in the middle of a vast Moslem population might not be an enviable one were the British forces ultimately withdrawn from Iraq.

It must be remembered that these people fought on our side during the war, in the Arab rebellion of 1920, and are fighting on our side now. They also state definite promises of autonomy and protection were made when they were asked to support our cause in the war.

If it is found impossible to grant the Assyrians their dearest wish —autonomy under our King and flag—it is hoped the safety of these people will be adequately guarded when the political status of Iraq is finally decided.

* *Vide* article by Lieut.-Colonel Cunliffe-Owen in the *Journal*, vol. ix., part ii.

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THE BAGHDAD-ALEPPO MOTOR ROUTE

By Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward

I am asked to write some account of my recent drive from Baghdad to Aleppo.

I should, first of all, explain that it was undertaken merely as a convenient return route from India and as an alternative to the usual sea journey from Bombay, and not at all with the object of making notes and observations, which would, in fact, under the conditions have been impossible. My camera having broken down, I was also unable to obtain any photographs.

I had already travelled over that part of the road lying between Deir-ez-Zor on the Euphrates and Aleppo by caravan, in 1909, but the track followed by motor-cars does not now at all coincide with that which I followed on the former occasion, and lies in a general sense further from the river and more across the uplands.

Before leaving India, on March 23, I had endeavoured, without much success, to obtain information regarding the practicability of the route. I was, however, lucky in meeting at Delhi Mr. Menzies Ferguson, late manager of the Anglo-Persia Bank, and who had returned recently from Baghdad. He was able at least to tell me that at the time he left motor-cars were running between that city and Aleppo. I also obtained, through the Foreign Department at Delhi, the official sanction of the High Commissioner of Iraq to my proposed journey, with the information that the route to Aleppo was then open, and might be expected to remain so for the present, but none regarding the means of transport.

I eventually started, relying as a last resource on the possibility of obtaining a lift by aeroplane across the desert to Palestine, and this I believe would have been possible by the ordinary air mail, which leaves Baghdad for Cairo fortnightly, calling on the way at Amman in Transjordania, but as the charge is very high (I believe £120 to Cairo) and only about 20 pounds of baggage are allowed, this cannot be considered a convenient or even an interesting mode of travel.

On arriving at Bombay I had considerable difficulty in obtaining a passage on the B.I.S.S. *Varela*, nearly all the accommodation having been reserved at the last moment by the Government for Air Force reinforcements. This, however, proved to be a blessing in disguise, as in addition to the pleasant company of the officers on board I had the great advantage of their kind assistance in various ways, at Basra on arrival, and afterwards at Baghdad.

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Thanks to this I was able to catch the fast mail train, which runs only in connection with the mail steamers at Basra, two hours after arrival there at 11 a.m., and reached Baghdad at 11 a.m. next morning, a twenty-four hours' journey by rail; the railway line keeps to the west of the Euphrates, and the train passed Shuaiba, the scene of much fighting during the war, at about 2 p.m., and Ur (of the Chaldees) at about 7 p.m., reaching Hilla, where the river is crossed, at about 6 a.m. the following morning, Babylon soon afterwards, and Baghdad at 11 a.m. The carriages, built I believe in Indian workshops, are very comfortable, and a restaurant car is attached.

At Baghdad I found the High Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, and Lady Cox, as always, most kind and hospitable and anxious to be of assistance to me, and fear that as they themselves were much occupied necessarily with preparations for their own approaching departure I must have been a great nuisance to them. It was through the assistance of the Air Marshal commanding the troops in Iraq, Sir John Salmond, and his staff that I got into touch with the Baghdad-Aleppo Garage, who engaged to supply me with a good Ford car to Aleppo for the sum of L.T.30, including all expenses connected with the actual journey; which, considering the distance of about 1,100 miles, including the return, appeared a very reasonable charge.

It was, of course, necessary for me to obtain the visa of the French Consul at Baghdad for my further journey, and my time there from March 31 to April 5, when I started for Aleppo, was fairly well occupied with this and other small engagements. The Maude Hotel, at which I stayed, is a large Arab house with the usual drawback of there being no *outside* windows, but the rooms were comfortable and well furnished. The hotel is lighted throughout with electric light, and the food is excellent.

There are, as is well known, no antiquities or buildings of architectural importance in the town, but I paid several visits to the bazaars, which are always full of interest from the cosmopolitan nature of the crowd with which they are thronged and the variety of merchandise of all sorts, Eastern and Western, which they display.

The local products most sought after by visitors are the silk *abas* (cloaks) and *kufiyas* (headkerchiefs), of beautiful colours and richly embroidered in gold and silver, worn by Arab ladies and gentlemen.

One of the principal bridges, known as the Maude Bridge, had been washed away shortly before my arrival by the spring flood of snow-water from the mountains, which necessitated a long detour in order to visit the Residency or railway station on the right bank of the river; the hotels and military offices being, as well as the city, on the left bank. It is, however, possible to hire a boat for the crossing at almost any point.

I was quite unable to identify any part of Baghdad from my former

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visit thirty-seven years ago. A fairly wide street had been driven by the Turks, either just before or during the war, through a large portion of the city and running parallel with the river; and buildings and gardens appeared to me to have extended much further away from the banks than formerly. I failed to recognize the old Residency, where I stayed on the occasion of my former visit, and which was, I believe, still earlier the residence of one of the Nawabs of Oudh, but believe it is now used as a mess by the R.A.F.

The *gufas* or coracles, so much used as ferries in former days, are now much scarcer, and I saw very few on the river banks. There appear to be many more large fishing-nets in use than formerly.

The inhabitants of Baghdad have taken very kindly to motoring. There are many garages, and the streets are at all hours full of cars, mostly of American make, with a preponderance of Fords. The drivers, mostly Arabs, are quite up to the standard of other towns. During my visit perfect harmony appeared to exist amongst the various classes of the population, and a very large amount of trade appeared to be going forward. The Arab police of King Feisul were everywhere in evidence, and the traffic was, generally speaking, well regulated. The "Palace" of the High Commissioner, of which so much has been heard, is a fine building, about equivalent to the average Residency in British India, with a few good reception-rooms and a beautiful garden shaded by palm-trees and abundantly irrigated. I understood, however, that unnecessarily large sums had been expended upon its adaptation and improvement. In the garden, which was full of charming English flowers of all sorts, I saw the pair of Arabian ostriches which have lately arrived in England and are on view at the Zoological Gardens, besides other interesting birds and beasts, the ex-High Commissioner being an ardent and accomplished naturalist. The weather during my stay at Baghdad was, I believe, unusually cool for the season, with occasional showers of rain, of which there was luckily very little on the two days preceding my departure on April 5.

After paying the hire of the motor, thirty pounds, in Turkish gold, of which there appeared to be plenty available in the bazaars, I succeeded in getting started by 10 a.m. and traversing the irrigated country between the rivers, which would probably be impassable after heavy rain, arrived at the boat bridge over the Euphrates at Falluja at about forty miles. Here I was delayed for about half an hour whilst part of the roadway which had been taken up for some reason was relaid. I arrived at Ramadi (about sixty-five miles) at 1 p.m., where there were certain formalities to be observed at the Arab police post. With the assistance of the English officer-in-charge of the post these were completed, and I was able to proceed again after about an hour's delay in the Serai. From Ramadi to Hit, about thirty-five miles, the track was indifferent, and I did not reach the latter place till 5 p.m.

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I had been unable in Baghdad to meet with any European who had made the journey, but understood from the garage proprietor and others that I should have no difficulty in procuring food and decent accommodation at the regular stages on the road. I had therefore provided myself only with some biscuits and chocolates and a box of insect powder, for use in emergencies, and had no kind of camp furniture beyond a moderate amount of bedding.

I now found that at Hit the only accommodation available was the usual unfurnished cell in the old Turkish caravanserai, and that no food of any kind appeared to be procurable.

The Arab police superintendent of the post did his best to assist me, and managed to procure a wooden bench for a bed, a jug of water, and some sort of lantern. He also sent me later on in the evening a tray of mixed food from which I managed to extract some fragments of egg for my dinner.

The same officer entertained me at tea in a garden on the river bank, and later conducted me to the celebrated pitch-wells west of the town. We passed many sulphur springs *en route*, and the air reeked of sulphuretted hydrogen. It is possible that these springs may turn out some day to have valuable medicinal properties, but at present they do not appear to be utilized. The well which I inspected and from which bitumen is taken was at the bottom of a pit and about 9 feet in diameter. Gas constantly bubbles up in the centre, and when ignited burns with a red flame for twenty minutes to half an hour. I was told that borings were being made in the neighbourhood for oil, and the surroundings certainly reminded me of other oil-bearing localities which I have visited. I had no time to visit the town of Hit, a venerable but dilapidated pile of buildings crowning the hill on the river bank.

The inhabitants make use of the bitumen to waterproof wicker vessels used for domestic purposes. I believe that there is a considerable export of the pitch by river transport. I received a visit from a Baghdad Christian, who informed me that he had been sent by the Arab Government as schoolmaster and teacher of the English language, in which, however, he was only moderately proficient. He complained, no doubt with reason, of the lonely life which he was condemned to lead amongst bigoted Mohammedans, and I could do little to console him.

After a very restless and uncomfortable night I started at 7 a.m. on April 6, in dull threatening weather, and at first over a much worse track than I had hitherto met with. On the previous day I had been introduced by the police superintendent to an Arab who, he informed me, had lately been engaged in road-making. From him I received some imperfectly understood instructions, and it was not long before we reached some specimens of his engineering skill in the form of

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rough causeways, not more than 6 feet wide and built of huge rough boulders, across boggy places. My Arab driver managed to negotiate them with great skill and strength of wrist, but I confess that the prospect, which at times seemed imminent, of turning turtle into the quagmires on either side was unpleasant! As we proceeded, however, the road improved and the skies cleared, and we reached Ana (ninety-five miles) at twelve o'clock, where we were again held up for about two hours for a police visa (the inspector was absent when we arrived, and his representative inclined to be rather truculent), but got on the road again, after a light lunch of biscuits and chocolate, at 2 p.m., and had an easy run of about sixty miles to Abu Kemal, the frontier part of French Syria, where we arrived at 6 p.m. I had omitted to mention that the police superintendent at Ana had insisted in providing us with an escort of one (negro) policeman with a gun, who perched himself very uncomfortably on the top of my luggage in the tonneau.

We, however, got rid of him at the French frontier, and this was the only occasion on which I was accompanied by any sort of escort during the journey.

I was delighted with the clean and well-kept appearance of the little town of Abu Kemal, and was received most kindly and hospitably by the French *commandant de poste* who insisted on giving up to me a most comfortable and well-furnished room in his house, and provided me with an excellent dinner, including some of the truffles found in the neighbourhood as a vegetable. There appears to be plenty of game in the vicinity, and he gets plenty of sport and exercise in coursing hares, etc., with the three handsome Arab greyhounds which he keeps in the house. He showed me also the skin of a hyæna, shot the day before with his revolver when out for a ride. By his advice I decided not to attempt to get beyond Deir-ez-Zor (about eighty miles) on the following day, April 7, and it was not therefore necessary to make a very early start. Constantinople time is kept by the French in Syria; it was therefore necessary to put back my watch an hour, and I started at 7 a.m. as before. The track lay for great part of the way across rolling-down country, and was for the most part excellent going, and we reached Deir-ez-Zor at 10.30 a.m.

Here I was again received with the greatest courtesy and hospitality by the French authorities. Deir-ez-Zor is the principal French military station on their Eastern Syrian frontier, and is held by a strong garrison.

It is a town of considerable size, surrounded by gardens and cultivation, and the fruit orchards on the river banks and islands, with their spring blossom and foliage, were very delightful to the eye. The streets also are clean and well kept in contrast to their condition during my former visit in 1909, under Turkish rule, with a Governor of pro-German sympathies, from whom I met with little civility.

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I was allotted a comfortable room in a house occupied by the French staff, and dined and spent a very pleasant evening with the *commandant de section* and his staff.

My passport having been adorned with yet another visa, I started again at 5.30 a.m. on April 8 over a very bad and rocky track for the first twenty miles or so.

The weather was much colder, and showers of rain were threatening, though little fell. Later on the sky cleared somewhat, and the track lay away from the river across rolling down-country covered with a considerable amount of vegetation and many wild flowers, chiefly dark crimson poppies and anemones. The black tents of the Bedawin were to be seen in every direction, and we met many large parties on the move with their camels, donkeys, sheep, and goats.

It was the delight of my Arab driver, over whom I could exercise no control, to dash into the thick of these parties, scattering them in all directions, but fortunately they seemed usually quite to enter into the spirit of this pleasantry!

I was interested also to notice large flocks of swallows on their northward migration, which were frequently resting on the track, and rose in clouds in front of the car.

On one long stretch of, I should think, about forty miles, which we must have covered within the hour, we saw myriads of the pin-tailed sandgrouse in flocks of ten to fifty or more. We reached the village of Meskeneh, where the road turns west from the river, at 1 p.m., and after half an hour for refreshment continued our journey across much irrigated corn land and over a bad road towards Aleppo. Our one and only casualty to the car occurred, in the form of a punctured tyre, about forty miles from that town, but the driver was equal to the occasion, and utilizing at last one of the many part-worn tubes with which the front of the car was garlanded, we were able to proceed with very little delay. Most of the nuts connecting the hood having departed, the latter was now hanging behind in a forlorn and dejected manner, but was just kept off the ground by a series of complicated lashings connecting it with the front lamps, etc. The weather was again threatening, and I was truly thankful when we arrived at the Hotel Baron, at about 5 p.m., without having had occasion to use it!

We had accomplished the distance from Deir-ez-Zor to Aleppo, 188 miles on the map, and I should think that at least 200 miles by road, in twelve running hours, which, considering that the first and last portions of the track were exceedingly bad, the first from rock and the last from mud, reflects the greatest possible credit on the Ford car and its inventor!

A few hours after our arrival at Aleppo the rain, which had been threatening, came down in torrents and lasted for much of the follow-

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ing day. This must have rendered the track from Meskeneh practically impossible for a car, and I had again to congratulate myself on my good fortune in having got through so successfully.

These notes are written in the hope that they may be of use to any intending traveller by this route, and I should like to emphasize the point that I myself was badly equipped, and, as subsequent events proved, took considerable risks of a very unpleasant time.

Within the last few days I have seen it stated in the papers that the river Euphrates has burst its banks, and that the country between Baghdad and Falluja is for the most part under water. Needless to say this might involve a very uncomfortable situation for anyone travelling, as I was, without provisions, and I would strongly recommend a Primus stove and some tins of soup, etc., to be taken. Something of the nature of a camp-bed or valise and some washing equipment (rubber basin, etc.) might also prove invaluable in case of a breakdown or other delay. There is a great and sudden change in the climate in going northward to be guarded against, and I was glad to make use of a thick suit of clothes and winter underclothing at Aleppo on arrival.

I met large numbers of Ford cars on the road full of Arabs, but did not see a single European traveller, and the old Turkish serais or *khans* on the road provide no furniture and little in the way of food. Moreover, in many cases they are twenty or thirty miles apart. I travelled myself unarmed, but in case of a breakdown in an out-of-the-way part of the road it would be, at all events, a moral support to have a revolver.

As regards scenery there is, I think, little on this route deserving of the name in the ordinary sense. The valley of the Euphrates is generally bounded by cliffs at varying distances from the river itself—sometimes of chalk, sometimes of fantastically woven limestone and conglomerate (I am no geologist!). The high down country of which I have spoken at the top of these cliffs has a fascination of its own, often with ridge after ridge of distant hills visible to the west. The effects of cloud and sunshine, sunrise and sunset, over this country are often very beautiful. Between Meskeneh and Aleppo the numerous Syrian villages of large beehive-shaped mud houses closely clustered together, surrounded by fields of green corn, were a feature in the landscape.

Before quitting the subject of the motor route from Baghdad to Aleppo, I ought to make some reference to the alternate route across the desert direct from Baghdad to Damascus, described in an article contributed to *The Times* of May 31.

This route had already been traversed by motor-cars before my own arrival at Baghdad; I had made some inquiry about it, and decided that it was impracticable for a single car. Mr. Palmer, the

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British Consul at Damascus, with Major McCullum and a lady, arrived at the Maude Hotel on the evening before my departure after their very successful reconnaissance trip, with, I believe, two or three specially equipped cars, and I was able to have some conversation with them after dinner. There can be no doubt that if it is possible to establish some kind of intermediate depôts west of the Euphrates, and to make arrangements with tribal chiefs for the security of passengers and mails, this will be the route of the future from this country to Baghdad; always supposing that after our evacuation of Iraq, lately announced by Sir Percy Cox to be at the end of four years, the necessity for such a route continues to exist!

It is hardly necessary for me to attempt a description of the picturesque old city of Aleppo, which I had already visited three times. The Hotel Baron, where I stayed, is a fine new building not far from the railway station, where the food and accommodation are sufficiently good, but the attendance leaves much to be desired. Owing to an "Armenian" Bank Holiday I had some trouble in making my financial arrangements. I parted very amicably with my Arab chauffeur, an excellent fellow, and entrusted him with letters of thanks to the various friends whom I had made *en route*, which I hope reached their destination.

After a stay of one day only, I left Aleppo by rail at 6.30 a.m. on April 10, and reached Damascus at 10 p.m. the same day, lunching in the refreshment room at Homs, and dining at Rayak on the way, a journey very inferior in comfort to that between Basra and Baghdad! This line was originally constructed by a European company, under a kilometric guarantee, for the Turks, and in former days its meanderings over the plain conveyed the distant effect of a forest of telegraph poles. I am not sure whether it has been straightened out since the French occupation.

I remained at Damascus for one day only, as it was imperatively necessary for me to go on to Beyrout as early as possible with a view to securing a passage by the Messageries steamer of April 14, said to be fully booked up. I stayed at the Hotel Oriental Khawam, which has a charming garden full of Banksia roses and other familiar flowers. General Sir H. H. Tudor, commanding troops in Palestine, and staff, arrived on a return visit to the French staff, and for some inter-Allied football matches.

I left Damascus at 7.30 a.m. on April 12, having secured a seat in one of the motor-cars which proceed daily to Beyrout across the Lebanon ranges, sitting in front with the driver, whilst the body of the car was filled with a varying number of Arabs, with their belongings, as we proceeded. The motor journey is usually accomplished in four hours, whereas the train, over what is in part a mountain railway, takes from six to eight hours over it. Unfortunately it

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was a very wet day, and the view was entirely obscured by rain and clouds.

I reached Beyrout at 12.30 p.m. and stayed at the Hotel Palace Khawam, near the Quays, which, however, I am unable to recommend, the accommodation and attendance being indifferent and the charges very high, as they are, in fact, everywhere in Syria, with more justification. The old-established hotel (of which I forget the name) near Cook's office is probably better.

After many vicissitudes I at last succeeded in getting a second-class berth on the *Sphinx* of the M.M., a very fine ship in every way, which was exchanged for a first-class after I got on board on April 14, and stopping two days at Alexandria for cargo, reached Marseilles on April 23.

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REVIEWS

THE TURKISH EMPIRE. By Lord Eversley and Sir Valentine Chirol. T. Fisher Unwin.

Perhaps the greatest surprise the world has experienced since the Armistice has been the revival, almost the resurrection, of Turkey and of the Turkish Empire—not, it is true, of the Empire even as it was before the Great War, but of a not inconsiderable Empire, at least in terms of territory. This absolutely unexpected resuscitation, accompanied as it has been by equally unexpected developments, such as the democratization of Turkey, has naturally excited universal interest, and makes the publication of such a book as this singularly opportune, and this all the more because the work is of the high class we expect from such authors.

This important book presents a continuous history of the Ottoman Empire from its small beginnings in Asia Minor under Othman, or Osman, up to so recent a date as that of the Mudania Convention. It is the work, however, of two hands. Much the longer part is written by Lord Eversley; it takes the story of the Turks as far as 1914, and first appeared as a separate volume in 1917, when it was at once accepted as an excellent, if somewhat condensed, history, and became, having regard to its limits, a standard work. What we have in the present book is a new edition of that history, to which have been added several chapters by Sir Valentine Chirol, carrying the narrative from 1914 to 1922. In his Second Preface, Lord Eversley tells us he thought it most desirable, in view of the Great War and what had since occurred, that the story should be brought up to date as much as possible, but that increasing infirmities of age prevented him from attempting himself to do this. Everyone will feel sympathy with Lord Eversley, and all will agree that his choice of a coadjutor could not well be bettered.

It is quite unnecessary to say anything further about Lord Eversley's part of the book, except perhaps to note there are still some trifling inaccuracies in details which might be corrected in a third edition. For instance, the correct date of the second Siege of Rhodes is 1522, but on p. 96 it is given as 1520, on p. 112 as 1524, and on p. 117 as 1523. (I am indebted to Colonel Yate for calling my attention to these *errata*.) Most of those who are really interested in this subject

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are already acquainted with what Lord Eversley has written, and their attention, as my own has been, will be concentrated on the fresh matter supplied by Sir Valentine. He has the pen of a ready writer, as everybody knows; he is the master of a style at once lucid and persuasive. Besides, he has a most profound knowledge of Foreign Affairs, especially as regards the East.

But it may be urged without offence that we are all too near the events of the past eight years to see them in anything like their proper perspective, and that we are far from being in full possession of the relevant facts, though that is essential for forming a thoroughly sound judgment. It may be doubted whether any man of our generation, or even of the next generation, will be sufficiently removed from the impact and pressure of these formidable times to be able to give an unbiased, inexpugnable historical account, far less a history, of these stupendous years.

What I have just said may seem rather trite, but what is in my mind is rather what has happened to myself respecting opinions I had held, and have now been compelled to modify or discard altogether, on further consideration of what may be called the facts of the case, apart from predilection or prejudice. The world has been saturated with propaganda, and nothing is more genuinely obscurantist. In each country there has been established a certain orthodoxy of opinion, as well as of facts, respecting the war and what has happened since, but based largely on one-sided national and nationalizing readings of recent history. Thus have emerged a British, a French, a German orthodoxy, and so on, each seeing, of course, everything from its particular point of view, and, equally of course, not seeing everything or much from the other points of view. In these chapters of his, Sir Valentine presents the story quite admirably from the orthodox British standpoint. My trouble is that I have ceased to be a believer in this orthodoxy—that is, as regards some of its tenets.

To pass from the general to the particular. And here I shall confine myself to three things, all of which figure in these chapters. I have come to think that the usual British view of King Constantine is grossly unfair, nor do I agree with the usual British estimate of M. Venizelos. I am not going to state my reasons, for to do so would occupy much space, but I may be permitted to refer my readers to Mr. G. E. Abbott's book which was published towards the close of last year under the title of "Greece and the Allies." No one can study that work without coming to the conclusion that the usual orthodox British view is, to say the least, open to the gravest suspicions. The third thing with respect to which I differ from Sir Valentine is his view—again the orthodox British view—of the importance of the co-operation of the Arabs, under Feisal, with the British in the conquest of Palestine and Syria. I am sure that the value of the services of the

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Arabs was greatly exaggerated—for political reasons that I believe were entirely wrong. The curious manner in which Feisal was hustled into Damascus gave the whole show away. R. M.

TRAVELS IN EASTERN TIBET. By Eric Teichman, H.M. Consular Service. Maps and illustrations. Cambridge Press.

This book, with its excellent photographs and historical and topographical notes, is a valuable addition to the literature on Tibet. The writer had exceptional opportunities for studying the Chino-Tibetan question, inasmuch as he was holding a consular appointment in Western China when hostilities broke out between China and Tibet on the frontier in 1918. Mainly as the result of the world war, and the general spirit of unrest prevailing, the internal affairs of China were in disorder, the authority of the Central Government did not extend far beyond Peking, and was quite exhausted before reaching the outlying provinces. It therefore devolved upon the author to mediate between the warring elements on the border, pending a definite settlement of the boundary question by direct negotiation with the Peking Government, when the latter should be in a position to deal with Tibetan affairs. This responsible duty necessitated long and arduous journeys through unexplored regions of Eastern Tibet, and the observations made should prove of considerable value to the more complete mapping and surveying of this little-known area.

It cannot be said that Tibet comes strictly within the geographical limits of Central Asia, but its political and economic relations with the States beyond its borders, its religious connection with Mongolia, and the intercourse that is carried on between the Kalmuks, or Torgut Mongols, of the Thian Shan districts of Chinese Turkistan, are such that we cannot in certain matters speak of the one without referring to the other. The Chino-Tibetan question is of absorbing interest, for it concerns us very closely in that our Indian frontier marches with that of Tibet in the south and west, and we cannot, therefore, be indifferent to the fate of that country.

Tibet aims at complete independence and freedom from interference on the part of China or any other Power, and wishes to extend her boundaries to embrace those parts of Asia contiguous to her borders which are inhabited by races of Tibetan origin. This claim, it should be noted, is based on the history of Tibet as an autonomous State from the earliest days, while the Tibetans also contend that with the fall of the dynasty at the revolution of 1911 they ceased to owe even nominal allegiance to China, but became entirely independent, or at any rate equal partners in the new Commonwealth and other constituent elements of the former Manchu Empire.

Experience has taught us in India that we can only maintain satis-

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factory relations with Tibet by dealing direct with a recognized Tibetan Government, and India has consequently supported the claim to internal autonomy, while fully recognizing the status of Tibet as an integral, though self-governing, portion of China. The exact demarcation of the Chino-Tibetan frontier is a matter that does not directly concern India, but we seek to promote a friendly settlement of the boundary dispute in the interests of trans-frontier trade, and the peace and tranquillity of the north-eastern border of India. The latter issues are important, since hostilities between China and Tibet would have their repercussion on the Indian frontier, with resultant unrest and turmoil. India has no territorial or other designs against the integrity of Tibet, and since the British expedition of 1904 the Tibetans appear to have realized this fact by their desire for more friendly relations with her neighbour.

The Chinese recognize in principle the justice of the Tibetan demand for autonomy, yet they seek to assert their authority in Tibet, and to restrict the boundaries by incorporating in China proper frontier districts inhabited by Tibetan races. This policy has resulted in a general dislike and mistrust of China. The Tibetans seem quite capable of controlling their internal affairs, and in this connection it is somewhat paradoxical that the Chinese, who have failed to establish law and order and to initiate a stable government in their own country, should claim to govern Tibet.

The book contains many interesting observations on the colonization of Tibet by the Chinese, and an interesting point in connection with the expansion of Chinese into Tibet and Mongolia is the fact that whereas in Mongolia the second generation of the Chinese immigrant's half-caste family is usually to all intents and purposes Chinese, in Tibet the reverse is the case.

The author has some commercial notes to offer concerning the wool trade of Eastern Tibet; the region is a great wool-producing area, and the article is exported through Kansu to Tientsin or to Szechuan, and so to Shanghai via Hankow, according as it is purchased by traders along the Kansu border or by those on the Szechuan side. Throughout Eastern Tibet the wool is woven by the women in their homes, and such is the quality that its reputation extends to Peking and beyond.

This many-sided book gives us notes on Buddhism and the progress of mission work in Tibet. It is known that there are points of similarity between the ritual of Buddhism and Catholicism, and to one who has travelled in Tibet and Mongolia the resemblance between the monastic life of Europe and that of the lamas is apparent. In mediæval times the monasteries of Europe were the centres of wealth and learning, and such is the case in Tibet to-day, where all educated laymen have received their instruction in a monastery.

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The Chinese have always shown great religious toleration so long as it did not aim at the fundamental principles of their policy, or bring foreign domination in its wake, and their attitude in Tibet towards mission work was passive. They are a materialistic people with the innate religious feeling of ancestor worship, whereas the Tibetans, on the contrary, preserve an active hostility towards Christian missionary effort. It is, however, open to question whether Buddhism should be supplanted, since its doctrines approach closely to those of Christianity, and it might be more advantageous to study Buddhism and endeavour to influence it with Christian principles. The whole subject is one meriting study, the more so from the belief that the early Buddhists came into contact with Nestorian Christians. It is known that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Nestorian Christianity was a strong rival to Islam and Buddhism in Asia.

To future travellers in Tibet, Chapter VIII. and the remarks on servants are commended. The majority of explorers have been accompanied by Chinese domestics, and have, thereby, increased their difficulties. The Chinese dislike Tibet, the climate, and the hardships of travel in that country, and they are as strangers to the land as the traveller they accompany. The successful outcome of a journey in Tibet would therefore appear to devolve largely on the choice of Tibetan followers.

There is some valuable information on the big game of Eastern Tibet that will appeal to the hunter, and altogether the composition and scope of the book are such that it cannot fail to be of interest and value from whatever point of view it is regarded.

There is a complete table of contents, a good index, and some well-drawn maps. P. T. ETHERTON.

MARK SYKES: HIS LIFE AND LETTERS. By Shane Leslie. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Winston Churchill. Cassell. 16s. net.

In writing the life of Sir Mark Sykes, an engaging and original character, Shane Leslie found a congenial task and one well suited to his descriptive methods. In the manner of its composition the book is out of the ordinary, for a summary makes up the first chapter, while religious ideas and literary tastes are interwoven with accounts of Sir Mark's experiences in South Africa and in the Near and Middle East. It must be allowed that this summary serves to engage the reader's attention and excite his curiosity, while the quick change from serious to grotesque and from grotesque to serious in the chapters which follow admit of no moment of flagging interest.

Those who had the good fortune to meet Mark Sykes were attracted by his warm-hearted good-nature, by a certain whimsical bluntness of speech, and by an originality of outlook which was often as surprising

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as it was brilliant. His somewhat untidy appearance and rough exterior were as pleasing as similar traits in a young and undeveloped animal.

As the author of the book makes clear, Mark Sykes had the outlook on life of a man when still at the age of boyhood; but, on the other hand, in manhood he retained in great measure the inconsequence, strong prejudices, and spontaneity of a boy. The education he received was uniquely unorthodox, and in this it would appear to combat argument in favour of the necessity for the usual curriculum of the public school. Short spells at Beaumont and at Cambridge and a period spent at a Jesuit college in Monaco were continually interrupted by his parents' habit of whisking him off, at any time in the term, to Assouan or India or the Arabian desert. "Lady Sykes's cheques for her annual children's tea-party at Hull used to arrive from Jerusalem, South Africa, Brazil, Cairo, and Mexico. From which we may deduce the wanderings of the infant Mark." The knowledge he imbibed on his own account was as varied as it was unusual. Among the books of which at an early age he had made a complete and understanding study may be instanced Sir Richard Burton's notes to the "Arabian Nights" and Marshal Saxe's treatise on fortification. At the same time his mind, though of an original and inquiring turn, was singularly simple and morally without tarnish. And if "his education followed original lines he was far from uneducated, and the reverse of uncultured. While his father gave him his taste for travel, his mother gave him no slight enthusiasm for literature." As his tutor, Mr. Egerton Beck, wrote of him: "The net result of his mixed education, besides his Arabic, was a love of English literature, a good working knowledge of French, an extensive knowledge of men and affairs, and a first-hand acquaintance with other lands. The books he published as a result of his travels are now mostly out of print; but it will surely happen that those who become acquainted with Mark Sykes through the book now under review will desire to increase their knowledge of a man whose short life was spent doing the most unexpected things in more unexpected places, and whose powers of observation were only exceeded by his command of expressive phrase with which to record the results of his journeyings in the unmapped spaces of the Middle East. The two best known of his books—"Through Five Turkish Provinces" and "The Caliph's Last Heritage"—can doubtless be found in many public and private libraries.

Possibly the least interesting chapter is that which details his service in South Africa during the Boer War. If it were needed, this furnishes evidence of the enthralling interest of the rest of his life. Mark Sykes was an enthusiastic Militia officer, and the Boer War gave him the chance of active service with his battalion; and though he hated the restraint of life with a small post at Barkley

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West, and his letters were full of pungent criticism of all and sundry, his sense of humour kept him cheerful and his small but varied library gave him mental relaxation. At any rate, his experiences during those years probably helped the man to discipline his naturally undisciplined nature, and were a valuable corrective of the impulsiveness which was wont to show itself even in his maturer years.

No attempt is made here to quote from the mass of humorous stories and sayings, mostly in Sykes's own words, which enliven the book throughout, and which in several cases are illustrated by his original cartoons, thirty of which are reproduced.

Of the part played by Mark Sykes during the late war and in the complicated political situation which succeeded it the author writes with knowledge and acumen. Perhaps the best description of the former part is contained in Sykes's own indignant reply, wired from Cairo, to the attacks of his political opponent in the General Election of November, 1918. Of particular interest is the author's lucid account of the real part played by Sykes in the arrangement with France, which came to be generally referred to as the "Sykes-Picot" agreement. If he failed to unravel the tangle brought about by an attempt to weave into one skein the diverse interests of the Zionists, the Armenians, the Pan-Arabs, the Syrians, the Egyptians, and make it acceptable to the individual Governments of the lately allied Powers, it may be surmised that no lesser man could have tried to do it and still have retained the trust and friendship of each and all the interested parties.

In producing such a lovable book, Shane Leslie has earned the gratitude of all those who knew his captivating and romantic hero, who graced a part in contemporary world-drama for all too short a period, and passed out at the moment when "he had, in fact, reached that point and situation in life when all the years of preparation are over and when the promise of mature action has begun."

E. J. B.

EXPLORATIONS IN THE EASTERN KARAKORAM AND THE UPPER YARKAND VALLEY. (Report of the Survey of India Party with the De Filippi Expedition, 1914.)

In this Report we are given an account of the work carried out by the Survey of India during 1914, acting in conjunction with the Italian Expedition under De Filippi, in the little-known Karakoram range.

The Karakoram numbers some of the highest peaks in the world, and is of great interest, as much from its commercial as from its geographical aspect. It lies on the route from India to the markets of Central Asia, and the commercial highway over it is the loftiest in the universe. Owing to the physical obstacles, trade is carried on at a considerable disadvantage, and every summer during the period when the passes are open a heavy mortality in baggage animals results.

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The Karakoram opens up a wide field for exploratory enterprise, for our knowledge of the topography of that important range is limited, and much yet remains to be done from a geophysical and geographical standpoint.

The detachment from the Survey of India was primarily concerned with the geographical exploration of the Karakoram and its glaciers, as well as the source and tributaries of the Yarkand River. The preliminary surveys of the region in question, carried out under Government auspices in the sixties of last century, the subsequent explorations of Shaw and Hayward, and more recently those of Sir Francis Younghusband and the Duke of the Abruzzi, had raised many interesting geographical questions, and the Report under review details the extent to which these problems have been solved.

An exhaustive survey was made of the Remo Glacier, the two branches of which unite to form a front two miles broad; the western branch having at its head a group of peaks, the highest of which is 24,190 feet. The Remo Glacier is just off the Leh-Yarkand trade route, and the surveyors made the interesting discovery that the Shyok, one of the main tributaries of the Indus, and the Yarkand River have a common origin in the glacier.

In the Yarkand Valley it was found that existing maps of the ground between Aktagh and Suget were in error, and the country had evidently been sketched from a distance. There is, apparently, only one range, and the southern one is non-existent.

The source of the Oprang River has always been a debatable question; indeed, the area of this valley is open to thorough exploration and survey. The conclusion was arrived at that the Oprang must rise much further west than the point where Sir Francis Younghusband placed its source. The observations made in this connection are important for the future exploration of the Oprang. So far the only practicable entrance to the valley has been the Aghil Pass, entailing the crossing of the Yarkand River below Bazar Dara. The writer, who traversed the region in 1909, found this to be most difficult without boats, which should be placed there before the end of October, owing to the volume of water in the river. Exploration work would have to be carried out in the late autumn and winter, although, if the conclusions arrived at by the surveyors are correct, the valley could be entered early in summer, and its survey carried out in the open season.

The Report under review deals with the material available concerning unexplored passes from the Indian side to the Oprang in the vicinity of peak K. 2. As to the practicability of these passes, from the personal experience of the writer, everything depends upon the constantly changing condition of the glaciers, which may render passage a matter of ease until glacial movements bar the route, a barrier that

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may be removed by further change. If a pass is impracticable now it does not necessarily follow that it will not be open at some future date.

The Report contains a list of co-ordinates, with heights of stations and points, whilst the maps and plans accompanying it have been prepared in the manner characteristic of the Survey of India.

P. T. ETHERTON.

SIWA: THE OASIS OF JUPITER AMMON. By C. Dalrymple Belgrave, with an Introduction by Sir Reginald Wingate. John Lane, London. 15s. net.

Siwa is the largest and richest of the group of oases that lie to the west of Egypt in the Libyan desert. The word *oasis* is the Greek form of the old Egyptian word *Wah*, and is given to the fertile spots which are irrigated by springs from subterranean water believed to traverse argillaceous beds from the Nile. From what one heard of these "islands" in the parched desert, there has been hitherto little inducement to incur the expense and risk of a visit; though travellers sometimes penetrate to the monasteries and lakes of the Wady Natrûn. Mr. W. Scawen Blunt, who ventured to Siwa in 1897, had a very unpleasant experience, and nearly lost his life at the hands of the Siwans. But the rise of the Senussi and the adventurous journey of Mrs. Rosita Forbes with Hasaneyn Bey have brought this part of the Sahara into prominence. The oases are briefly but well described in Murray's and Baedeker's handbooks to Egypt. Mr. Belgrave has now given us an excellent record of his observations in 1920-1921, when in command of a section of the Camel Corps of the Frontier Defence Administration and for some time District Officer. It is a valuable contribution to our knowledge respecting an oasis which once contained the renowned temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. It seems to have been first visited by an Englishman in 1792.

The oasis lies in a depression about thirty miles long by six wide, about seventy-two feet below the Mediterranean level, and is some 200 miles from Mersi Matruh, or Baratûn (*Parætorium*) on the coast. An interesting account of Siwan history is given. The oasis was colonised by Rameses III. in the twelfth century B.C. When Alexander visited it he was received with divine honours as son of Zeus. An army of Cambyses on the march to it was lost in the pitiless desert. Its fame began to decline in the second century B.C., and it soon relapsed into barbarism. Christianity was introduced in the fourth century A.D., but took no strong root. Islam was introduced in the eleventh century at the point of the sword. The founder of the Senussi settled there in 1838, and the people became his ardent partisans, though another fraternity, that of the Medinieh, founded a century earlier, has numerous adherents.

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The chief products and exports are dates, renowned for their excellence, and olive oil. An abundance of other fruits includes figs, peaches, plums, pears, apples, limes, and sweet lemons. When lorries supersede camels exports should increase. The climate is trying in summer, but for six months of the year it is good.

The town of Siwa, built on a rock in mid-oasis, is of a very quaint character and construction. The people, who are of Berber origin, number about 4,000, and are insufficient to cultivate the whole of the oasis. Their character, little affected by world changes, seems to be of a low type. They are described as lazy and unenterprising, bigoted, secretive, and extremely superstitious. They are not immoral, but simply "without morals." They despise both Arabs and Sudanese, and dislike foreigners. Their food includes puppies, rats, cats, and mice. The women, who largely predominate, speak but little Arabic. A woman (whose dowry, for rich and poor alike, is £1 4s.) is worth less than a goat, and much less than a donkey. Most men divorce dozens of wives—*i.e.*, "as soon as they are bored." Boys marry at sixteen, and girls at from nine to twelve. A girl of eleven has often been married and divorced several times. The author attended a festival of an old inhabitant (reputed to be 102) who was celebrating his thirty-sixth wedding. One can quite imagine that the Siwans take life easily. They are fond of all the jollifications that go under the Arabic word *fantasia*, and of music, which is of the usual African or Eastern character. Life amongst most peoples comes to exercise its peculiar fascination, and so, just as those who drink Nile water desire to return and drink it again, Mr. Belgrave found that he left this abode of lotus-eaters with regret.

Sir Reginald Wingate, who has contributed an interesting Foreword, observes that the good work which is done by British officers and officials like the author helps to foster feelings of confidence and good-will, which go far to prepare the way for a better era of development.

Some excellent photographs and sketches by the author are reproduced. Of the few slips observed only one need be mentioned—viz., that the Festival which succeeds Ramadan, the month of the Fast, is given as the Kurban Bairam (in Turkish), which is celebrated about seventy days later. It should be given as the Ramadan Bairam, or lesser of the two great Moslem festivals. R. L. M.

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OBITUARY

SIR JOSEPH WALTON

By the death of Sir Joseph Walton, the Society has lost one of its original members. Born in 1849, in the North of England, Sir Joseph started on a business career at the age of twenty-one. He very soon foresaw the great future that awaited the development of the north-country coal and allied trades, and centred all his energies on this particular phase of his work with characteristic foresight and with great success, so that each year steady progress was made and new fields opened up.

In 1897 he turned his attention to politics, and was elected as Liberal M.P. for Barnsley, a seat he held for twenty-three years. The ramifications of his business had extended by now all over the civilized globe, and he decided that it would be both to his own interest and to the interest of the country generally, that he should study the opportunities of foreign trade on the spot. The result was that he travelled extensively, became, in fact, one of the greatest of British "globe-trotters"; but he had a method in his scheme, it was to foster British exports. He went to Persia, India, Japan, China, South Africa, North and South America, wrote a great deal about his travels, and became somewhat of an authority on many of the countries he visited. He was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, an original member of the Central Asian Society, and was also Deputy-Lieutenant for the North Riding of Yorkshire.

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CORRESPONDENCE

MAJOR SOANE IN SULAIMANIYAH

To the Hon. Secretary Central Asian Society.

Bexhill-on-Sea,
April 24, 1923.

Sir,

My attention has been directed to an anonymous article on "Major Soane in Sulaimaniyah," which appears in Part II., Vol. X., of the Journal of the Central Asian Society, and I am very glad to find in it an attempt to do justice to his most valuable work in Kurdistan in 1919-20-21.

The article is, however, marred by the passage on pp. 145-46 commencing with "Unfortunately, the punitive movements . . .," and ending with ". . . the maintenance of order."

The matter is hardly one of general interest to your members, but I should like to assure the writer of the article that he has been entirely misinformed as to the "more than customary differences between military and political," and as to the "demands" of the General Officer in command of the operations.

By order of the G.O.C.-in-C., Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, I was in supreme military and political charge in the theatre of operations in Southern Kurdistan from May to August, 1919, and I know that there was no friction between my military and political subordinates during that time, and that Major Soane, as my chief Political Staff Officer, was always loyal. . . .

I am, yours truly,

Theodore Fraser,
(*Major-General*).

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LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED IN APRIL, MAY, AND JUNE, 1923.

Alban, E. C. H.
Balfe, Miss.
Beveridge, Mrs.
Blomfield, Captain H. M.
Burton, Major Mainwaring.
Christie, Captain L. D.
Coghill, Captain Sir Patrick, Bart., R.F.A.
Cooper, W. H.
Corbyn, E. N.
Croft, W. D.
Ellis, Captain C. H., O.B.E.
French, Lieut.-Colonel W., D.S.O., M.C.
Graham, Lieut.-Colonel, J. D., C.I.E., I.M.S.
Greenhouse, Major F. S.
Gribbon, Colonel W. H., C.B., C.M.G.
Groves, J. P. K.
Hadow, D. S.
Hamilton, J. A. de C., M.C.
Hawker, Brigadier-General C. J., C.M.G., C.B.E.
Hitchcock, F. C.
Hooper, H. G. V.
Howell, A. B. B., M.B.E.
Hume, Mrs. E. A.
Jacks, T. L.
Kitching, G. C.
Lake, Lieut.-General Sir Percy H. N., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.
Mackenzie, Miss K.
Makant, Mrs.
McDonell, A. R.
Millar, Captain A. B., 2nd Frontier Force Rifles, I.A.
Noble, Mrs.
Ockelford, C. E.
O'Leary, Rev. de L.
Reilly, Major B. R.
Robert, Captain V. G., M.B.E., M.C.
Saunders, G.

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Sinderson, Dr. H. C.
Skinner, Major-General Sir Cyriac, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O.
Smith, W. Donald.
Stilwell, J. G.
Stone, Sir J. H., C.I.E.
Vivian, Major V., C.B.E.
Wakely, L. D.
Wallis, Captain C., I.A.
Wanklyn, Mrs.
Wheeler, Captain G. E., I.A.
Williamson, R. H., I.C.S.
Wright, John Laird.
Yetts, L. M., M.C.

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1921. SIR EDWARD PENTON, K.B.E.
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1923. GENERAL SIR EDMUND BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1922

Receipts.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
557 subscriptions at £1	557 0 0	
10 „ at 16s.	8 0 0	
7 „ in arrears	7 0 0	
18 „ in advance	18 0 0	
		590 0 0
Journal subscriptions	5 14 7	
Journal sales	6 1 11	
		11 16 6
Annual Dinner receipts	74 3 6	
Miscellaneous receipts	2 7 1	
		76 10 7
Interest on War Loan	5 0 0	
Interest on Deposit	3 3 0	
		8 3 0
Donation		25 0 0
		711 10 1
Balance at bank, January 1, 1922 ...	18 15 4	
Deposit	70 0 0	
Balance of Petty Cash, January 1, 1922 ...	3 12 2	
		92 7 6
		£803 17 7

Expenditure.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Rent and water rate	38 18 2		
General rate	14 6 0		
Salary	68 15 0		
			121 19 2
Journal: Printing	216 14 9		
Reporting	23 7 6		
Postage	12 8 8		
			252 10 11
Meetings: Lecture Rooms	19 18 0		
Lantern	12 12 0		
Slides	1 14 6		
Lecture cards and general printing ...	26 18 0		
Typing	8 6 6		
Annual Dinner expenditure	57 8 0		
Temporary advance to Dinner Club ...	1 4 8		
			128 1 8
Office: Furnishing	26 2 6		
Binding Journals	1 12 6		
Stationery	6 16 6½		
Telephone	6 1 8		
Office assistant	6 1 0		
Postage	42 0 6½		
Petty cash	30 12 3		
			119 7 0
Royal Geographical Society			1 1 0
Bank charges			1 0 7
			624 0 4
Purchase of £100 5 per cent. War Loan ...			97 0 6
Balance at bank, December 31, 1922 ...	30 12 9		
Deposit, December 31, 1922 ...	50 0 0		
Balance of Petty Cash, December 31, 1922 ...	2 4 0		
		82 16 9	
			£803 17 7

We have examined the above statement with the books and vouchers, and certify it to be in accordance therewith.

E. BONHAM-CARTER.
C. B. STOKES, Colonel.
E. PENTON (*Hon. Treasurer*).

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JOURNAL

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PALESTINE

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on May 17, 1923, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., when Sir Wyndham Deedes gave a lecture on "Palestine." Lord Carnock presided.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say that our Joint Honorary Secretary, Colonel Yate, has been seriously ill, and though he is now convalescent he is not able to be present to-day. I may mention that since the last meeting seventeen new members have been elected. It is now my pleasing duty to introduce Sir Wyndham Deedes, who is going to give us an address this afternoon on "Palestine." I dare say you all know that he held an important post in the Administration of the country, and I am sure we will listen to the address he is giving us with great interest. (Applause.)

Sir WYNDHAM DEEDES: Before beginning my lecture, I wish to warn you that my treatment of my subject will be most inadequate; I am beset by two limitations—the time at my disposal and my own shortcomings as a lecturer. If, therefore, the lecture lacks interest, it must be ascribed to the manner in which I deal with the material, rather than to the matter itself. I do not propose to touch on the history or the geography of Palestine, nor its agricultural and mineral resources or suchlike subjects; for textbooks and official documents can treat of these matters far better than I can. But I propose to deal with the hopes and aspirations of the peoples who are now directly interested in the country—the British, the Jews, and the Arabs. I hope to be able to show you that worthy and noble aims animate both the Arabs and the Jews; and, further, I would wish to arouse your interest in the great task we have undertaken, first in reconciling the apparently conflicting ideals of each—I say "apparently," for I do not think their ideals really conflict—and, secondly, in enlisting the co-operation of both peoples to make of Palestine a land holy in fact as well as in name. If their aims are great, ours are greater still, for our aims include both of theirs. I have no need, therefore, to speak from any but a pro-British point of view; in doing that I firmly believe I shall be speaking from a pro-Arab and a pro-Jewish point of view as well.

But I am going to make one demand of you: not to ask me what we are going to "get out of" our venture—what the

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material advantages, in pounds, shillings, and pence, will amount to. I do not say that there may not be material advantages some day—strategic and commercial advantages, a short route to Iraq, oil, mineral wealth from the Dead Sea, and so on. I am little disposed and have not time, were I disposed, to go into all that. But what I do promise you is great moral and spiritual advantages to be derived from our guardianship of the Holy Land. I conceive that the recent war disposed of the idea (I hope once and for all) that the search after material wealth and possessions brought with it any advantage to the Powers engaged. It brought, and can bring, nothing but ruin and chaos. I conceive rather that the Power that will be great in the future is the Power that shall seek to acquire spiritual and moral wealth. I can see by the faces of some of my audience that they believe themselves now to be addressed by an idealistic fanatic—idealistic, yes; fanatic, no. I should like to see this country a little more idealistic and a little less material in its outlook. But my point of view is an eminently practical one really; for I believe that it is only by the means which I indicate that real greatness can be achieved, and I wish to see my country great. Let us see now how Palestine and its people can help us towards the attainment of that ideal.

Zionism.

What is it that the Jews desire to do in Palestine? Before answering that question it is well to inquire, "What Jews?" For you may be inclined to say that you do not believe that the Jews are at all unanimous on the question of Zionism, and that there is a great number of them who do not wish to have anything to do with it. If you believe that, I cannot agree with you. The vast majority of Jews are Zionists in the full sense of the term, and as understood by His Majesty's Government and the Zionist Organization. Some of them, I admit, would like to go much further; but with the lapse of time they are coming to see that Zionism as by us interpreted will give them much, if not all, that they desire. Perhaps those most immediately interested are the Jewish masses of Poland, Eastern Europe, and South Russia, where Zionism was born, and where the Jews always have been, and still are, oppressed and persecuted. But there are great numbers of Zionists in other lands as well. The minority, those who do not at present profess and practise Zionism, consists of Jews who are content to live in the countries of their adoption, and who for the most part are not satisfied that by becoming Zionists they will not have to forgo the benefits which they at present enjoy. In this minority must be included those who for reasons into which I have not time to enter are against Zionism altogether. They consist mostly of Orthodox Jews. But, as you will see, the great

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majority of the Jews are in favour of the movement. And what is meant by establishing a National Home in Palestine? On this subject there has been much controversy and many views have been expressed, ranging from a purely spiritual conception on the one hand to the idea of a Jewish State on the other. His Majesty's Government have recently expressed in very clear terms what they intend, and an authoritative explanation is to be found in the White Paper issued in 1922, to which the Zionist Organization have given their assent. I will not, however, read you extracts from that and other official documents, but will give you an explanation in my own words which I believe to accord with that given by His Majesty's Government and the Zionist Organization. I said just now that extreme views had been expressed by some Jews as to the meaning of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home. This is hardly to be wondered at. If someone came and told you that he intended to build you a house, and published it far and wide, and made much ado about it, you might naturally suppose that the house he was going to build you would be a fairly substantial structure. Indeed, from the advertisement given to it by your friend you might reasonably expect him to build you a castle. Imagine, then, your disappointment, not to say indignation, when your friend, having kept silence during three or four years, and having done little more than collect a few bricks and mortar and consult his architects, invited you down one day to see your home and showed you the plan, not of a castle, but of a cottage! I do not say that you ought not to have had more than a cottage, but I do think your friend ought to have made his intentions rather clearer when he made you his offer! That is somewhat the position between His Majesty's Government and the Zionists. However, be that as it may, and keeping to the analogy of house-building, let me put my idea of a National Home to you in this manner. Let us assume that I wish to build myself a home in England after many years' residence abroad—as indeed I do after twenty-three years' absence—I should go down to the country, and without buying up all my neighbour's property or asking the Government to make me a large grant of lands, I should acquire a nice-sized property, build myself a house on it, and then set about to make the place as typically English as I could. I should surround myself with just those things that go to make an Englishman feel he's at home. I should have a nice fruit and flower garden, a bit of land and a farm, some shooting, fishing and golf, and all those things in which we English like to live and move and have our being. I should want, too, to be within easy reach of London, the heart of the Empire. When I had carried out these plans, I should go and live in that house as an Englishman in his castle—lord of all I survey; but, at the same time, owing to the moderation of my demands and my preten-

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sions, on good terms with my neighbours; indeed, I should hope to show them a bit how things should be run after my long experience abroad and the savings I have put by (this latter part of the case must not be held to apply to me!). In this connection a friend of mine said to me the other day: "I took a little place on the Continent (where life is so much cheaper), and I tried to make it as English as I could, but I gave it up after a time." I asked him why. "Well," he said, "I had much that I wanted, but it lacked the English atmosphere."

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, that is exactly the case with the Jews. After, not 23 but more like 2,300 years of Dispersion, they want again to have a home in their own land.

Of course, there are Jewish communities all the world over, and some of them live in comparative and some of them in complete happiness. But they are all strangers in a strange land, and they feel what my friend felt when he said that somehow or other living abroad was not the same thing as living at home. This, then, disposes of that point sometimes raised—"Oh yes, let them have a home by all means, but not in Palestine." Read Jewish history and study the Bible, and there you will find the answer to the question, "Why must it be in Palestine?" The word "Jerusalem" is writ large across the Jews' history, and is bound up with their religion. And then there is a still larger issue involved; that by giving the Jews a home, we shall again make of them a nation in deed as well as in word. Now I conceive that there are, at all events, three requisites for the making of a nation. A nation must have a religion, a language, and a culture. With regard to the first point, I do not propose to say much, for it would be presumptuous on my part to do so. I can, anyhow, tell you this, that the Jews have no intention of building a synagogue on the Haram es Shrief, where the Moslem Mosque of El Aqsa stands; and I shall allude to the question of religion again when I come to speak of the Jewish immigrants. But I feel sure that the Jews on their return to Palestine will not neglect the religious aspect of the question. Indeed, I do not see that they can. Their national life is too closely bound up with the religious. I will permit myself to say (and trust that no offence will be taken at my words) that I hope it may be found possible to bring their religion into somewhat closer touch with the times in which we live, and that it will be made more of a real thing to all than it is to some to-day. For if the ideals for the future of Palestine to which I shall allude later are to be attained, it is essential that the Jewish religion should be a real and live force, able and willing to co-operate with the other great religions of the country and of the world in working for the aim which they all have in common—the spiritual welfare of mankind.

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A National Language.—This also is an essential attribute of nationality, and the revival of Hebrew is therefore an important part of the Zionist programme; 95 per cent. of the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine speak Hebrew, and all those who are arriving do so. The criticism which has been levelled against a Hebrew revival is, I think, misplaced and, if I may say so, ignorant. The world will be the richer for the moral and intellectual wealth of the Jews which that language will convey. The more numerous the means which exist for the expression of men's thoughts, the better. And how can the Jews sing their songs in a strange language? Too long have they had to hang up their harps.

Culture.—The word " Culture " may be offensive to you, but it is conveniently short, and that is why I shall use it. I mean by it, the traditions and customs and all that represents the distinctive Life of a People. By saying that the Jews desire to establish a Jewish Culture in Palestine, I state in a few words the chief aim of the Zionist Movement. Let me illustrate this in somewhat greater detail.

No one will, I suppose, deny that the Jewish people is possessed of great religious, moral, scientific, and artistic wealth. Jews play a distinguished part in all the activities in which men engage. But in order that they as a Nation and the world at large may benefit by this wealth, it is necessary that they have a repository for it, a place where they may concentrate and safeguard it. Dispersed, it can be of no value to anyone. It is to this end that they desire to establish in Palestine religious, educational, scientific, agricultural, social and suchlike institutions which shall be models of what can be achieved in each particular sphere of activity. One can then picture to oneself in the future the Jews of the world sending their children to be educated in the homeland in a Jewish atmosphere; Jewish men of letters repairing, for a certain time, at all events, to the Hebrew University and places of learning at Jerusalem, there to pursue their inquiries and researches for the benefit of their Nation and of the world. I see also that it will become a regular custom for Jews all the world over to effect once in their lives, if not annually, a pilgrimage, probably in the spring, at the season of Passover, to the Holy Land, there to spend a few weeks or months in one of their beautiful colonies, to live a Jewish life, to hear nothing but Hebrew spoken, returning at the end of their sojourn there to the land of their adoption, spiritually recharged, better Jews, and bearing a message of hope and encouragement to their co-nationalists in the Diaspora. This I believe to be a great idea and one worthy of working for. Hence it is that in considering the question of the National Home we should not, in my opinion, concentrate our attention solely on the Palestine aspect of it, but primarily we should

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consider what it will mean to the 15,000,000 Jews scattered throughout the world, once again members of a living Nation and possessors of a home of their own. And those privileged to settle in Palestine should regard themselves as the "elect of the Nation" on whom falls the honour and responsibility of showing to the world what contribution the Jews are able to make to its progress. Thus, too, it is most important that those who are making their way there should be carefully selected in order that they may be worthy representatives of their people. But you may still say that I have not yet been sufficiently explicit, and that you wish to know in somewhat greater detail what the size of this home will be, how many Jews will inhabit it, and how much land they will require for habitation and cultivation. Let me, then, put it to you in this way. I have indicated to you the end in view. It is not the establishment in Palestine of a political or numerical predominance: it is the establishment there of a Jewish Culture (as the word has been interpreted above). To what extent that Culture itself will become predominant, I cannot say. It will be predominant, at all events, throughout the Jewish community, and it will be open to the Arabs to adopt as much or as little of it as they like. That, then, being the end, the means to that end will be to establish just a sufficiently broad and deep material basis as to admit of the growth of that Culture and of those institutions and activities to which I have called attention. How broad and deep it will require to be, I cannot say; I leave that to your imagination, or, better still, if you will allow me, to Providence, which is undoubtedly on the side of the movement. This surely is the most wonderful and interesting enterprise that any People have ever undertaken. And, moreover, you will observe that there is nothing in the carrying out of this programme which will prejudice in any respect whatever the interests of the other members of the community. But before leaving the Jewish aspect of this question, you will no doubt wish to know something of the human material with which the National Home is being built up, and something about the Jewish immigrants. By some they have been called Bolshevists, by some irreligious, and various other uncomplimentary terms have been applied to them by persons who for the most part have never set eyes on them. If by Bolshevists you mean people who think that the social conditions obtaining in Europe and Asia can be improved upon, and who desire to establish better conditions in Palestine, then indeed they are Bolshevists. If by irreligious you mean people who attach more value to the spirit than the letter of their faith, to the substance than to the form, then indeed they are irreligious. I suppose finer material never went to any land to colonize it. Physically they will stand comparison with any set of young men and women to be found elsewhere: 98 per cent.

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are passed physically fit upon arrival, 1½ per cent. acquire the necessary standard after recuperation from the sufferings they have undergone in the countries they have left and on the journey. The great majority of them are young men and women, and most of them have University Diplomas or educational certificates. And yet they one and all set to work on whatever task is allotted to them with a spirit that nothing can daunt, neither heat nor cold, neither discomforts nor danger. Time does not permit of my telling you more about these interesting people. I would only add two points. It is sometimes said that we are establishing a Russian community in Palestine with these immigrants, the majority of whom come from Poland, the Ukraine, and South Russia; and, as such, a Bolshevist State. Well, in answer to that, I would remind you that these people are Jews, not Russians; what Russian culture they may superficially have acquired they will very soon lose: in their children it will have entirely disappeared. In the second place, and as I have already said, they are out to flee from, not to establish, Bolshevism. If you are in any doubt on this point, I would direct your attention to the persecution of Jews under the Bolshevist régime during the last five years. Then the second point is this: It is said that they are irreligious. I hesitate to speak much of the religious affairs of non-Christians, but I have frequently spoken to Zionists on this subject, and the replies I have received entirely allay my apprehensions; for I should feel apprehensive did I think we were introducing people into the Holy Land who knew not God. In the first place, it has been pointed out to me that they are young people who have been brought up in the strictest Orthodoxy, which they have found ill suited to their modern way of life. Their first inclination has therefore been (and we have surely witnessed the same thing among other people in other places) to throw off what they regard as the bonds of their somewhat exacting religion. But I am assured that the influence of their homeland will before long bring them and their children back to the religion of their forefathers, although possibly to a form of it more adapted to the present times. I firmly believe all that I have been told on this point, and my experience goes to confirm it. I only regret that time prevents my dilating further on this interesting subject. But make no mistake about one thing, and that is, that the code of ethics, and the practical morality of these people is an extremely high one. Crime is absolutely unknown among them, and as a friend of mine (a Christian) said to me after a visit to one of their new settlements, "Well, after all, you know, we with all our church-going cannot improve on the way of life that we have seen in this colony, can we? and some of us fall very short of it." I agreed. One final word in answer to a question which I am sure you will ask, and rightly so:

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"Yes," you will say, "all that is very fine and well, but will the thing succeed? Is it economically sound? Will the people make a living out of the land? We never knew that Jews made good agriculturists." Here again I can only deal with these points briefly. To take the last point first. These immigrants come for the most part from agricultural districts, and both do and will make good farmers. In appearance and when on their farms they remind one forcibly of the Boers, going about as they do on horseback in breeches and shirt sleeves and wideawake hats, or sitting in the verandahs of their farmhouses. As to whether they can farm, I can only ask any of you who are farmers to go and look at the Jewish colonies and form your own opinion. I know something about farming myself, and know good land and a good beast when I see it. The colonies were a pleasure to visit. They farm scientifically, and I am told that it is recognized even by that conservative class, the farmer, that science can do much to improve agriculture. Will it pay? Now, on this I have two things to say. In the first place, where it is a case of reclaiming land, whether mountain-side or bog-land, I do not suppose it will be possible for many years to pay off the capital sunk to make the land fit for agriculture. But then, remember this—the capital comes from Jewish sources; this class of land is unused and lying waste. If the Jews choose to use their national funds in this way to re-establish their people on the land and do not expect to get much of a return on their capital, well and good; it is certain that no one else will be willing to sink the money. It increases the prosperity of the country and its people. But once the land has been reclaimed and is being scientifically treated, then those who cultivate it will certainly earn a living, and will not be paupers living on subsidies. I hope I have made this point quite clear, and let me add this: These people do not expect or wish to make fortunes in Palestine. To live in the land of their fathers, to bring their children up to be good Jews, is enough for them. An income in "terms of moral values" is to their mind better than a large income in cash. Nevertheless, the Jews are going to do much for agriculture in Palestine, and by their efforts and example the face of the country will be changed. And how do they get on with their Arab neighbours? If left alone, very well. Many learn Arabic, and there is much come and go between Arab villages and Arab colonies. Several thousand Arabs attended in the course of six months the medical clinic of a new Jewish settlement. Eradicate the politician, whether Arab or Jew, and the two communities will get on well enough without any difficulties. There is much more to be said about the Jews in Palestine, but I must pass on to other questions.

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Arab Aspect of the Question.

As I have been dealing with Zionism, I will proceed at once to discuss the Arab attitude towards that question. The majority of the Arabs are opposed to Zionism. There is, indeed, a small number that accepts it. They are those who have come to understand what it means and not to fear it. But I shall in this lecture, in speaking of the Arabs, be considering the views of those who claim (and on the whole with justice) to represent the views of the majority; although here I would remind you that the majority of the inhabitants of the country are illiterate and simple-minded agriculturists who are but passive and not very intelligent followers of their leaders, and in no position to examine very closely the views expressed on their behalf. The leaders oppose Zionism on the grounds that it is potentially, if not actually, prejudicial to Arab interests. Now this attitude is, I think, intelligible, if not always very intelligent. For (and I wish to emphasize this point) the Zionism which they oppose is not the Zionism of His Majesty's Government and the accredited representatives of the Zionist Organization, but is the Zionism preached by the extremists to-day and the professed Zionists leaders some three or four years ago, and never contradicted until the other day by His Majesty's Government. They believe, therefore, that they are opposing a Jewish State, the flooding of the country by Jewish immigrants, the wresting from them of their lands by the Jews, and the competition in trade and business of a people whom they believe (to a great extent wrongly) to be more intelligent than themselves. If this were indeed our Zionist policy, my sympathies would be entirely with them; that they still believe it to be so is not altogether inexcusable. You may ask how this comes to be so. How is it that His Majesty's Government have not yet made their policy clear to the people of the country? His Majesty's Government have recently made it quite clear in an official statement, and the local British Administration never ceases to do so, not in word only, but in deed. But years of exaggeration and misrepresentation as to Zionism take a lot of living down, and the more recent and moderate statements of policy are simply not as yet believed. Moreover, some misguided Zionists and Zionist organs still continue their extremist form of propaganda; and although they speak without any authority, the Arabs can hardly be expected to discriminate between one Zionist statement and another. And furthermore (and to this I particularly invite your attention), there is nothing that contributes more to hardening Arab opposition than the attitude of certain organs of the British Press. Much of the misleading and inaccurate information on the subject of Zionism and His Majesty's Government's intentions that is current in Arab circles has been derived from these

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British papers. I prefer not to say more here on this subject; I could quote you a number of examples to support my contention had I time to do so. I would only advise you to read with great caution what some organs of the Press say about conditions in Palestine, and occasionally to inquire into the motives that actuate them. For these and other reasons, then, the Arab opposition continues, and it will only be overcome by most sympathetic treatment and just and plain dealing. But, as they will themselves admit, it is a question rather of apprehensions than actualities. There are no really serious causes of complaint against the Palestine Administration of to-day. No Government can escape some criticism, most Governments deserve it, and the British Administration in Palestine claims to be no exception; but when the Arabs say that the Administration is a Zionist one and is trampling their rights underfoot, it is worth while remembering that the local Jews are saying that the Administration gives way on all points to the Arabs, and is doing nothing to help carry out the policy of a National Home. For that is the case, both sides complain. Some people say that proves our impartiality; it would seem to do so; but as a recent member of the Administration I had better keep silent on this point. Of course, while there are still many Arabs who fail to understand our policy, one must admit there are not a few who do not want to understand it. For if they represented to their followers the policy as it really is, the opposition would very soon cease. But this is the way, I believe, with politicians everywhere. For example, it was part of the Arab propaganda during the recent elections held for the Legislative Council to represent to the Fellaheen that if they voted for a secondary elector and if the Council were formed, they would immediately lose their lands to the Jews—that sort of propaganda is very taking. I do not, however, underrate the strength and sincerity of the Arab opposition, yet I am so confident in the justice of our policy that I firmly believe that with time and with the example set by a just and fair Administration this opposition will gradually be overcome. After all, they cannot be expected to know the good intentions of His Majesty's Government towards them in the same way as those who have access to official information are able to. It is clearly our duty to prove our good faith by our deeds, and that, I believe, we are doing and shall continue to do. Before leaving this point, I should like to pay a tribute to the honesty and sincerity of most of the Arab political leaders. I know them all intimately, and have a great regard for most of them. With but few exceptions, they have conducted their opposition in a fair and gentlemanly fashion. But let us assume for a moment that Arab apprehensions are well founded, and that there are good reasons to fear the arrival in the country of the Jews. I should like to remind you of one or two facts in this connection. In

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the first place, you should note the figures of the recent census, which show 589,600 Moslems, 73,000 Christians (making 662,600 *Arabs*), and 83,000 *Jews*. Not only, then, are the Arabs in a big majority, but they start with immense advantages. They are already in the country; they are well acquainted with the language most widely spoken; they know the local conditions; they are acclimatized; they have all the industrial and commercial reins in their hands. All these advantages they possess over the Jewish immigrants. They are an intelligent and industrious people, and all that they lack is education and other benefits of like nature of which they have been deprived under the Turkish régime. I feel confident that if they were now to organize themselves they could hold their own with the Jews, and engage with them in trade and business in a spirit of healthy emulation, and I am thankful that, to a certain and an increasing extent, this is already being done. And then there is this further point: Is not the mandatory Power there to see that they (and all other sections of the community) get fair play? You may say, That is to beg the question. But that point I cannot admit from a British audience. You at all events cannot doubt the integrity and impartiality of a British Administration. And what has the British Administration done? Let me give you a few examples. Recognizing that the Arabs of the country are for the reasons given placed somewhat at a disadvantage in the matter of education, the Administration has devoted the whole of the revenue allotted to this item in the Budget—some £80,000—to Arab schools. Only a few thousand pounds go in the form of grants in aid to Jewish private schools. Jewish money thus pays for almost the whole of Jewish education. Then as to land policy, a large area of land, and that a most fertile one, in the Jordan Valley has recently been made over by the Government to Arab landowners. They held this land from the Government on a most uncertain tenure, but the Government, as much concerned with their moral as with their legal rights, has enabled them to become owners on very easy terms. There was no question here, then, of giving their land to the Jews! And in the few cases which have hitherto occurred of the purchase of large tracts of land by the Jews, whether from private persons or from the Government, the transaction has not been carried through until the Administration has satisfied itself that proper provision of land or other means of livelihood has been made for Arabs resident on the properties sold. And this will continue to be the policy. The welfare of the Fellaheen is a constant concern of the local administration. Then as to the immigration policy. Immigration is strictly limited by the economic capacity of the country to absorb it, and no Jews other than those able to support themselves can enter the country unless specific employment awaits them. The safeguards as to immigration are

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ample, and by many people regarded as too stringent. But time will not permit my going further into this question. Then, again, it is since the inauguration of a civil Administration that a supreme Moslem Council (for the management of Moslem religious affairs, Moslem Pious Foundations and Religious Courts) has been set up, and the Administration co-operates most cordially with its able and industrious President in the various measures—religious, social, and philanthropic—that he, with his council is undertaking for the welfare of the Moslem community. And the same good feeling is manifested by the Administration towards the Arab Christian community.

From these examples you will see how carefully the Government assists the Arabs in their development. So much, then, for the Arab attitude toward Zionism and toward the British Administration in respect of that question.

But there is another most interesting and important aspect of the Arab question that must be mentioned, although briefly. The attitude of the Arabs is not a purely negative one of opposition to Zionism, but they actively pursue ambitions and ideals of their own. There is a young Arab movement to establish an Arab culture and to form an Arab kingdom—a very live movement, led by some able and patriotic men. I cannot go into the subject at length, and will confine myself to calling your attention to two aspects of it—an internal and an external one. The form which the movement takes internally is a demand for self-government or, at all events, a greater measure of control than that accorded by His Majesty's Government. Some force, not to say bitterness, is added to this demand by the belief that, were it not for the Zionist policy, His Majesty's Government would be willing to grant their demands. Now, in this there is some truth. But in the present frame of mind of the Arabs, His Majesty's Government's reluctance to give them more control than that accorded in the constitution for Palestine is fully justified. So long as the Arab leaders say, "Away with the Balfour Declaration," it is not possible even to consider their demands. But, apart from this, it is my personal view that they have not yet reached the stage when more power in the Council should be accorded to them. When they say as they do, "Oh, but what about the Arabs of Syria, Iraq, and Trans-Jordania, and what about the Egyptians?" I can but reply (and invariably do) that I would not willingly live under the administration of those countries for the next few years, and would not advise Palestinians to do so either. Administration is an art which requires long practice and experience. For this reason I believe that the reply to this demand for more control in the Legislative Council is: "Please wait a bit longer; firstly, until you have got over your opposition to Zionism; and, secondly, until you have

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served a longer apprenticeship in the art of government." I do feel that their demand for a larger representation in the Executive of Government is a proper one. It is true that it is not easy to find the right men, but I know that it is the policy of the High Commisioner to increase the number of Palestinians in the Administration, even if there should be some resulting loss of efficiency. The form which the Arab Nationalist Movement takes externally is the desire to link up in some manner with the Arabs in Trans-Jordania, Iraq, and the Hedjaz. In furthering this idea His Majesty's Government's support can be relied upon, and they have already shown at different times and in many places their desire to forward the growth of an Arab Nation.

Having now heard the Arab and Jewish sides of the question, you must surely see that there is no reason why they should necessarily come into conflict with each other in attempting to attain their respective ideals. There is room within the country for both; each stands in need of the other. And in order that the Arabs may develop their vast hinterland to the east of Palestine, could not Jewish brains and money render them invaluable assistance?

Before coming to the final aspect of the question—namely, the British—I wish to deal very summarily with one or two points that are continually being brought forward by those who oppose, for one reason or another, our policy in Palestine.

(1) "That we have no legal status and have been governing unconstitutionally." The reply to this is that our authority and responsibility for the administration of Palestine originates in the military occupation of the country by His Majesty's Forces. The terms of the Draft Mandate were approved by the Council of the League in July, 1922, and we have been requested by the Council of the League of Nations "to carry on the administration of Palestine in the spirit of the Mandate."

(2) "That as a result of our policy in Palestine the British Administration is unpopular and British prestige waning." There is but little truth in this. Despite a policy in some respects admittedly unpopular amongst the Arabs, British prestige and the good name of the British Administration stand, I believe, as high as ever. This is in very large measure due to the justness and honesty of the High Commissioner. With regard to Sir Herbert Samuel, it may be permitted to say that while three years ago he went to Palestine a much disliked man as a stranger, he is to-day respected and admired from one end of the country to the other.

(3) "That the Rutenburg Concession has been unfairly granted to Mr. Rutenburg." There can be no unfairness where there is only one party concerned; and I never heard of anyone else who was

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willing to do what Mr. Rutenburg is proposing to do without any cost to the country. It is a fine and most useful project, but there is probably little money in it, and I do not think there are many people in these days who are prepared to work for no profits, or, if there be any profits, to surrender a part of them (if they exceed a certain proportion) to the local administration, as by the terms of the Concession Mr. Rutenburg is bound to do.

(4) "That the Zionist Organization dictates the policy of the local administration." I think the quickest way to deal with this allegation is to say there is not a word of truth in it, and I trust you to believe me.

(5) "That Palestine is costing the British taxpayer a lot of money." The administration of Palestine never has cost the British taxpayer a penny. It is the garrison alone that costs. That has been reduced from many millions to one and a half millions this financial year, and is a diminishing quantity. But Zionism or no Zionism, there is no time up to the present when in my opinion you could safely have dispensed with troops in Palestine owing to the most disturbed state of affairs in the Near and Middle East. I leave it to you to judge whether what you will be called upon to pay for the next few years is much in return for the privilege of administering the Holy Land.

There remains (No. 6) the question of the so-called "Arab Pledges." So many official statements have been issued on this subject that there is no occasion for me to repeat them here at length. At the same time, I cannot wholly ignore a point to which such constant reference is being made. Suffice it to say that the reservation made by His Majesty's Government has always been regarded as governing the villayet of Beyrout and the Sanjak of Jerusalem; it was also stipulated that the undertaking applied only to those portions of the territories concerned in which His Majesty's Government was free to act without detriment to Allied interests; in January, 1921, King Faisal accepted His Majesty's Government's view; Sir Henry McMahon's promise was not made to the Arabs of Palestine, but to King Hosain, and, unlike the Balfour Declaration, it was not made public until after the war; there was then no question of having induced the Arabs of Palestine to fight for us on false promises. With regard to the "Allenby Proclamation" of November, 1918, this did not mention Palestine, and only refers to Syria and Iraq. In any case, it was issued after the Armistice and could not annul the Balfour Declaration which preceded it.

The British Aspect of the Question.

It is well first to ask what is our concern with Zionism, and how we came to make what is known as the "Balfour Declaration."

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By some it is suggested that this was a policy of "war-time expediency!" that we wished "to catch the votes of the Jews," and bring them in on the side of the Allies. I have not had access to the official documents of that time, but I think that a knowledge of the history of the Zionist Movement and certain other considerations effectively disposes of that suggestion.

Jews have ever found an asylum in this country, and Great Britain has for years taken an intimate interest in Zionism. At one time representations were made to the Sublime Porte on the subject, and many other efforts have been made by British statesmen and other distinguished people to obtain a Home for the Jews. But it was not until the war came that what had been the earnest expectation of many could become a reality. The idea of the return of the Jews to Palestine appeals, I believe, to many Englishmen for a variety of reasons. There are still some people, I suppose, in England who read their Bibles, and for these the return of the Jews is a fulfilment of prophecy; for them the Jews are also the "people of the Book." To a still larger number of Englishmen the idea appeals of giving a people their home again; to us a home means so much. Then, has it not ever been our policy to support the small nations? And in this case we are helping to remake one of the oldest Nations of the world.

Finally, there is a reason that appeals to me and may well appeal to others. In helping the Jews to return to Palestine, I feel we are "righting the wrong"—righting the wrong done to the Jews by Christian Nations for an event which occurred in Palestine some 2,000 years ago. If the Jews have spread all over the world, and been driven to make a livelihood which has sometimes been at our expense, non-Jews have only themselves to thank for it; it is they who have made the conditions in which the Jews live, not the Jews themselves. I regard it, therefore, as an honour that it has fallen to our lot to discharge this debt owed to the Jews by Christianity. But British interests in Palestine are not confined to Zionism.

An opportunity unique in the history of the world has been presented to us. Palestine is the birthplace of Christianity and of Judaism, and Jerusalem is the third Holy City in Islam. The Holy Places of the world's three great religions have been entrusted to our guardianship. If now we can prove to the world that the leaders and followers of the three great religions are willing and able to live together in peace and happiness, and further, if, under our guidance, these three religions can be led to co-operate for the spiritual welfare of mankind—then indeed we shall, I think, have made more progress towards a world peace than has yet been made. And could there be a more fitting place in which to consummate these ideals than in the Holy Land? Thus it is, you see, that the return of the Jews is

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an essential factor. To Great Britain has fallen the guardianship of the Holy City—a City whose spiritual citizens number hundreds of millions.

To the care of Great Britain, a Christian Nation, has been entrusted the "Capital of the Christian Empire." And this at a time when Christian communities and institutions in other places in the Near East are threatened with oppression and even expulsion. Much interest has been aroused in the tomb of an Egyptian King, and thousands have recently flocked to see it. Is it nothing to have the guardianship of the Tomb of One who was greater than any earthly King? Do not these considerations give you pause to think when you hear men talk of "clearing out of Palestine"? I have heard our Indian Empire called the Fairest Jewel in the Crown of the British Sovereign, and it seems to me that a jewel of no mean value was added to the crown of our responsibilities when we assumed the Mandate for Palestine. Palestine belongs to the world, not to any particular people, and I venture to think no nation is more worthy to hold it under Providence in trust for the world, than is the British Nation.

The CHAIRMAN then asked Sir Charles Yate, M.P., to say a few words.

Sir CHARLES YATE said he felt diffident in addressing an assembly like that, because he was perfectly sure not one of his friends had ever called him an idealist, and he could not follow the lecturer who had spoken to them in such an idealistic strain that afternoon. Sir Wyndham Deedes had commenced his lecture by saying that he was going to address them about the British, the Arabs, and the Jews. He (Sir Charles Yate) had listened to him for an hour and a quarter, and fully two-thirds of that time had been taken up by the Jews—they had heard very little about the British or the Arabs. The lecturer had told them that the immigrants going into Palestine were from Russia, Poland, the Ukraine, and other places of that character, and though he had tried to explain to them that those immigrants into Palestine were not Bolshevists, he (Sir Charles) did not think his description of them was very satisfactory. He had had the advantage of listening, not only to Sir Wyndham Deedes's lecture of that day, but he had also heard him deliver a lecture a few days previously and had read the report of his address to the English Zionist Federation of the evening before. When he came to look at all that the lecturer had said, considering that he had been the Chief Secretary of the Government of Palestine for the last three years, he could not help thinking that if the lecturer carried out all the things he had told them, he (Sir Charles) could only say to himself, "God help the Arabs!" It had been reported,

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as they all knew, that one of the first actions of those Jewish immigrants into Palestine from South Russia was to try to smuggle in a lot of arms and ammunition; a plot which was only found out by accident, if he remembered right. They had caused riots at Jaffa and elsewhere, and had raised a lot of trouble throughout the country, and he did not think he could accept the lecturer's definition of those immigrants as "spiritually-minded idealists." He thought the lecturer's description of them hardly tallied with the facts. The question now, as the lecturer had told them, was that the Arabs were anxious to have a greater share in the government of their own country, and he (Sir Charles) thought all would acknowledge that the Arabs had a right to greater representation on the Legislative Council. We had seen the Government of Palestine perpetrating one of the greatest election scandals ever known under British Rule. We, in this country, now had our elections all on one day. In Palestine the elections for the Legislative Council had been fixed for a certain time, but the Arabs refused to accept the terms and boycotted the election; they refused to vote. What did the Chief Secretary and the Government do? The time for voting was actually prolonged for three months in the hopes apparently of inducing them to vote. The Arabs, however, declined to take any part in the election at all, and thus the whole thing was hung up. Everything had been done to try to persuade the Arabs to give their votes, but it had been unavailing. The lecturer had told them they had said to the Arabs, "It is impossible for us to deal with you," and that the Arabs were not yet sufficiently educated to be given greater control; but he (Sir Charles) was of opinion that they—the Arabs—were just as capable of governing themselves as the Ukrainians and the Galicians and the other Jewish immigrants. The lecturer had told them that there was the utmost impartiality to all, and he had also told them that the pledges to the Arabs were not broken. These pledges he had described as mere conversations; a description that had been objected to. He had finished up by saying that the Zionists were the people of the Book. Were not the Arabs people of the Book? They were all people of the Book. He (Sir Charles) must say he was not an idealist, and he did not believe that idealism would lead to the pacification of Palestine.

Sir MARTIN CONWAY said he had been frequently in the company of the leading Arabs in Palestine, and from them all, without a single exception, he had heard nothing but the highest praise of, and the greatest confidence expressed in, Sir Wyndham Deedes. He (Sir Martin) sympathized cordially with the high ideals which their lecturer had held up to them, and the vision that he had endeavoured to raise in their minds. At the same time, he (Sir Martin) would not follow him on those lofty heights. He would ask them to descend

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to mere geography. Geography was more important than nationality or racial distribution in the regulation of the affairs of men. Palestine, by its geographical position, was on the overlapping borderland of East and West. There, East and West met. To the end of time, such time as they could look forward to in the present condition of mankind, there would always be an incoming from the East over land into Palestine, and an incoming from the West over sea into Palestine, and those incoming peoples would have to live together side by side, men of different ideals, different habits, different civilizations, and differing in almost every respect; but, somehow or another, they had to get along together. At the present the West was represented by the incoming Jews. Men from the North, men from the East, had always poured into Palestine, and they had mingled together. Now the inroad was from the sea, and it happened to take the form of the Jews. If it had not taken that form, it would have taken another form. There would always be the West and the East struggling together in that little country no bigger than Wales. It was our duty—Providence had put us there—it was our business there to hold the balance evenly between the old Arab race with its conservative ways, and the incoming Western civilization with its science, knowledge, capital, and enterprise. Well, so it had to be. That contest of races was the fate of Palestine. They could not alter it. They might push back the incoming Jew, they might do what they pleased, but the forces of the world were so set, and the thing had got to be; we were there to see that a good life was made possible both for the Arabs and for the Jews. He (Sir Martin) thought we should see, in due time, the two races, not exactly mingling, but living together side by side in peace, and that when that time came Palestine would be a prosperous and useful member of the family of Nations.

Miss M. A. Broadhurst said she had listened with the greatest interest to the lecture of Sir Wyndham Deedes. No statement made, however, had turned her from the firm resolve to uphold the struggle of the Arabs for freedom to develop their nationality. The Government was imposing against this country's most cherished traditions an alien race, alien ideas, and alien culture on an unwilling people. She pointed out that it was not, to her, a question of anti-Semitism. She had sympathy with the aspirations of the Zionists, who were justified in working towards their fulfilment. It was their present policy and methods that roused the keenest opposition. Palestine belonged by natural rights to its present people, 93 per cent. of whom were Arabs who had occupied the country for centuries both before and after the comparatively short Jewish occupation. The Zionists were claiming possession, not as a result of any strong effort of their own, but behind British money and British swords, and claiming as

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a right British help. The fundamental principles of right dealing were set aside. There was no precedent in the history of our Empire for the perpetration of so grave an injustice on a native race committed to its guidance.

The lecturer had tried to defend the "legality" of the present position, but it was a fact that the Mandate had not been confirmed. The League of Nations had been requested by the Allied Powers to draw up the terms of the Mandate in accordance with the policy of the Palestine "Zionist Home." Why had the League assented to this in violation of Article 22—its most fundamental principle. By doing so it had seriously undermined its influence as a body acting justly in the interests of Mandated peoples, since it was pledged not to impose any form of government without consulting the people concerned, or against their wishes. Had the Arabs been consulted? They actually heard for the first time of the "Zionist Home" policy from the Turks. The lecturer had admitted that the majority of the Arabs were in opposition at that moment, but the whole population, Muslim and Christian, had rightly boycotted the proposed Legislative Council, which would have placed them in an ineffective and hopeless minority, and signed their political death-warrant.

Miss PULLEN-BURRY wished to draw attention to two aspects of the subject which no one had mentioned:

The first was relative to the position of orthodox Jews towards Zionists. Whilst visiting Jerusalem in 1922 she had talked with Jews coming from Rabbinical families, had been struck by their antagonistic attitude to Zionist immigrants; one of them remarked that the leaders of this Movement had violated every tenet of Judaism.

The second was the feeling of the Christian communities towards Zionism: they complained of the great rise in cost of living, that house rents were up from 300 to 500 per cent. She had been impressed at their uneasy and disturbed mental attitude, due to their not having the key to a policy which placed Jews in the vice-regal and proconsular positions of the British Empire.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said there was one remark he wished to make on one aspect of the question—viz., the position of the British Government in that matter. They had been told on the highest authority—that of the lecturer—that the administration imposed on Palestine was contrary to the wishes of the majority of the people. That admission was the most damning indictment of the policy pursued. There was an authoritative proclamation issued by Lord Allenby on behalf of the French and British Governments in November, 1918, after he had cleared the Turks out of Palestine in a brilliant campaign. That might be taken as the starting-point of our obligations, leaving aside the conflicting terms of the promises to King Hosain and the Balfour Declaration, which were of earlier date. He

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would like to quote the material words of that proclamation to them. They ran as follows:

> "The war is to assure the complete and final liberation of the people so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of National Governments and Administrations which shall derive their authority from the initiative and franchise of the peoples themselves. . . . They [the Allies] are far from wishing to impose any form of government on the people against their will."

That was a very momentous declaration. That was a message of freedom and deliverance from oppression which had been scattered broadcast over the length and breadth of Palestine. How far had we redeemed those pledges? In the case of those other Arab peoples in Iraq and Trans-Jordania we had redeemed our pledges, and given them independence subject to certain necessary safeguards. Yet we had refused, in the face of this proclamation, the freedom and independence we had promised to the people of Palestine, who were much more advanced socially and politically. He did not mind what the people of Palestine were—Jews or Arabs, Muslims or Christians—we had made that promise to them in a most solemn manner, and we had not kept it. The reason we had not kept it was that the Balfour Declaration of 1917 blocked the way. But that was no adequate reason, for Lord Allenby's proclamation was made with full knowledge of the existence of the Balfour Declaration, and therefore overrode it in so far as the two were incompatible. Our failure to keep our word was the cause of the strained situation in Palestine to-day. In spite of the friends we had made there, in spite of the excellent officials we had sent there, we had aroused the suspicions of the people. He (Sir Michael) had been in Palestine a few years ago and discussed the question with the Latin Patriarch and a leading Mufti of the Mohammedans, and, widely as these two gentlemen differed, they both agreed in saying this: "What would be the good of expelling the Turks, if you put us under the heel of another people?" The sooner we give effect to Lord Allenby's proclamation, the better for our good name and the interests of the people of Palestine.

The CHAIRMAN: I think at this late hour we will not call upon anybody else in the audience to make any observations; and I think that the complexities of the Palestine problem have been sufficiently illustrated by the divers views that have been so ably expounded during the afternoon. I do not venture to express any personal opinion, as it is over forty years ago since my last visit to Palestine. I will not detain you any longer, except to express on your behalf our thanks to those who have taken part in the discussion, and also for the very forcible and lucid address which Sir Wyndham Deedes has been kind enough to deliver to us.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, June 14, 1923. During the earlier part of the proceedings the Right Hon. Lord Carnock presided; later the chair was occupied by the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings, saying: I am sorry to say that Colonel Yate, owing to ill-health, is unable to be present; but I will ask Mr. Stephenson, the other Joint Honorary Secretary, to read the report which Colonel Yate has prepared.

Mr. G. C. STEPHENSON: The following is Colonel Yate's report:

ANNUAL REPORT

Owing to my severe illness in the spring of this year, I feel I have not been able to maintain that close touch with the affairs of the Society that I think I may say I have had in past years. But in my opinion the Society has throughout the year made steady progress. One excellent test to apply is that of growth: this year we have had 156 new members—not a record performance, but a very creditable one.

There have been thirteen lectures held during the session. We have not, as in other years, offended the geographers by extending the bounds of Central Asia to include North-West Africa, but as those who have read the *Journal* will know, our lectures and articles have taken us to Arabia and the Hedjaz, China, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia, Palestine, Iraq, and Aden in the present days, and back to the old monuments of the knights of St. John in Rhodes and Asia Minor.

To-day Mr. Woolley, who has been excavating in Ur of the Chaldees, has kindly promised to give us a lecture which we may regard as the complement of that given by Mr. Hall in 1922. Our acknowledgments for both are due to the British Museum.

We distinctly owe a debt of gratitude this year to authors and publishers, and to members of the Society who have made gifts of books to the Library. To authors and publishers we have tried to repay our debt by reviewing their books in the pages of our *Journal*.

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We bring to a close to-day a quinquennial period of no slight importance in the annals of this Society. It is the period during which Lord Carnock has filled the office of Chairman of the Council. On the 2nd of April, 1918, this Society numbered 133 members. To-day it numbers 700. This increase is simply providential. It has enabled us to face enhanced expenses and carry on, instead of having to draw in our horns and possibly put up the shutters. In fact, the Near and Middle East are at this moment such a tempting field of enterprise, that two rivals have sprung up—the Persia Society and the Middle East Association. It would seem that there is need for all of us.

By resignation this year we have lost thirteen members, and the following six by death: Sir Alexander McRobert, Sir Harold Stuart, Sir William Meyer, Sir Joseph Walton, Major E. B. Soane, and Captain R. K. Makant—all men of mark, the first four of whom had made and the last two were making their reputations. Major Soane was a frequent contributor to the *Journal* of the Society, and his book on Kurdistan is a standard work.

The meetings of the Society's Dinner Club, held on the first Thursday of each month, have been a very great success, and have been thoroughly enjoyed. At each dinner a special subject is set for discussion and entrusted for initial exposition to an expert. When he has had his say, general debate is invited. The success of these meetings is due to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Edmund Barrow, and the other members of the Dinner Club Committee of which Sir Michael is the first Head. The Club is to be congratulated on having secured him as the first Chairman.

The Library now consists of 485 volumes and 78 pamphlets, and is open for the use of members.

The services of Miss Kennedy during the past year have been invaluable, and I would warmly thank my colleague, Mr. Stephenson, for the support which he has given, especially during the last three months of the session, when I was temporarily put "out of action."

Considerable changes among the officers of the Society take place this year. The Honorary President's term of five years has expired; he is eligible for re-election. Lord Carnock, to the regret of all, resigns the Chairmanship of Council; Sir Maurice de Bunsen has expressed his willingness to succeed him. Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate resigns the post of Honorary Secretary; Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton is prepared to become an Honorary Secretary. Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir Edmund Barrow retire from the post of Vice-Presidents and are eligible for re-election to the Council. Lord Carnock and General Sir Reginald Wingate are willing to be nominated as Vice-Presidents. Miss Ella Sykes finds herself obliged, owing to pressure of other work, to resign the membership of the Council.

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There are two vacancies on the Council, and Lieut.-Colonel Sir F. E. Younghusband and General Sir Edmund Barrow are willing, if elected, to fill them.

The CHAIRMAN: I think the report is very good evidence that the Society is now entering on a path of satisfactory and, I hope, continuous progress, and I think the encouraging result is very largely due to the untiring efforts of Colonel Yate, assisted, as he has been, by his able and active coadjutor, Mr. Stephenson; to whom our best thanks are due. (Applause.) I am extremely sorry to have to announce that Colonel Yate is resigning his post as Honorary Secretary, as I am sure all of you will fully endorse me when I say that it is due to his devoted and self-sacrificing efforts that the Society has been able to make the progress that it has. I hope you will allow me to convey to him an expression of our high appreciation of his devoted services to the interests of this Society. (Hear, hear.) I endorse fully what Colonel Yate says as to the admirable services rendered by Miss Kennedy, for I know very well the indefatigable efforts she has made in the discharge of her duties. Also I am glad to say we are in a very good financial position, owing to the careful supervision Sir Edward Penton devotes to our finances, and to the watchful interest he takes in our financial stability. The Library, I hope, will be of increasing utility to the members, and our Honorary Librarian, I am sure, will do all that lies in his power to promote it. I have been in communication with Lord Curzon, and I am happy to say that he willingly agrees to continue as our President; and I think we ought to consider ourselves very fortunate in having so distinguished a statesman to preside over our Society. (Applause.) I am sorry that I have to give up the Chairmanship of the Council, but Sir Maurice de Bunsen, whom the Council has nominated to succeed me, subject to your sanction, will, I am sure, devote all his powers to promoting and assisting this Society. I will now vacate the chair, so that our new Chairman will be able to complete the business of the meeting.

Lord Carnock then vacated the chair, and it was taken by Sir MAURICE DE BUNSEN, who said:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel that this is the end of an epoch and the beginning of another, and I am full of pride at having had my name brought forward by the Council for your approval as Chairman. Before saying any word about myself I must add a few words to what our outgoing Chairman has said. He has spoken not a word too much about the enormous services of Colonel Yate, whose departure from the office of Honorary Secretary I am sure we all deplore. We know how much he has done for the Society. It has been always in his thoughts. He seems to have had it in his mind

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at all times, and the result has been the great accession to membership and the prosperous position to which Lord Carnock has referred. But I should like to add to that, that of course, in at least an equal degree, the prosperity of the Society and the estimation in which it is now generally held, is due to its outgoing Chairman. (Applause.) I am sure all of us feel that that is so, and especially those who have been brought into close contact with him at our Council meetings, and who are so well aware of his unfailing courtesy and tact, and the consideration for all points of view which he has displayed during our meetings—which have had the result that we have been an extremely harmonious body—and I consider that the position occupied by the Society is very largely due to the esteem in which his name is held, and to the efforts which he has devoted to the services of the Society. (Applause.) I am sure we all thank him very much indeed. I am glad to feel—and he has promised—that he will continue to be at hand, and he is willing to help us with his advice in any matters that may arise; and I believe his interest in the future of the Society will not be diminished by his leaving the Chair. As for myself, I can only say that I will do my best to take the place. I have deep interest in the Society. In my diplomatic life it is true that I have not been brought into immediate contact with Central Asia; but ten years of my career have been spent on the fringes of Asia—in Constantinople, and in Japan, and in Siam—so that interest in the subject of our proceedings is not lacking in me. I can only promise that I will do my best, and I thank you very much for your patient hearing. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have merely to proceed with the formal business of the day, which is to announce to you for your approval—as indeed has already been mentioned at the end of Colonel Yate's address, which has been read to us—that the retiring Vice-Presidents are Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., and General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; and the proposal is that there should be elected as Vice-Presidents the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, G.C.B., and General Sir Reginald Wingate, Baronet, G.C.B. The retiring Members of the Council are General Sir Reginald Wingate, who becomes a Vice-President; myself, who become Chairman of the Council; and Miss Ella Sykes; and those to be elected to the Council include Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir Edmund Barrow, and as Joint Honorary Secretaries, Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton and Mr. G. C. Stephenson. I believe I may take it that these appointments and changes meet with your approval, and, if so, we will take them as accepted. (Applause.) Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, there is just a little time before our lecture begins. It will begin at five o'clock, when we shall meet again here.

Sir Percy Sykes: May I, before we break up, raise one point?

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The Society is in a most flourishing condition, and Lord Carnock has spoken in most eulogistic terms of Miss Kennedy. I beg to propose that she be appointed the Secretary of the Society. I think it is derogatory to Miss Kennedy to remain Assistant-Secretary, and I think it is also derogatory to the Society in its present prosperous state. All other Societies of this standing have Honorary Secretaries and Secretaries, and I am sure that it is merely by an oversight that Miss Kennedy remains as Assistant Secretary, and not as Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I can only say for myself that I fully agree with the proposal. I think it is very reasonable and only right that it should be so. I am very glad if those present agree. I hope we may take that as settled. I think it will be a very good move.

The meeting then adjourned for tea. Later it reassembled to hear and discuss an address by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley on "The Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees, 1922-23." Sir Maurice de Bunsen was again presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before beginning the proceedings that we are met for this afternoon, I should like to announce to you that the Council has just elected twenty-nine new members; which is a satisfactory increase of our members. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my privilege and pleasure to introduce to you to-day—to such as need the introduction—Mr. Woolley, who has been exploring ancient Ur. It has been the custom of our Society, as a general rule, to keep our gaze fixed on the present conditions of the countries of Central Asia, and their future prospects, rather than dive into the past; and decidedly those who consult the pages of our *Journal* will see that most of the papers contained in the *Journal* deal with the present or recent times. But those who have contributed those papers will be the first to recognize that if we are to understand the present we must study the past, and now many of our members have given proof that they do so most assiduously. Our President, Lord Curzon, in writing about the Near and Far East, has dived deep into history, and so have many of our members. Take Sir Percy Sykes' book about Persia. The whole of the first volume is taken up with the very early history, to remotest antiquity, of Persia and Mesopotamia; and so it is not at all contrary, really, to our habits to have a lecture on the subject of the very early history of Mesopotamia and ancient Babylonia. Indeed, last year we had a most interesting lecture on that subject from Dr. Hall, who really is the predecessor of Mr. Woolley in the task of excavations at Ur. It has been carried on almost unintermittently, I believe, since the end of the war; for Mr. Campbell Thomson for some time was engaged in those investigations under

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the British Museum, and then followed Dr. Hall, who has given us the interesting account to which I have referred of what he did—which we can all read, and most of us I am sure have read, in the *Journal*. Now these investigations have been carried on by Mr. Woolley with, I understand, very fruitful results; and of that he will tell us to-day. It will be most interesting to hear what he has done from his own lips, and I have also been most glad to hear from him that there will be an opportunity given to some of us to see some of the objects which he has succeeded in finding—which will be on exhibition, I believe, in the British Museum. It is a particular pleasure to be brought into contact with the British Museum in connection with this lecture; and it gives us all, I am sure, great pleasure to see Sir Frederic Kenyon amongst us to-day, and, I hope and believe, other people connected with the British Museum. The early history, the very remote antiquity of those countries cannot fail to be of the deepest interest to us, not only because the subject itself is so engrossing—to have some idea of how those great civilizations of the past, which have almost disappeared from sight, lived and had their being—but also I think we may feel that it is of practical importance; because how was it that those great populations in the past could sustain life on what appears to be such a desert plain at present, where you see only mounds, I believe, emerging—I do not speak from my own knowledge—on the site of the great cities of which we know, and of which we shall hear this afternoon? There must have been a vast population: one wonders how they lived, and what was the system of irrigation and agriculture which enabled them to keep alive in those desert regions. Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not stand between you and Mr. Woolley a moment longer, but I will ask him to be kind enough to read his paper. But allow me to say what I have omitted to say—that these excavations have been carried on under the direction of the British Museum, and jointly under the authority also of the University of Pennsylvania; and Dr. Gordon, of the University of Pennsylvania, has made it possible for this work to be carried on by his great munificence and the great interest he takes in these excavations; so that his name should be mentioned with all honour at this meeting. As I understand, it is a joint enterprise between the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania. I believe I am right in saying that, and I now ask Mr. Woolley to be kind enough to give us his paper. (Applause.)

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT UR OF THE CHALDEES, 1922-23

By C. Leonard Woolley.

Sir Maurice, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The excavations carried on at Ur of the Chaldees were in continuation of those started by Dr. Hall for the British Museum in the year 1918. Dr. Hall worked under all the disadvantages of what was still a state of war, and was single-handed. This year the expedition jointly financed by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania had the advantage of a well-organized and thoroughly efficient staff. I had with me Mr. Newton, who of all English architects is most experienced in archæological work, and Mr. Sidney Smith, of the British Museum, as expert cuneiformist. Later in the season I was joined by Mr. Lawrence, who assisted me with photographic and other work. The main object of the season's work was to obtain as clear a knowledge as possible of the geography of the site. Dr. Hall had already identified part of the wall enclosing the Temenos, or sacred precinct, and had cleared part of the sanctuary of the great temple of Nannar. The Ziggurat, or temple tower, part of which also Dr. Hall had cleared, stands up as a prominent feature amongst the ruins, and gave us from the outset a useful point of departure. Actually we have traced the Temenos wall for the greater part of its course. The precinct is found to be a rough rectangle some four hundred yards long by two hundred across. The wall which encloses it is a double one containing intramural chambers. Each component wall is some nine feet thick, and the total structure has a width of over thirty feet. The outer and the inner face were decorated with shallow vertical recesses. The foundation cones discovered in numbers along the line of the wall show that it was built originally by Ur-Engur, the first king of the third dynasty, about 2,300 B.C. But the wall itself bore many signs of rebuilding and repair. Thus, in one gateway alone the hingestone of the gate bore the name of Bur-Sin, the grandson of the original builder; and the brick box in which the stone was set contained bricks both contemporary with the stone, and also some of Nebuchadrezzar, Nabonidus, and Cyrus, King of Persia. For the first time we have tangible evidence that Cyrus, for reasons of policy, continued to honour the traditional gods of Babylonia, and actually rebuilt their shrines. On the Nannar temple discovered by Dr. Hall we did very little work, and that at the close of the season; but we were able to ascertain that the building in its present form was begun by Ur-Engur and completed by his son

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Dungi: the bricks of the wall bore the former's name, the tiles of the pavement that of the latter king. In one corner of the masonry we found the foundation-deposit of Ur-Engur, consisting of a bronze statue showing the king carrying a basket of mortar on his head, and of a steatite tablet which unfortunately did not bear the expected inscription. One can only conclude that the scribe commissioned to write the record had shirked his job. Our work, apart from the tracing of the Temenos wall, consisted of the thorough excavation of a second and smaller temple within the enclosure called E-Nun-Makh, and dedicated to the Moon God and his consort. The building originally consisted of a small shrine containing five chambers, and approached by a winding corridor. The rest of the temple area was taken up by a series of long and narrow chambers, presumably store-rooms or lodgings for the priests attached to the building. The whole was enclosed by a heavily buttressed wall of brick, outside which lay to the south a paved courtyard defended by double gates. The northern end of the original building had unfortunately been destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar, who in laying down a deep drain had cut away all that remained of the early masonry; but the surrounding wall was complete on three sides. In the masonry both of this outer wall and of the inner chambers, there were signs of rebuilding so numerous as to give to the temple a life of perhaps three thousand years; during which its ground plan persisted without change. The first builder in burnt brick was Ur-Engur, though his work had soon to be restored by his grandson. But below Ur-Engur's masonry we find mud-brick walls of at least three different periods, the earliest of which must go back to a very remote antiquity. Of the surviving structure the greater part is due either to Kudur-Mabug, about 2000 B.C., or to Kuri-Galzu, about 1600 B.C. So careful was each royal builder to preserve the lines of the old temple that he seems to have given express orders to his bricklayers, when carrying out the necessary destruction of the ruinous old walls, to leave at least one course of bricks *in situ* in order to guide them in their work. Consequently we may find as many as three courses of brickwork directly superimposed, yet each of a different date, and covering between them a period of perhaps one thousand five hundred years. In three of the service chambers an interesting discovery was made. Below the mud floor we found a layer of broken stone vases, the inscriptions upon which showed that they had been dedicated in the temple by native or by foreign kings. It would appear that at the time of some disaster, city and temple had fallen into the hands of an enemy, who had deliberately smashed the objects dedicated in the shrine; a subsequent restorer had thrown out the valueless fragments and utilized them as a bedding for his new floor. Broken though they are, these carved and inscribed fragments in alabaster, marble, and other

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stones give us an extraordinarily useful record of the temple and illustrate in a most valuable way the art of different early periods. This long-lived shrine was, about 600 B.C., entirely remodelled by Nebuchadrezzar. The king preserved the central sanctuary with its five small chambers, only adding to it a projecting wing on either side of the doorway. But he did away with all the service chambers that lay before the shrine, levelling their ruins with débris and laying down over them a brick pavement. Between the new wings he made a smaller upper courtyard, separated by a step of mud brick, once probably overlaid with bronze, from a much larger courtyard which extended across the whole front of the temple. In the upper court, immediately before the door of the shrine, we found the brick altar with offering-table before it, and behind it a footstool for the officiating priest. The bitumen with which it was thickly covered showed that it had once been overlaid with metal plates. This radical alteration in the form of the building obviously corresponds to a change in ritual introduced by the king, and we can hardly fail to connect the archæological evidence that we have here with the literary record of the Old Testament, according to which Nebuchadrezzar ordered a form of public worship in honour of the god. At Ur the lower courtyard is clearly intended for an assembly of worshippers; the upper courtyard with its altar must have been reserved for the priests. Immediately inside the door of the sanctuary we find the remains of the base on which stood the cultus image, which would have been visible through the darkness of the shrine to the worshippers outside. This same arrangement—and presumably, therefore, this same ritual—was preserved in the Persian period, but there we have in addition one feature not found in Nebuchadrezzar's building. A brick drain runs under the pavement right across the upper courtyard. It begins at a short distance from one projecting wing of the building, passes before the altar, and then turns at right angles towards the lower court, where it breaks away. It is not in the position in which one would expect to find a mere water drain, nor does there seem any reason for conducting such right across the sacred area. It may very well be that the explanation is to be sought in Herodotus' description of the temple of Bel at Babylon, a description which applies with remarkable accuracy to the shrine at Ur. Heredotus speaks of the statue on its golden throne inside the door of the shrine, and of the altar overlaid with gold standing immediately outside the door—an altar reserved for the lesser sacrifices. Close to this, he says, was a larger altar of blood sacrifices. May it not be that the drain in our Persian building was connected with such an altar, and was laid down expressly that it might carry the sanctifying blood of the victims across the sacred area between the altar and the congregation?

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In the temple many tablets were found, though nothing constituting a temple library has yet come to light. The most interesting objects discovered were, perhaps, the collection of jewellery discovered under the floor of the Persian sanctuary, the hoard consisting of a gold statue, bracelets, earrings, brooches, etc., and great numbers of beads in semi-precious stone, and some bronze and silver vessels. A number of tombs of the Neo-Babylonian and of the Persian time excavated outside the Temenos limits produced some jewellery, an interesting series of terra-cotta figures, and a quantity of pottery invaluable for chronological purposes. Below the Ziggurat in a gateway of the Temenos wall, reconstructed by Nabonidus (*circiter* 530 B.C.), was found a stone statue of Entemena, King of Lagash soon after 3000 B.C. The statue is headless. The head was broken off in antiquity, and the fracture is worn smooth and polished. It is probable that the figure was set up as a trophy after some campaign in which Ur had been victorious over the rival city, and it may well have been beheaded purposely and as a symbol of conquest. Imperfect as it is, the well-cut figure with a long Sumerian inscription across its back and shoulders is an extremely important example of the primitive art of Mesopotamia.

The area excavated as yet is but a very small fraction of that occupied by the city's ruins, and a vast amount remains to be done before we shall know all there is to be known about the history of Ur. Fortunately our initial efforts have not been without success, and the two scientific bodies who in collaboration are financing this work of research have been encouraged to carry it further. Digging will be resumed next autumn, and it is hoped that next season will not be the last, but that the expedition may continue in the field for several years to come. The necessarily heavy expenditure on such work will be repaid if we can recover, as we have every hope of doing, a much fuller knowledge of the beginnings of civilization in Mesopotamia, of its connection with early man in other countries of the Near East, and of the origins of the religion in which we have a share. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, before making any observations at all of my own on the extremely interesting and instructive paper that we have heard, I am going to ask Sir Frederic Kenyon if he will say a few words. We are so glad to see him here, and shall be very glad to hear him.

Sir FREDERIC KENYON: Sir Maurice, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not detain you long; but I am glad to have the opportunity of congratulating Mr. Woolley publicly, as I have done previously privately, on what I regard as a very successful first season of his work at Ur. Perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words to explain

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what it was the Museum had in mind when it started on this work in Mesopotamia towards the end of the war. Seventy or eighty years ago, when the first great discoveries were made in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris in the time of Layard and Rawlinson, people were mainly interested in discovering objects. The whole subject was new, and things like the great bulls and lions and tablets were in themselves objects of immediate interest, new as art and new as history, and for a time that was sufficient. Now and for some years past, alike in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and elsewhere, archæologists have been trying to get their knowledge into shape, to connect up the various civilizations and the various periods that have been investigated, and in particular to trace the whole thing back as far as possible towards its commencement. This has been going on in several different directions; where people began by being interested in the great statues of Rameses and Thothmes, the papyri and furniture of the middle and later empire, they have been pushing back enquiries right to the first dynasty of Egypt, and even beyond it to the pre-dynastic period. Similarly in Crete: Sir Arthur Evans' work there has pushed back our knowledge of art, history, and civilization hundreds, even thousands of years. Similarly in Babylonia: we have been working back through the period of the later Babylonian Empire, that of Nebuchadrezzar; through the Assyrian kingdom; and through the earlier Babylonian Empire, the Accadian and Sumerian periods—all the time with the object of trying, if possible, to get to the origins of civilization. No one knows how it will turn out—whether we shall find that civilization started, so to speak, independently from several different points; whether we shall find that its origin was in one or other of these main centres, either on the Nile, or on the Euphrates and Tigris; or whether we shall find some common centre from which all these spread out. At present no one, I am sure, would venture to prophesy what the result will be, but we want to carry out investigations in these various fields whenever opportunity serves, and to see where our knowledge will take us. That is one of the principal objects with which the British Museum took the opportunity before the end of the war, while the army was still in occupation in Mesopotamia, to start work on some of these earlier sites. There are many of them known by name which promise good results. Ur was known, if only by the connection with Abraham: there were others, like Erech, Lagash, and Nippur, where work had been done and sites identified. Any of these might repay further investigation, and the general conclusion from the preliminary excavations that have been made was that we could not do better than choose the site of Ur. We knew that it had an early history: it might even throw light upon Old Testament history and the connection with Abraham. It might carry us back to a quite indefinite

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antiquity. Thus, when, after the first preliminary work had been done by Mr. Campbell Thompson and Dr. Hall, Dr. Hall was required by his duties in the Museum, we were very fortunate in being able to secure Mr. Woolley, who had done such excellent work for the Museum at Carchemish, the Hittite site, before the war. We were very fortunate to secure him to undertake a fresh campaign. (Hear, hear.) We were also fortunate in getting the co-operation of our friends in America. (Applause.) They had been at work in the Mesopotamian valley before, had made enquiries and might have worked independently; but they were anxious to work in co-operation with the British Museum, on terms which were advantageous to all of us. They were able to assist with a larger contribution of money; we were able to assist with a larger contribution of men, and with the good-will of the place—from our position in Mesopotamia—and I should like to say that this co-operation has been wholly harmonious, and wholly satisfactory, I think I may say, to both parties. (Applause.) We are all anxious to go on with the work for the present. Next season's work is, I hope, assured; but from what we have heard this afternoon you will understand that Ur is a very big site. You cannot dig a great deal of it in the months that are available for working in Mesopotamia in one year or two years, and digging is always more or less of a lucky-bag business. You never can tell when you will get your great results, and it would be a thousand pities if we were not able to carry on a site like this until it is substantially completed. Then we shall know what the history of this early site is, and if it does not throw considerable light upon the early history of Babylonia we shall be very much surprised and very much disappointed. But we must not always expect to get a great deal of results in the nature of objects. This season I think we have done very reasonably well. You have seen a number of objects of considerable interest, and a good many you have not seen—a good deal of pottery, which develops the history of art, and more of those tablets, inscribed cones, and so on. You have seen that we have got some jewellery of a later period, a considerable number of maceheads, and other inscribed and engraved objects; that one statue—the headless statue of Entemena—and that very charming little gold figure which was found in one of the treasures, the beauty of which one can hardly appreciate without seeing it at close quarters. That, I think, is a fairly good body even of small objects, quite apart from the history of the buildings that has been revealed in the way Mr. Woolley has explained. In another season we may be more lucky—or less. We may light upon the library of the palace, and find hundreds of thousands of tablets—as have been found at Nippur and elsewhere—containing early Sumerian texts like the Creation and Deluge story, and others which may be historical,

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literary, or business; or we may have a season of finding building remains without being very successful in the matter of objects. That lies on the knees of the gods. It is not the fault of the explorer if he is not fortunate in the number of objects found in one particular year: what does depend on the explorer is the scientific and intelligent excavation of the site, so as to bring out the whole historical value of it, and to see that no important object is overlooked. There, I am sure, we have done well, and as long as Mr. Woolley is able to go on in command we shall continue to do well. I should therefore like to express my hope that it will be possible to continue these excavations, and carry them on in a fully scientific way until we finish them; and I hope we shall have Mr. Woolley for the leader as long as possible. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: One of Mr. Woolley's first slides explained some of the excavations done by Dr. Hall a year ago. Dr. Hall, I believe, is with us this afternoon, and we shall be very glad if he will say a few words.

Dr. HALL: I will not detain you more than a few minutes. I should merely like very much to congratulate my successor at Ur on the interesting lecture which he has given and the very interesting slides which he has shown us, and I also thank him for the kind way in which he has spoken of my own work at Ur. I am glad, too, that he has kept up the tradition which I started of lecturing to the Central Asian Society on the British Museum excavations in Babylonia, a tradition that we hope may continue. As some of you may possibly remember the lecture which I delivered in this hall two years ago on my work of 1919, you will also recollect that I excavated not only at Ur but also in the neighbouring site at El-Obeid. There we hope that Mr. Woolley may next year also take up my preceding work, and find many more interesting things. One thing I should like to draw attention to in the fine photographs he showed us: the pictures of the different levels in the building which he discovered, which are interesting illustrations of the excavator's art. Mr. Woolley is well known to us for the work in Egypt and Carchemish as being, so to speak, a connoisseur of brick walls. I think that he possibly loves nothing better in excavating than this extraordinarily interesting tracing-out of ancient walls from the different levels at which they are superimposed upon one another, and what they tell of the building by different kings at all stages of the history of a great building like that at Ur, or the various buildings at el-Amarnah, which he excavated two years ago for the Egypt Exploration Society, in succession to Professor Peet. For myself, in the temple-building "B" which he showed you on his plan, found by me and described to you last year, I was not so much troubled with these different levels, which bring out the greatest skill

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of the excavator, and give him the greatest anxiety that he should make no mistake in digging them out. I am glad in a way that I was not so troubled. All I had to deal with, after the original building, were some comparatively unimportant walls all of late date, and very easy to distinguish from the early ones. We thought this building was originally a palace. This shows how successive work can develop previous ideas about a site. We thought it was the palace of the king called Ê-ḫarsag, the "House of the Mountain," because we found in one part of it a pavement with the bricks of the king, stating that this was the "House of the Mountain." But this year contradictory evidence was found in the walls, where bricks were found and deciphered by Mr. Sidney Smith as commemorating the building of the *temple*. The architect, Mr. Newton, also was convinced that the building was probably rather part of the temple than the palace; and if one accepts that view, one wonders why it was that the bricks stating that this building was part of the "House" or palace of the king, were also found in it. That is one of the little problems which Mr. Woolley and his associates will have to settle next year. I will not detain you any longer except to say that I am sure we all, members of the Society and visitors, have fully appreciated one thing; and that is, the excellence of the photographs which Mr. Woolley has shown us. They have shown you admirably what a well-excavated building looks like during the process of excavation. (Applause.)

Colonel FITZWILLIAMS: Mr. Chairman, might I say a word? I would like to just join, as a member of the army of occupation, in thanking Mr. Woolley for what he has shown us to-day. When I was last at Ur of the Chaldees very little of what has been shown on the screen was exposed, and I would like, as a member of the army of occupation, to thank him, and the other people connected with him.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know if Mr. Campbell Thomson will say a few words to us about the part he has played in the exploration. I think he was the first after the war to begin exploration. Perhaps he has left. Is there anyone else would wish to comment on what we have heard? If not, I think it really remains for us only to thank Mr. Woolley for his lecture. It has indeed been a thrilling lecture, full of deep interest. He has given us almost bowing acquaintance with some of those early dynasts—Ur-Engur, I think we saw his portrait; I am not sure we did not see his autograph, although I suppose he employed a scribe. But it really has been a wonderful illustration on what has been done in the way of excavation in recent years. I had no idea that the mound which was all that remained of Ur a little while ago had been so far exposed to view. It reminds me of what I have seen of some of the ancient Greek cities in Asia

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Minor, that by patient excavation have been exposed so that we can all see exactly how they were formed. We have been taken back into very remote antiquity. Mr. Woolley referred to Nebuchadrezzar as quite a recent sovereign compared with those of whom he spoke in another part of his lecture, who indeed lived a thousand or two years before; so we have been given a line through a very long period of history; and Sir Frederic Kenyon has enabled us to understand what he and others in authority are really driving at. We want to know something about the origin of our race, and where it really came from; and in pursuing this wonderful quest, as we understand that he intends to pursue it still further, he will have indeed a great audience—the audience of the whole educated world—and I think that no portion of his audience will be more interested in the progress made than will the Central Asian Society, which has already, indeed, had the advantage of two admirable lectures. Our interest has been keenly excited: it will certainly be still further aroused by what we shall all see in the British Museum, when the exhibition of objects discovered at Ur is open to our view; and I am sure that you will all join in expressing by your applause the thanks which are certainly due from us for one of the most interesting lectures that we have heard, and which will long remain in our memory. I ask you to express your thanks. (Applause.)

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ANNUAL DINNER

LORD MILNER ON THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

THE Right Hon. Sir M. de Bunsen presided at the annual dinner of the Society held in the Edward VII. Rooms, Hotel Victoria, on July 4, when Lord Milner was the chief guest of the Society.

The Chairman, in proposing the Guests of the Society, said that he felt greatly honoured by being in the chair and following the succession of those who had sat there in recent years. He felt he was entering upon the work of the Chairmanship of the Society at a time when its pioneer work had been done, and when it was not only well launched on its career, but was approaching maturity. It was still growing, and growing rapidly, though not so rapidly perhaps as they could wish. Indeed, he took the opportunity of saying how greatly it would assist the Society in its growth if every member would try to bring an additional member to join their ranks. Although they had a goodly list of members, they could do with a good many more. The success the Society had already achieved and its prospects for the future were due in the first place to the efforts of a certain number of members who had spared no pains to promote its welfare and to increase its usefulness. It was also due to the very great and perhaps increasing interest which they were all bound to take in Asiatic affairs. That, of course, had always been the case for our country, but perhaps never more so than at the present moment. Books had been written lately pointing out a kind of gulf growing between non-white people and the white people of the world. Possibly what had been said on this matter had been exaggerated. There was a good deal of talk of Pan-Islamism and Asiatic Nationalism, and of the solidarity which they were told was growing up in the minds of all non-white people, binding them together in a kind of alliance or sympathetic understanding as against the white races of the world. He did not know how far that view was exaggerated, or if there was any such feeling of solidarity on the part of non-white communities; but, anyhow, it behoved this country, which had always had its eyes fixed on the Asiatic people, to study these questions and be prepared to meet them as they developed, in the same sympathetic spirit that it had always shown toward the legitimate aspirations of Asiatic nations. (Cheers.) We had no wish

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to check those legitimate aspirations, but, on the contrary, we wished to help them, and it ought to be the case that whatever our relations with them might be, they would look upon us as their natural friends and allies. That, he believed, was what we ought to aim at, and he thought that the importance of watching Eastern affairs even more closely than before was one of the factors in the interest which had been taken in the Society and increasing its membership. People felt that by belonging to it they were able to follow this development, because it included amongst its members so many who spoke with real knowledge and authority on so many of those problems which were coming to the front, and who could tell them what was happening in the different countries they grouped under the heading, which they made a very elastic one, of Central Asia.

This was their fourth dinner since the war, and it was a great pleasure to see so many gathered there, ladies as well as gentlemen. Perhaps not so many years ago it would have been quite an unusual sight to see a number of ladies at the dinner of a society such as that, and certainly their presence that evening very much brightened the proceedings. (Cheers.) At the first dinner after the war, which was held in 1920, their President, Lord Curzon, took the chair, and delivered a speech which all those who heard it would remember. Lord Meston was the other speaker that day, and he also made a very interesting speech. In the following year Lord Carnock was in the chair, and Lord Chelmsford made the speech of the evening; while last year Lord Peel, the Secretary of State for India, was in the chair, and Lord Ronaldshay was the prinicipal guest. They were indeed fortunate and honoured in having as their principal guest one who could most worthily take his place by the side of those he had mentioned—Lord Milner. (Cheers.) Briefly referring to the highly distinguished career of Lord Milner, the Chairman said that when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies in the War Cabinet he was brought into specially close connection with Near Eastern affairs, being a member of the special Cabinet Committee which dealt with them. He was already a master of the subject, and his knowledge and experience were of the greatest use to the Government, which was mainly influenced in these matters by his counsel. Since then he had been closely associated once more with Egypt, and the report of his commission on the subject of our policy therein had been recognized as outlining the only satisfactory solution of the difficulties in that country. Why was it that the country so hung upon Lord Milner's words? It was very much because he was a man of such very independent judgment, who did not follow any master, but studied every subject for himself and then gave us the advantage of his conclusions, which were founded on his own vast experience on the matters on which he wrote. Probably many of them had seen

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his last book on "The Questions of the Hour," which in many ways offered them much consolation. Their guest that evening was not a pessimist—and if he, with all his knowledge, was not a pessimist, there was no reason why any of those who listened to him that evening should be a pessimist. Lord Milner pointed out that our resources were still vast, and not so much depleted as we thought them. If they were properly handled and utilized, there was much we could do even if trade was languishing. We could do much to promote the growth of some of our Crown Colonies; we could do much even in promoting industries at home. He (the Chairman) had derived much hope and satisfaction from the reading of this valuable book. They were honoured by Lord Milner's presence, and they gave him a most hearty welcome. (Cheers.) The other guest of the Society that evening was their outgoing Chairman, Lord Carnock. (Cheers.) He had been in office for five years, and the success of the Society was closely bound up in their minds with his activity as Chairman. Not only had he showed an unceasing interest in the work of the Society, but he had brought to bear upon it fine personal characteristics, such as his unfailing courtesy, which had made him an ideal Chairman. They greatly deplored his departure from the Chair, and felt that it was a great loss to the Society, and they would never forget all that he had done for it. He was glad to be able to say, however, that Lord Carnock had agreed to remain on the Council, and that it was his intention to maintain his interest in their proceedings just as much as when he occupied the Chair.

Viscount MILNER, who was received with hearty applause, said that when he accepted the honour of being their guest, he did not anticipate that the duty of responding to the toast would fall to one whose knowledge of Central Asia was so small as his own. His personal acquaintance with Asia was limited to the south-western end—to what he might perhaps call, roughly speaking, the Arab end. But the Society, he understood, was not too particular in the matter of geographical limits, especially in the case of their guests, and he proposed to take advantage of that generosity to devote his remarks to one corner of Asia, and that which touched work we had done in another country with which he had some little first-hand acquaintance: he meant Palestine.

I do so (continued Lord Milner) the more readily because I feel a growing concern about the trend of public opinion in this country with regard to our position in Palestine. The views which I may express are not at present popular, and it is quite possible that they will not commend themselves to the majority of those who are here to-night. But as I am your guest, I am sure that if I

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express them with becoming modesty, you will give me a tolerant hearing. I have paid two visits to Palestine since the war—one in the spring of 1920, and another and longer visit in the spring of 1922. What I saw on the latter occasion—the contrast which the country presented to its condition only two years before, when the traces of war were everywhere visible—the progress which had been made in the short interval under British administration filled my British heart with pride. (Cheers.) It was not altogether a novel experience. I have heard from trustworthy witnesses, and in some countries I have seen with my own eyes, what a few years of decent, honest administration may do for a country blasted and ruined by decades, and sometimes by centuries, of misgovernment. But if it was not a novel experience, it was certainly a striking illustration of a very old principle. Elated by what I had seen, it was something of a shock to me when I returned to this country to find that so many of my friends were in the doldrums about Palestine, and that there was a very lugubrious view prevailing in regard to our position there. That was about a year ago; since then the gloom seems to me only to have deepened. Frankly, I think the gloom is not justified. Your Chairman has said I am not a pessimist; well, I do not know that I am very specially an optimist either. At any rate, in despite of things which might tend to make me one, I am not a pessimist in regard to Palestine. Mind you, I do not say for a moment that we have not many things to discourage us in that country. It is in no way a bed of roses for the British administrator; but if we were to lose heart and to come out of every country which was not a bed of roses, and where we had to face difficulties, and even a considerable amount of dissatisfaction, I cannot help thinking that the confines of the British Empire, and the sphere of British influence in the world, would be considerably reduced. (Cheers.)

Now, I know I may be told—indeed, I have been told: "Your impressions are twelve months old, and things have got much worse to-day." I am not sure of that; in some respects, at any rate, they have not got worse, but very much better. The burden on the British taxpayer of the discharge of our duty as trustees in Palestine has been greatly lessened. It amounted to something like four millions a year when I was there first, and I then ventured to predict that it would steadily diminish until it finally disappeared. It is diminishing faster than I anticipated, and this year it is only one and half millions. Next year it will be much less. My forecast having so far been justified, I cannot regard the state of affairs as disappointing. When I was first there, there was a very considerable British army in the country, for we could not at that stage get on without it. When I was there the second time, the Army was very greatly reduced, but

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even then it amounted to four thousand or five thousand men. In the past twelve months it has been still further reduced, and I believe that at the present time it does not amount to more than one thousand men.

But it can be said: "Yes, that is all very well, but politically the outcry against the Balfour Declaration and British policy generally has grown stronger and stronger." Well, all I can say is that it was in full blast already when I was there. The arguments and misconceptions which I hear about that country to-day I heard from all the leaders of the opposition on the spot a year ago. They did not convince me then, and they do not convince me now. May I say at once that I am as innocent as the babe unborn of any desire to be drawn into this controversy? When I went to Palestine for the first time, I went to take a rest and have a real holiday after six months of exceedingly hard work. When I went the second time, I went as an ordinary tourist, wishing to see things quietly and enjoy myself. If I was drawn into the controversy in some measure, it was only because I could not help it, because I was bombarded with petitions and requests to meet deputations, and because I could not in common courtesy refuse to do so. When I had to meet these deputations, when I had to listen, I did my best to try and get at the truth, and to form an unbiassed judgment as to what amount of foundation there was for the grievances to which I was compelled to listen. The conclusion I came to was that the people I saw were protesting not against something which had happened or was happening, but against something that they had been told was going to happen. The policy they denounced was not the policy of the British Government as clearly expressed by Mr. Churchill and embodied in the repeated declarations of responsible British Ministers. It was not the policy of the British Government, but it was what some extreme Zionist organizations in America had told them was the policy of the British Government. When they, not to my surprise, carried their threat of non-co-operation into effect, it was because they had been misled by deliberate mischief-makers, not always indigenous, and had been led to believe that their country was going to be taken away from them and given to the Jews, and that Palestine was to come under a purely Jewish administration. That view having been hammered into them month after month, naturally they were thoroughly impregnated with it, and it is not surprising that they have now taken the course which it was always to be feared they might take, and have refused the share which has been offered them in the government of their own country, first as a majority of non-official members of the Legislature, and then again as an advisory committee.

Now I greatly deplore that attitude on their part, and I should be

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the last to deny that it is a great embarrassment to the British Administration; but what I do feel is that the very worst way out of that embarrassment would be for us to wobble in the face of an agitation which, however natural, and whatever allowances we may readily make for it, has yet no genuine grievance behind it. (Cheers.) I think the Palestine Arabs are crying out before they are hurt. I cannot better explain what I think than by recalling the latest declaration of the British Government on the subject, which was made only the other night in Parliament by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, and which is a declaration of the policy actually being carried out in Palestine by the British Administration there, unless it has entirely altered its action and attitude since I was in the country:

> "His Majesty's Government is charged with the duty of facilitating the development by Jews of a Jewish national home in that country; but the creation of a Jewish State or Government is no part of such policy. As trustees for the country, on behalf of the League of Nations, it is the object of the British Government and of the British Administration in Palestine to promote harmony and development of all races and creeds there, and to prevent the dominion of any one of them over another."

Now, speaking as one who has always been a sympathizer with Arab aspirations, I think the Arabs of Palestine ought to be satisfied with that. Moreover, I believe the majority of them will be satisfied when they find that the British Government is as good as its word, and that the coming of the Jews does not involve any injury to them, but does promote the development of their country in a manner in which, but for the energy and capital of the newcomers, it could not be promoted for decades, even if ever it could be promoted at all in the same degree. The only way, as it seems to me, for us to meet this opposition and these unfounded stories, is to go on quietly exercising a just and impartial administration, and thus cutting at the roots of the agitation and gradually destroying the fabric of illusion on which it is based. You may excite a people for a certain time by the picture of terrible evils which are going to be inflicted on them, but you cannot continue to excite them for ever if, as a matter of fact, these terrible evils never come about. It may be that the Jews and Arabs will never learn to love one another. But it is one thing to say that, and quite another to say that they will never be able to cohabit peacefully the same country under a fair and impartial administration. That is a proposition which must surely be very astounding to anyone who has seen, as most of you have seen, how mutually antagonistic races and creeds manage to live together under such an administration, especially in the motley East. I know that the success of our policy in Palestine is dependent upon the maintenance

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of firm and impartial government; but the success of any policy in that country is dependent upon that prerequisite. If Palestine is not to become one more storm centre in an already sufficiently chaotic world, there absolutely must be a disinterested Government at the head to keep the peace, not only between the Jew and the Arab, not only between the Moslem and the Christian, but also between different denominations of Christians themselves. To suppose that the country in its present state of civilization could be successfully run on the principle of self-determination, if that means democratic government of the British type, is surely to imagine a vain thing.

You may say: "Well, if that is so, why complicate the situation, already difficult, by raising the Jewish question?" My answer is that the Jewish question raised itself. There was a large Jewish population in Palestine long before we went there. In recent years there has been a large and steadily increasing Jewish immigration. Moreover it is a great mistake to underestimate the strength of feeling of the Jews throughout the world on this subject or the tremendous attraction which Palestine has for the most tenacious race on earth. I know, we all know, many Jews to whom that sentiment does not appeal; but there are millions of them scattered all over the world to whom it does appeal most powerfully. It is a growing and powerful movement which must be regarded at any rate with respect. It is one for which I personally have a great deal of sympathy, and my belief is that the recognition accorded to it by Great Britain has gone a very long way to strengthen that regard for us which is cherished by the Jewish race throughout the world, I mean that portion of it which still clings strongly to its racial and religious traditions. This regard for Great Britain is a source of strength which it may be difficult to estimate, but at any rate is far from being a matter of little consequence to an Empire the flag of which is flown in all parts of the world. This question affects not only the Jews who are settled in Palestine, or even the comparatively small number of their race, perhaps a few hundred thousand, who may contemplate going there. There are millions of Jews throughout the world who may never go to Palestine themselves, and may never want to go, but for whom it is a point of honour and of sentiment, and very deep sentiment, that those of their race who do go there should enter the country, not as aliens, but as men returning to the home of their ancestors, to which they are linked by many sacred attachments. It is reasonable that they should not enter it as aliens, but should go there as to their home—not as strangers, but as nationals, and should receive the rights of full citizenship from their first landing upon the soil of the Holy Land. That is a sentiment which I believe can receive complete satisfaction without the slightest injustice to the other inhabitants of the land. It seems

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to me that since, rightly or wrongly, the British Government has made this concession to Jewish sentiment, we are in a position to call upon the Arabs, as long as their own rights are strictly safeguarded, as we have promised they shall be, not to thwart the declared policy of Great Britain. (Cheers.) Let it be remembered that, so far as the Arab world as a whole is concerned, it owes an immeasurable debt to Great Britain. (Cheers.) The aspirations of the Arabs could never have come even within sight of realization, and can never be even partially realized in the future, without the help that Great Britain has afforded and is affording. And so far as the Arabs of Palestine are concerned, it cannot be admitted that its six hundred thousand or seven hundred thousand present inhabitants are, as the extremists claim, alone entitled to determine the future of a country which in truth belongs not to them only but to the whole world. We are entitled to remind them that they owe it to us that they have been liberated from Turkish tyranny, that their civil rights are better guarded than ever before, and that they have any political rights at all.

The last word I should like to say on this subject I say with emphasis, and perhaps you will think with unnecessary emphasis, because I am advocating an unpopular cause. It is that the proper policy of this country is to hold on steadily to the course which it has laid down, despite all this pother; to carry out the policy it has proclaimed, not in the sense in which the enemies of that policy interpret it, but in the sense in which it has again and again been interpreted by British statesmen. If we do that, we shall only have to possess our souls in patience for a few years until the progress already so marked in Palestine completes the answer to the pessimist, and we shall no longer be tempted to make an inglorious abandonment of the trusteeship we accepted, but shall find in the recuperation of that country, in its growth and development, the reward we have found for similar work elsewhere, and add to the prestige and honour of the British name. (Loud Cheers.)

Sir Edward Penton gave the toast of the retiring Secretary, Colonel A. C. Yate, and took the opportunity to trace briefly the history of the Society. He said that during the war only a few stalwarts were left behind to manage the Society. It was typical of the courtesy and consideration which Colonel Yate always extended to his colleagues that he wrote him a letter when he was in the thick of his work for the Government, and with little prospect of being released for months and perhaps years to come, asking whether he would agree to his taking the Honorary Secretaryship, as he thought he might have the leisure and opportunity to revive its fortunes. The great services both Sir Charles and Colonel Yate had rendered to the Society from its establishment were too manifest to allow it to

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miss that opportunity. All through the early years both of them had been strong supporters and active participators in the proceedings. Colonel Yate was no less eager in his attendance than his brother Sir Charles, often coming up from Shropshire to attend their meetings, and also wielding a facile pen in many of our periodicals touching the subjects which interested the Society, and finally taking in hand their *Journal* and adding to it such comments which made it popular throughout the whole area in which their researches extended. (Cheers.) On his appointment as Honorary Secretary he proceeded to render the Society great and lasting services. The first was to secure the services of Lord Carnock as Chairman, and he became to him what Alexander Hamilton was to Washington. The war left behind a great number of new problems to be faced, and Colonel Yate took advantage of the opportunity to rope in and interest a great many men returning from the East. He made the United Service Club yield its quota of great soldiers, and then went across the road and secured the co-operation of distinguished Proconsuls at the Athenæum. He also obtained the assistance of Mr. Stephenson, who walked daily round St. James's Square with a bundle of bankers' orders, and compelled everybody he met interested in the East to sign one at the nearest convenient lamp-post. (Laughter.) Colonel Yate, on becoming Honorary Secretary, found them at a low ebb in membership, and he and Captain Stephenson added over three hundred members to their rolls in a couple of years. (Cheers.) The Society continued to grow, and they had a subscription list which enabled them to pay their way and even to invest a little money against a rainy day. Colonel Yate retired from the Honorary Secretaryship on account of the state of his health, but they were delighted to see him amongst them that night. They thanked him for the services he had rendered, and they wished him long life and prosperity, and were assured of his continued interest in the Society. (Applause.)

Colonel Yate, who was enthusiastically received, said that he appreciated very much the great honour they had done him. It was true when he took up the Honorary Secretaryship that he did drop some hint that he thought the Society could be a bigger thing than it was then; thus he laid down a challenge which he himself had to take up. If he had brought new members to their ranks and had sought for a higher standard for their lectures, he had done no more than place at the disposal of the Society the information and results of study which some forty years of connection with the East had given him. Colonel Yate paid warm tribute to the services of the Assistant Secretaries, first of Miss Phillips, and at present of Miss Kennedy. Living away in Shropshire, he could not possibly carry out the work

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without the valuable assistance which they had afforded. He also referred to the assistance given by the Chairmen, the late Sir Henry Trotter and Lord Carnock, and to those who together with Mr. Stephenson had assisted in widening the appeal of the Society and suggesting methods of increasing the membership. The Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Asiatic Society had both been helpful, and so had *The Near East*. He particularly mentioned General Sir Charles Monro, Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir Charles Yate, Sir Edmund Barrow, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Gilbert Clayton, Sir Reginald Wingate, and notably Mrs. Waller Sawyer, despite her troubles in Ireland, in this connection. He reminded the members that Lady Trotter had presented to the Society the Asiatic books of her late husband, and that the library of which this was the nucleus now contained between five hundred and six hundred volumes. He quoted the warm tribute Lord Curzon paid to the Society when he took the chair at the annual dinner in 1920. He made the suggestion that the Society should establish a gold medal to be awarded to the man who each year had done the best service to the British Empire in the countries which they studied. He thought this adoption of a method employed by some other Societies would be beneficial, and would help to stimulate interest in the proceedings of the Central Asian Society.

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THE FRONTIERS OF ASIATIC TURKEY

THE following note on "The Frontiers of Asiatic Turkey" has been accepted by the Council for publication in the *Journal*:

ALTHOUGH the frontiers of Asiatic Turkey have not yet been recognized by the Powers, and only partially delimited by the Turks themselves, a stage has now been reached when we may consider Anatolia as a definite geographical and political entity; by taking stock of the existing situation and by appreciating the various factors and possibilities which tend to modify that situation, we may hope to arrive at an approximation of the final settlement of its frontiers.

The Anatolian Peninsula, washed on its northern, western, and southern shores by three seas, and having its eastward land approaches blocked by the Armenian mountain massif and the Syrian desert, forms a geographical unit which would appear at first sight to present an ideal field for the maker of boundaries. The political factors in the case, however, go far to negative these geographical advantages.

Anatolia has formed throughout the centuries a bridge for alternating currents of peaceful intercourse and warlike enterprise between East and West. Persian, Greek, Roman, Turk, Mongol, and Crusader armies have in turn swept across its plateaux and gorges, while in the intervals of time caravans used its highways and defiles to exchange the products of Asia for the wares of Europe.

Apart from these waves of war and commerce, Anatolia has long been subject to an ebb and flow of population due to external and internal religious persecution. Thus Sephardim Jews from Spain, Circassian Muslims from the Caucasus, and Albanians and Pomaks from the Balkans, have been transplanted to the "well-guarded lands" of the Sultans, while more recently hundreds of thousands of Orthodox and Armenian Christians have left those lands in consequence of Muslim fanaticism.

The result of all this age-long human intercourse, both in peace and war, has been to scatter over Anatolia a confused mixture of peoples and sects which far exceeds in complexity and interest the proverbial ethnic tangle of the Balkan Peninsula.

The wonder is that out of all these heterogeneous elements a "Turkish nation" has been evolved which, in spite of external war and internal revolt, of military defeat and administrative corruption, has to-day successfully asserted its right to live within boundaries of

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approximately its own dictation. That such a state of affairs has come to pass only the most bigoted "anti-Turk" will still deny; its most eloquent testimony is the fact that the representatives of this new Turkey are still, in the summer of 1923, maintaining successfully their claims in the face of all Europe's opposition.

As regards frontiers, the Turks have been wise enough to restrict their claims to those outlined in their *Misaq-i-Milli*, or National Pact, drawn up and signed on January 28, 1920, by the members of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies in Constantinople. It is significant that, in the treaties which Turkey has signed with Soviet Russia, the Caucasian Republics, and the Ukraine, it is expressly stipulated that "the term *Turkey* signifies the territories comprised by the National Pact drawn up on January 28, 1920." This pact contained six Articles, which were laid down as the essential conditions of a "just and lasting peace." The first two Articles referred to the territorial extent of Asiatic Turkey, while the remaining four dealt with Western Thrace, the security of the seat of the Caliphate, the rights of minorities, and the economic and juridical independence of Turkey from foreign interference. The first two Articles are worth quoting in full:

ARTICLE 1.

> The ultimate destinies of those portions of the Ottoman Empire which are populated exclusively by an Arab majority, and which on the conclusion of the Armistice on October 30, 1918, were in the occupation of enemy forces, shall be decided according to the free vote of the inhabitants of the territories in question.
>
> Those parts of the Empire, whether inside or outside the line fixed by the said Armistice, which are inhabited by an Ottoman Muslim majority, whose elements, united in religion, in civilization, and in aim, are imbued with sentiments of mutual respect of each other's racial and social rights, constitute a whole which does not admit of any practical or equitable division.

ARTICLE 2.

> The inhabitants of the three *sanjaqs* of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum, having already since their liberation affirmed their desire to return to the mother-country, shall, if necessary, decide their destiny by a second plebiscite.

In the following pages it will be seen what interpretation has been put on the first two Articles of the National Pact, and how they have affected Turkey's frontier policy.

Since the signature of the National Pact, "Nationalist Turkey" has signed the following treaties with foreign Powers, in addition to

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the various armistices which she has concluded, such as the one with France in May, 1920, with Armenia in December, 1920, and at Mudania in October, 1922:

(*a*) *March* 1, 1921.—Turco-Afghan Treaty, signed at Moscow.

(*b*) *March* 16, 1921.—Treaty of Moscow with Soviet Russia.

(*c*) *October* 13, 1921.—Treaty of Kars with Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

(*d*) *October* 20, 1921.—The Franklin-Bouillon Convention signed with France at Angora.

(*e*) *January* 2, 1922.—Turco-Ukranian Treaty signed at Angora.

The Turco-Afghan Treaty does not directly concern the frontiers of Asiatic Turkey, but it is of considerable interest to the British Empire, and was obviously inspired by the Government of Soviet Russia. This is all the more apparent from the fact that it was signed at Moscow a fortnight before the signature of the Turco-Russian Treaty, and was probably made a condition for the signature of the latter document. The only territorial interest of the Turco-Afghan Treaty is that it recognizes the independence of the Central Asian States of Bokhara and Khiva.

The Treaty of Moscow, signed on March 16, 1921, between the Angora Government and Soviet Russia, marks the partial fulfilment of Turkey's aspirations regarding the provinces of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum, outlined in Article 2 of the National Pact. These provinces had twice been wrested from Turkey by the Russian armies in 1829 and 1877.

The plebiscite mentioned in Article 2 of the National Pact was, of course, never carried out, but a convenient compromise was effected, by means of which Russia retained the northern half of the Batum province, including the town of Batum, as far as a point on the coast ten miles south of that town, while Turkey obtained the remainder of the province and the whole of the provinces of Kars and Ardahan, except for a small corner of the latter province (west of Alexandropol), which she ceded to the Soviet Republic of Armenia. This frontier is outlined in Article 1 of the treaty, and described in detail in one of its appendices.

An important feature of the Moscow Treaty was its recognition of the independent Republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. These States are specifically mentioned in Articles 2 and 3 of the treaty. In Article 2 Turkey agreed to renounce in favour of Georgia her rights to the town and harbour of Batum and to that portion of the Batum *liva* lying north of the frontier described in Article 1, on condition that Turkish goods would enjoy free trade in passing through Batum.

In Article 3 the contracting parties agreed to establish an "autono-

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mous territory of Nakhchivan," under the protection of Azerbaijan, and outlined its boundaries in an Appendix. This Article also enacted that the final trace of the northern boundary of this territory would be "rectified by a technical commission composed of representatives of Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Armenia." As Soviet Russia was not to be represented on this commission, it appears that the Turks did not recognize Russian sovereignty over these buffer States.

The remaining thirteen Articles of the Turco-Russian Treaty are of minor interest, but Article 15 throws a curious light on the relations between the Moscow Government and the Trans-Caucasian Republics. This Article runs as follows:

"Russia undertakes to take the necessary steps with the South Caucasus Republics to enforce the Articles of this Turco-Russian Treaty, relating to these Republics, in the treaties that will be made between them and Turkey."

Seven months after the signature of the Moscow Treaty its provisions were modified and incorporated in a more extensive instrument, known as the Treaty of Kars, which marks a stage of relative finality in the stabilization of Turkey's north-eastern frontier; for this Treaty recognized the political independence of the chain of autonomous buffer States between the Black Sea and the Caspian, which now separate the former empires of the Sultan and the Tsar.

The Turkish and Russian texts of the Kars Treaty are both available. The former has been officially published by the Angora Government; the latter appeared semi-officially in a Tiflis paper, the *Pravda Gruzii*, of October 21, 1921.

The Treaty was signed at Kars on October 13, 1921, between the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on the one hand, and the Socialist Soviet Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia on the other. It is curious to note that Moscow was represented this time not as a principal, but only as an assenting party.

The Treaty of Kars ratified generally the provisions of the Moscow Treaty, repeating almost word for word the territorial clauses regarding the north-eastern frontier of Turkey. It reaffirmed the establishment of the autonomous territory of Nakhchivan under the sovereignty of Azerbaijan, and definitely delimited its frontiers, so presumably the Boundary Commission mentioned in Article 3 of the Moscow Treaty had completed its labours satisfactorily. Considerable confusion has arisen regarding the boundaries of this territory, but the text of the Kars Treaty is quite clear on the subject. The Kars Treaty further indicates where the Georgian-Armenian and Armenian-Azerbaijan frontiers meet the north-eastern frontier of Turkey.

The Turco-Ukranian Treaty, concluded at Angora on January 2, 1922, merely reaffirmed the main provisions of the Moscow and Kars Treaties.

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Within a week of the signature of the Kars Treaty Turkey succeeded in settling temporarily the vexed question of her Syrian frontier. Lured by the *ignis fatuus* of economic concessions, M. Franklin-Bouillon, the special envoy of the President of the French Republic, signed a Convention at Angora on the night of October 19/20, 1921, by which France handed back to Turkey the province of Cilicia, as well as a portion of the Aleppo *vilayet*. By Article 8 of the Angora Convention, Turkey and Syria were separated by one of the most extraordinary frontiers ever traced. This frontier runs eastwards from south of Payas, on the Gulf of Alexandretta, cutting the Baghdad Railway just north of Meidan Ekbes. Thence, passing south of Killis, it meets the railway again at the station of Choban Bey, north-east of Aleppo. From Choban Bey the frontier runs for 240 miles *along* the Baghdad Railway as far as its present eastern terminus at Nisibin, from whence the frontier runs E.N.E. to meet the Tigris just south of Jezire-ibn-Omer. The railway was to remain on Turkish soil, but its exploitation, as far west as the Taurus, was, under Article 10, to be conceded to a "French group." Both Turkey and Syria were to have the right of using the Baghdad Railway for troop movements over the whole sector from Meidan Ekbes via Muslimiya to Nisibin.

It is hardly conceivable that such a frontier or such an arrangement can be regarded as permanent. The Turco-Syrian frontier, although confirmed at Lausanne, will probably be delimited afresh by a separate convention after the signature of peace between the Allies and Turkey.

Between the Tigris and the Araks lies the mountain mass of Northern Kurdistan, across which no post-war frontiers have yet been drawn to divide Turkey from Persia and Iraq. The Turco-Persian frontier was demarcated by an International Boundary Commission in 1913–14, and follows in the main a well-defined watershed between the Tigris and Araks basins. Turkey would gain nothing by modifying it, so it is unlikely to be altered.

The least defined sector of Turkey's Asiatic frontier is that which borders on Iraq in the mountains of Kurdistan. This boundary is, for the time being, nominally assumed to be the northern boundary of the old Mosul *vilayet*, between the Tigris and the Persian frontier. In actual fact it is a debatable "no man's land," a zone of wild border country, in which Kurdish tribes, Turkish agents, and Arab and Chaldean levies carry on intermittent irregular warfare. Thus Rowanduz, situated more than thirty miles south of the Mosul-Van boundary, has been more or less effectively occupied by Kurdish tribal levies in Turkish pay for two years, and these were only ejected as a result of military operations in April, 1923. It is hoped, however, that a Boundary Commission will succeed in demarcating amicably the Turco-Iraq frontier within nine months of the signature of the Treaty of Peace between the Powers and Turkey.

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If the settlement of both the Syrian and Iraq frontiers is to be effected by diplomatic methods, such a settlement depends, so far as the Turks are concerned, on the interpretation to be placed on Article 1 of their National Pact.

According to this Article the Turks would appear to have definitely surrendered all claim to the *vilayets* of Yemen and Nejd, the three *vilayets* of Iraq (Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra), the four *vilayets* of Syria (Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, and Lebanon), with the independent *livas* (or *sanjaqs*) of Zor and Jerusalem. This would reduce Turkey to a total of fifteen *vilayets*, of which two are in Europe and thirteen in Asia.

That, however, is not the limit of the Turkish claims. On October 12, 1922, a circular memorandum was issued to all *vilayets* signed by Ahmed Munir Bey, the Under-Secretary of State for the Interior at Angora. This circular contained a list of seventeen *vilayets* and forty-seven independent *livas* which were to be officially recognized as comprising "the territories actually administered by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey."

In addition to the fifteen *vilayets* mentioned above, this document included the *vilayet* of Mosul, with its three *livas* of Mosul, Kirkuk, and Suleimaniya, and the *vilayet* of Aleppo, including the *qazas* of Alexandretta, Antioch, Beilan, Idlib, Munbij, and Jebel Seman, which are definitely south of the Franklin-Bouillon frontier, and in French occupation. It also includes the independent *liva* of Zor, most of which is within the French mandated territory. This document is clear proof, if any were necessary, that the Syrian frontier which the Turks agreed to in October, 1921, did not satisfy their claims a year later, and that they still lay claim to the whole of the Mosul *vilayet*. The fact is that the first Article of the National Pact admits of various interpretations as to which districts are "inhabited by an Ottoman Muslim majority," and which by an Arab majority.

The Angora Press of June 4, 1923, reproduced a telegram from Mardin to Mustafa Kemal Pasha, purporting to express the desire of 250,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring territories that the southern frontier of Turkey would be carried southwards to the Euphrates, or at least to the Jebel Abdul Aziz. This piece of propaganda gives us an inkling of Turkish ambitions. The Euphrates frontier would probably be demanded if the Turks were to regain the entire Mosul *vilayet*, while they might be content with the Jebel Abdul Aziz (thirty miles south of the present frontier at Ras-el-Ain) should they only obtain a slight rectification of their boundary in Southern Kurdistan. In either case the whole of the Baghdad Railway, up to its terminus at Nisibin, would come well within Turkish territory.

All we can say is that the present frontiers of Turkey coterminous with Syria and Iraq have not yet been stabilized, and that they repre-

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sent only the minimum Turkish demands. The maximum claims of Turkey in this respect are apparently represented by the southern boundaries of the Aleppo and Mosul *vilayets*, or at any rate some line across Northern Syria and Iraq approximating possibly to the 36th degree of north latitude. This would give to Turkey Aleppo and Mosul, both of which towns she still considers as forming part of her national territories. This question is, however, still *sub judice*, and we can only hope that it may be settled satisfactorily by diplomatic means.

To sum up, it may be said that the eastern sector of Turkey's Asiatic frontier, from the Black Sea past Mount Ararat to south-west of Lake Urmia, is now definitely delimited, while its southern sector, between the highlands of Kurdistan and the Mediterranean, still remains unsettled. Here we have an interesting field of endeavour for the boundary makers of the future, and one with which the interests of the British Empire are closely associated.

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THE "MILITARISTS" OF CHINA

By J. O. P. Bland

Anyone who has studied, even cursorily, the course of events in the Far East since the Chinese Revolution of 1911, must have been impressed by the assertion, persistently recurring in the Press, that the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in China is primarily due to the machinations of individuals or political groups described as "militarists." Similarly, most of the publicists and journalists who, since the Washington Conference, have sought to elucidate the Far Eastern situation, concur in attributing Japan's foreign policy, wheresoever it comes into conflict with American or British ideas, to schemes deep-laid by Japanese "militarists." No doubt, to the uninitiated, the general impression thus conveyed is that the progress of peaceful prosperity and international good-will in both countries is prevented by the presence of powerful parties within the State, whose aims are aggressive and predatory, and who, like the Prussian, have a class bias in favour of war, for war's sake and the hope of glory. All serious students of Far Eastern affairs are, however, aware that this impression is wholly erroneous. They know, in the first place, that there exists in China no class in any sense equivalent to the old Samurai caste of Japan, and that to apply one and the same word to describe China's provincial satraps and the leaders of the Satsuma-Choshiu clans in Dai Nippon, is evidence either of ignorance or confused thinking.

Before examining the results of this confused thinking upon the situation in China, however, it may be well to recall to mind the fact, that the prevalent misapplication of terms such as "militarism" and "reactionary" is one of many natural consequences of a war-weary world's emotional welcome to the Wilsonian, or feminist type of political idealism, and to its impulsive acceptance of the plausible catchwords which, after the Great War, gave a semblance of reality to the dream of a new era of universal disarmament and "self-determination." During the Washington Conference, the word "militarism," with reference to European peoples or policies, became a term of reproach, frequently applied by "forward-looking" doctrinaires to any nation or political group whose opinions were opposed to their own "progressive" gospel of political idealism. Since then, by popular usage, the scope of this term of reproach has

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been enlarged, so that to-day we find it freely used by politicians and publicists, all the world over, to denounce anyone, at home or abroad, with whom they may differ concerning the best way of making the world free for their particular brand of democracy. Many of the world's most eminent Treaty makers, before and since Versailles, have apparently acted upon the assumption that the law of self-preservation had been brought to an end, or at least suspended indefinitely, by the war that was to end all wars. Nevertheless, it persists; and, as a result of the conflict between this persistence and the pure gospel of "self-determination," such measures as any Government may be compelled, as of old, to take for purposes of national security, are warmly denounced as "militarism," not only by its critics and competitors abroad, but by its political rivals and opponents at home. China is by no means the only country in which the denunciation of "militarism" has become a war-cry and a weapon, very serviceable and convenient for the purposes of the "Outs" in their perennial struggle with the "Ins." But the sincerity of those who use it will seldom bear close scrutiny. No nation, for example, has been more active and eloquent than the United States in professing a desire for universal disarmament and in denouncing as "militarism" the defensive measures and forces which France, Poland, and other European countries consider necessary for their national security. Nevertheless, public opinion in America complacently accepts an unprecedented naval programme and sees no reason for proclaiming its faith in the results of the Washington Conference (as England has done) by scrapping any warships before the strict letter of the law requires her to do so.

A glance at the present-day polemics of international politics throws into clear relief the fact that, when progressive publicists speak of militarism, they give to the word an arbitrary significance, dependent upon its particular application. How otherwise can we explain the attitude of British Liberal and Labour leaders, who denounce as Imperialism and militarism the measures which France has been compelled to take against defaulting Germany, while they regard with benevolent complacency the aggressive activities of the Soviets' conscripted Red Army in Manchuria, Mongolia, and elsewhere? How otherwise account for the fact that, in the United States, public opinion has been led to regard a policy of rapid naval expansion as imperatively necessary to the national security, and at the same time to denounce as "militarism" the policy of economic penetration on the Asiatic mainland, which the rulers of Japan consider essential to their country's very existence, since their people have been excluded from the White Man's continents?

The fact of the matter is that the idealists and Internationalists, zealous and impatient for the millennium of their dreams, either

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ignore the fundamental truth, that the right of the weak to self-determination can never prevail against the right of their stronger neighbours to act upon the elemental instinct of self-preservation. In the world of realities, self-determination, like the principle of the innate equality of all men, depends for its application upon circumstances and, in the last resort, upon force. It is a curious characteristic of the "International" quality of mind that it recognizes and tacitly sanctions the use of force by those, be they Irish assassins or Soviet dictators, who pay lip-service to "democratic" ideals, but denounce as militarism any force organized and exercised for the defence of people or principles which it dislikes.

From this digression, let us return to our muttons—viz., the alleged militarists of China. At the outset of this article, I observed that a very widespread impression has been created in England and America to the effect that the present financial and administrative chaos and civil strife in China are solely due to the ascendancy in the body politic of certain political factions described by their opponents (the Outs) as militarists; moreover, that, if these disturbing elements could be disintegrated and deprived of their armed forces, the foreign-educated progressives of Young China might be relied upon to establish and maintain law, order, and good government.

This impression, as I have said, is wholly false; its genesis and general acceptance abroad are chiefly due to the skilful propaganda of the "Western-learning" groups of Chinese officials and aspirants whose unconcealed ambition it is, by the aid of America's moral and material support, to get the government of the country into their own hands. It is not surprising that these groups, which represent the best organized, most vocal, and keenest elements of Young China's Intelligentsia, and which enjoy a practical monopoly of access to the foreign Press, should have been able to enlist sympathy abroad for political aspirations which they are ever at pains to set forth in an attractive guise of democratic idealism. But what does surprise every disinterested observer of the situation is, that the majority of the foreign Press in China, and of the resident correspondents of English and American journals, should have failed to expose the obvious motives and the perilous policy which underlie Young China's persistent appeals for sympathy in their alleged struggle against militarism. The omission may to some extent be due to the fact that most of the inland correspondents of the Treaty Ports' foreign Press are either missionaries or school-teachers, vocationally inclined to sympathize with the political aspirations of the "Western-learning" type of politician. Moreover, a great deal of Young China's propaganda work is done through the Press, in America and England, with the help of well-known journalists, professors, and political advisors in Chinese pay, whose collective

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opinion as experts naturally carries considerable weight. Many of these have undoubtedly been selected for the posts they hold because of their avowed sympathy for the kind of political idealism, combined with shrewd business instincts, which distinguishes "Westernized" mandarins of the modern type.

Making every allowance, however, for these factors in the situation, and for the reasonable readiness of foreigners on the spot to encourage any individual or group which seems to offer even a remote hope of bringing order and stable government out of chaos, it is still difficult to understand why nearly all the authors or recent works on the Far East (mostly American), and the majority of foreign journalists there resident, should endorse Young China's continual denunciations of "militarism" as the cause of their country's present plight. For it must be evident to anyone who has closely followed the fortunes of the warring factions since the end of the dictatorship of Yuan Shih-k'ai, that every political adventurer who emerges therefrom, by luck or some quality of leadership, can only vindicate his claims to place and power by surrounding himself with an armed force recruited from the bandits and loafers of his district. But the political adventurer of China is not, and never has been, a militarist in any accepted sense of the term, and his hireling rabble are no more soldiers than are the gunmen of Southern Ireland or the *bandilleros* of Mexico. The root of trouble in China is not militarism, but the incorrigible greed for wealth displayed not only by the military governors but by the civilian mandarins at Peking—a rapacity far more omnivorous than anything that the country knew under the benevolent despotism of the Manchus.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this article to describe at length the various ways and means by which a widespread misconception of the situation in China has been created. Two or three passages taken at random from recent numbers of *The Times* may serve, however, to show what a multitude of sins may be covered by "militarism," as denounced by Young China aspirant. I select *The Times*, only because its news service from the Far East is usually fuller than that of other papers, and also because the news and views reported by its correspondents at Peking and Hongkong may generally be regarded as fairly representative of the opinions of the British communities at these centres.

On January 23, *The Times* correspondent at Peking telegraphed the points of a speech delivered by the Inspector-General of Customs (Sir F. Aglen) before the directors of the Anti-Opium Association. After drawing attention to the fact that opium is being freely grown in China and smuggled into the large cities, with the connivance (he might well have said "under the direction") of provincial and military officials, Sir Francis suggested the creation of a Government

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monopoly of the drug, with a view to the better regulation of an ineradicable traffic. To this proposal certain Chinese members of the Association objected, on the ground that "the abuses were due to the illegal practices of the militarists." At the same time they were of opinion that "with the restoration of a stable Central Government, the national demand for the suppression of the opium traffic would certainly be realized." As a matter of self-evident fact, of course, the substitution of a Government entirely composed of "Western-learning" politicians for the predatory officials who now control the collection of provincial revenues, would no more abolish opium in China than a suppression of the Republican forces in Ireland would abolish whisky.

In another article, describing the bankrupt condition of China's railways, the same correspondent observed that, while the net earnings of the Pukou Railway for the past half-year were no less than $7,000,000, the whole of this sum had disappeared, and not a penny was available for paying the interest and amortization of the foreign loans with which the line was built. This money, he says, may be assumed to have "gone into the pockets of the militarists." Nevertheless, he admits, "as a disagreeable feature of the constant negotiations relating to the provision of funds, the indifference with which the Ministry of Communications viewed the prospects of default." Now, the Ministry in question is not composed of "militarists"; nevertheless, it is notorious that in the matter of rapacity and maladministration of public funds it has never had anything to learn from the hungriest of Tuchuns. Another curious feature of the railway situation, reported in the same article, is that the Peking-Hankow line has fallen upon evil days, because "Wu Pei-fu annexes the receipts of a considerable section." For, be it noted, this General Wu, according to the same correspondent, is "one of the few patriots in sight," and was, until quite lately, the most prominent champion of Young China's "anti-militarist" programme!

Turning from the north to the south, the condition of affairs at Canton, after the rout of General Chen by the rabble forces of Yünnan and Kwangsi, is described by the Hongkong correspondent of *The Times* (January 17) in the following typical passage:

"Canton is without officials. The Labour leaders are jubilant, and have telegraphed to Sun Yat-sen to return immediately as their champion and appoint his staunchest henchman, Wu Hon-min, as Civil Governor. Labour is predominant in Canton, but it is unlikely that the Kwangsi and Yünnan *militarists* will leave the fruits of their successes to others. Sun Yat-sen's first problem is, therefore, how to placate and shake off *his allies*. [My italics.]

"Chen's defeat was mainly attributable to lack of funds, where-

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with to pay his troops, owing to the depreciation in Canton currency. Sun Yat-sen, seeing his opportunity, *supplied the disaffected soldiery with money.*"

Sun Yat-sen, be it observed, is the shining light of Young China's professed republicanism, a "distinguished leader of the Constitutional cause," and according to Dr. Reinsch,* "a true Chinese Liberal." The fact that the only Government he has ever been able to evolve at Canton, with a fair field and much favour, has been a "military Government," eternally at war with Peking and with its neighbours, has never affected his claim to be regarded as the sworn foe of "militarism," any more than his intimate relations with Japanese *soshii* and financiers at the time of the Revolution prevented him from subsequently denouncing the Peking Government's insatiable appetite for Japanese loans. It is interesting to observe that within a month of General Chen's defeat, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Hongkong was again anxiously discussing measures "for putting an end to the pernicious exploits of political adventurers" and ridding the household of the "wolf of militarism." In fact, wheresoever two or three are gathered together to promote the interests of the "Western-learning" section of Mandarindom, the catchword inevitably emerges, ubiquitous, and wholly indifferent to the obvious fact that the warfare which is devastating China is a purely civil strife for sordid personal ends, between the "Ins" and the "Outs."

Considered in this light, all the persistent denunciations of "militarism" by the leaders of the "Outs" and their supporters, native and foreign, assume another aspect, easily reconcilable with a very definite and far-seeing policy, which was clearly manifested, to all but the wilfully blind, by China's delegates at the Washington Conference. This policy was originally framed by the group of Kuo Min-tang malcontents and "Western-learning" Intellectuals, who followed the fortunes of Sun Yat-sen, Tang Shao-yi, and Wu Ting-fang into the Cantonese wilderness, after the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai, in 1916. Its obvious purpose is to get the control of the Government of China into its own hands, and, with this object in view, to secure the sympathy of public opinion in England and America, and eventually their financial and material support. The first-class brains of the young men who have had the direction of Young China's active propaganda at and since the Washington Conference, were not slow to perceive that, in denouncing as "militarists" the Chihli faction at Peking and the Tuchuns in the provinces, while at the same time they appealed to the friendly Powers for protection against the "militarism" of Japan, they were likely to kill two very succulent

* Formerly American Minister at Peking, and now financial adviser to the Chinese Government.

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birds with one stone. They reckoned, cleverly enough, on the British and American publics' ignorance of Far Eastern affairs and on the tendency now prevalent among the better informed official circles to disregard any uncomfortable features in the situation which might conflict either with the fashionable ideals of forward-looking "Liberalism," or with the vested interests of "big business." Therefore, at Washington, Young China attributed all the prevalent disorder and distress in China to the "militarism" of the Tuchuns, and professed their desire and their ability, with America's benevolent assistance, to establish a Government on Wilsonian lines, one in which "right will reign, reason will rule, justice will prevail, and happiness will be the pursuit of life." They cheerfully overlooked, and their hearers ignored, the fact that the leaders of Young China's so-called Constitutionalist party have had ample opportunity and a free hand to apply their theories to the business of government at Canton, and that the results have been, if anything, more hopelessly chaotic than in the north. Sun Yat-sen and his friends of the "Independent Military Government" have proved themselves to be just as lacking in public spirit and administrative capacity as the Northern Tuchuns, while in the matter of "squeezing" there has been nothing to choose between them. Regardless of the sufferings of the people, both groups of officials have displayed the same insatiable appetite for money, the same feverish haste to feather their own nests, before the Powers are compelled, in their own interests, to intervene and to prevent the bankruptcy of the country, by insisting on effective and honest administration of its revenues and expenditure.

The politicians and publicists who direct Young China's propaganda possess sufficient knowledge of international affairs to enable them to perceive that when this inevitable intervention takes place, rivalries and jealousies between the foreign Powers are bound to create a delicate, if not a critical, situation. It is clear that, anticipating this situation, their present object is the same as that of every Chinese Government in the past—namely, to stimulate and increase these rivalries and jealousies, in the hope of bringing about a war, from which they expect China to derive considerable advantages, and not the least of these, they forsee, will be their own undisputed accession to rulership, as the party identified with Western principles of democracy and progress. In pursuing this policy, they have derived, and are deriving, considerable assistance from a certain section of the Press in America and Great Britain, which makes little concealment of its desire to see America take up arms against Japan, partly on grounds of precautionary national policy, and partly for the protection of China against "militarist" aggression.

To every dispassionate observer of the realities of the situation, it

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must be evident that friendly relations between America and Japan are essential to the maintenance of peace in the Far East. It must also be admitted that, in pursuing a policy of economic expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia, the rulers of Japan are acting under pressure of vital necessity far greater than that which has impelled the United States to safeguard the nation's future security by occupying the Philippines, and fortifying the Panama Canal. Nevertheless, thanks to the propagandist activities of Young China, the impression has insidiously been created in the public mind, of a gratuitously aggressive and "militarist" Japan, at whose door the civilized world may rightly lay the blame for the conflict, if and when it comes.

It requires no vivid imagination to perceive the advantages which, in this case, Chinese diplomacy hopes to gain by following the traditional policy of setting one barbarian against the other. When the Peking Government decided, after much hesitation, to throw in its lot with the Allies against Germany in 1917, they turned their knowledge of international affairs to good account in applying the ancient adage about thieves falling out. On the one hand, by denouncing their financial obligations to Germany and by seizing the property of German and Austrian subjects, and on the other by obtaining suspension of the Boxer indemnity and securing other benefits from the Allies, they reaped a goodly harvest, in return for what actually amounted to their benevolent neutrality. The experience thus gained has not been lost. In the event of war between America and Japan, it is safe to predict that the political faction which happens to be in power at Peking will speedily declare itself, in a flood of eloquence, on the American side, and then proceed to wipe out, by a stroke of the pen, the burden of the Japanese loans with which their predecessors have kept themselves in power, and their supporters in funds, since 1915.

In pursuing this policy, Young China is evidently convinced that it is backing the winning horse, and looks forward to the day when the United States victorious will not only relieve China of all further trouble with her Japanese creditors, but will stand forth before the world as the champion of the Chinese Government, in the hands henceforth of the "Western-learning" mandarins, the glib lawyers and politicians who profess their faith (without works) in the blessings of democratic institutions. The policy underlying Young China's propaganda is sufficiently obvious, and in the light of its unmistakable purposes the real significance is revealed of all its world-wide appeals for help against the "militarism" of Japan on the one hand, and that of its political rivals in China on the other.

For the present, the facile catchword finds daily utterance in the British and American Press, and, like other stock phrases, will no

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doubt preserve its hypnotic force until it has run its course and been replaced by some other fallacy in tabloid form. But sooner or later the truth must prevail and the fact be recognized, that the sorry plight of China has been brought about, not by militarism, but solely by the insatiable money-lust of the official class, more flagrant and uncontrolled under the new régime than ever it was under the Manchu dynasty. To this official corruption, the root cause of China's impending bankruptcy, "our own correspondents" in the Far East seldom allude, or if they do, they mention it incidentally, in terms of gentle deprecation, as an accidental fly in the political ointment. No doubt, like Sancho Panza, they prefer "to speak no word of halters in the house of the hanged."

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THE ITALIAN COLONY OF ERITREA

By Major H. Wilberforce-Bell

There are few parts of the world less known to Englishmen than the interesting Italian possession called "Colonia Eritrea," where communications are only now in a state of fairly adequate development, where steamship connections are few and uncertain, and where we are permanently represented by a single Englishman, representative of a well-known firm. And yet such foreign possessions should not be unknown to us—a race of colonizers—for they contain much that it is profitable for an administrator to see, and some of them at least afford lessons from which no nation should be too proud to learn. We English are rather inclined to imagine that our methods of colonizing and of ruling subject peoples are the best possible, and that our systems of development cannot well be improved. Each such country, of course, has its own particular problems to be solved; but when all allowances have been made, the Englishman who visits Eritrea is apt to be at times a little out of conceit with himself, and it is likely that there are few who would not declare, after a stay in the colony, that the Italian has to be considered in his possessions abroad before a just appreciation can be formed of his nation as a whole.

The author recently enjoyed the pleasure of staying for a short time in Eritrea, and his only fear is that within the small compass of this article he may fail to do justice to all that he saw. The area of the colony is about 45,800 square miles, which are situated between the Soudan on the north and west, the Red Sea on the east, and Abyssinia and French Somaliland on the south. Its principal port is Massowa, and the seat of government is Asmara, situated about seventy miles inland. The seaboard stretches from Cape Kasar to Cape Dumeirah, a length of 670 miles. From Daddato, where the frontiers of Eritrea, Abyssinia, and French Somaliland join, to the Endeli River the boundary runs almost parallel to the coast, and about forty miles from it. But the whole of this coastal strip, and similarly as far as Cape Kasar in the north, is sparsely populated and unproductive. Its climate is distinctly unpleasant and hot, and it constitutes some 26,000 square miles of almost barren country. Hence the colony's revenue does not cover expenditure of administration, and it is primarily what the Italians call a "political colony."

Historically Eritrea is not without considerable interest. In mediæval times it probably formed part of that kingdom ruled over by

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the legendary "Prester John," but previous to those days it is likely that the port of Massowa was the only place of real historical importance. The ancient Greeks had indeed conquered that part of the coast of Northern Africa, and had penetrated inland, leaving a colony and the worship of Mars behind them. A warrior is the only person of consequence in Abyssinia now, and perhaps this is but a result of Greek civilization. The unknown author of the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea" (which was written about the year A.D. 70 by a Greek merchant, a forerunner of our "merchant adventurers" of a later age) visited Massowa, which was then known as Adulis. The modern village of Zula, a short distance to the south of Massowa, preserves the ancient Greek name of this old port, and the unknown writer has quite a lot to say about it.

He tells us: "Below Ptolemais of the Hunts (*i.e.*, Er-Rih Island), at a distance of about 3,000 *stadia**, there is Adulis, a port established by law, lying at the inner end of a bay that runs in towards the south. Before the harbour lies the so-called 'Mountain Island,' about 200 *stadia* seaward from the very head of the bay, with the shores of the mainland close to it on both sides. Ships bound for this port now anchor here because of attacks from the land. They used formerly to anchor at the very head of the bay, by an island called Diodorus†, close to the shore, which could be reached on foot from the land; by which means the barbarous natives attacked the island. Opposite Mountain Island, on the mainland twenty *stadia* from shore, lies Adulis, a fair-sized village, from which there is a three days' journey to Coloe‡, an inland town and the first market for ivory. From that place to the city of the people called Auxumites§, there is a five days' journey more; to that place all the ivory is brought from the country beyond the Nile to the district called Cyeneum (the modern Senaar), and thence to Adulis. Practically the whole number of elephants and rhinoceros that are killed live in the places inland, although at rare intervals they are hunted on the sea coast, even near Adulis. Before the harbour of that market town, out at sea on the right hand, lie a great many little sandy islands called Alalæi||, yielding tortoise-shell, which is brought to market there by the fish-eaters. And about 800 *stadia* beyond there is another deep bay¶, with a great mound of sand piled up at the mouth of the entrance, at the bottom of which the obsidian stone is found, and this is the only place where it is produced. These places, from the calf-eaters to the other Berber country, are governed by Zoscales, who is miserly in his ways and

* About five and a half miles.

† Now called Taulud Island.

‡ The modern Kohaito.

§ Auxum (or Axum) is the ancient capital of Abyssinia, where its kings are still "crowned."

|| Now called the Dahalak Archipelago.

¶ Probably Hauakil Bay.

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always striving for more, but otherwise upright and acquainted with Greek literature. There are imported into these places undressed cloth made in Egypt for the Berbers, robes from Arsinœ*; cloaks of poor quality dyed in colours; double-fringed linen mantles; many articles of flint glass, and others of *murrhine,* made in Diospolis†; and brass which is used for ornaments, and in cut pieces instead of coin; sheets of soft copper, used for cooking utensils, and cut up for bracelets and anklets for the women; iron which is made into spears and used against the elephants and other wild beasts, and in their wars. Besides these, small axes are imported, and adzes and swords; copper drinking cups, round and large; a little coin for those coming to the market; wine of Laodicea and Italy, not much; olive oil, not much; for the king, gold and silver plate made after the fashion of the country, and for clothing, military cloaks, and thin coats of skin, of no great value. Likewise from the district of Ariaca‡ across this sea, there are imported Indian iron and steel, and Indian cotton cloth; the broad cloth called *monache,* and that called *sagmatogene,* and girdles, and coats of skin, and mallow-coloured cloth, and a few muslins and coloured lac. There are exported from these places ivory, and tortoise-shell, and rhinoceros horn. The mosé from Egypt is brought to this market from the month of January to September—that is, from Tybi to Thoth; but seasonably they put to sea about the month of September. From this place the Arabian Gulf trends towards the east, and becomes narrowest just before the Gulf of Avalites§."

So much for the ancient history of Eritrea nineteen hundred years ago, and we are given in the "Periplus" such a picture that we can easily imagine the inhospitable and sparsely populated country before it gave place gradually to the progressive influences of civilization, depriving the wild animals of their birthright, but making the evidences of man something more than a few well-worn tracks linking up a few thickly populated towns. In later days Massowa and Eritrea sank in importance, and except for the sailing from that port of the Abyssinian expedition to conquer Aden and the Yemen early in the sixth century, and the arrival there in 1520 of a Portuguese fleet, nothing of more than local interest was enacted there until the middle of the nineteenth century.

It was the Emperor John of Abyssinia, who had been crowned at Axum in 1872, who prevented Abyssinia and Eritrea from becoming a part of Egypt. Mehemet Ali, after conquering the Soudan, negotiated with Turkey for the lease of Massowa. His successor, Ismail, established himself before 1875 along the whole of this part of the African coast, and it was only after being twice defeated by

* Ancient Suez, so called after the wife of Ptolemy.

† Probably Thebes. ‡ Kathiawar and Cutch in India.

§ The modern Zeyla, in British Somaliland.

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the Emperor John, and after Egypt's relinquishment of the Soudan as a result of the Mahdi's insurrection of 1884, that the Egyptian menace disappeared. It was the Egyptians who were in control of Massowa when in 1868 part of Sir Robert Napier's force landed there prior to its advance into Abyssinia, which was destined to lead to the victory of Magdala, and the subsequent withdrawal of the English from the country. This withdrawal, and the disappearance of the Egyptians from the stage of Abyssinian affairs, rendered possible the Italian colonization of Eritrea.

Italy first secured her footing in 1869, when the Rubattino Steamship Company purchased Asab, at the southernmost end of the Eritrean coast, from a local chief, on the successful construction of the Suez Canal, and the consequent complete change brought about in the relationship of the Red Sea ports with the world's commerce. Some thirteen years later the Italian Government occupied Beilul and Massowa. But they found that to hold these places was valueless without their holding some of the highlands as well. And so they began to think of advancing to more salubrious altitudes. But the Abyssinians were on the alert, and the first Italian troops in the colony were surrounded near Dogali (a little place now on the Massowa-Asmara railway) by an overwhelming number of Abyssinians, who exterminated them after an heroic resistance. The graves of these brave Italian soldiers are now a landmark for miles, and not even the hill near by, from which the Emperor John is said to have watched the battle, is more conspicuous. The fallen Italians were soon replaced, their enemies were brought to a standstill, and, other diversions supervening, the Abyssinian opposition to Italian interests upon their borders diminished in intensity. The Italians gradually extended their territory inland, and on January 1, 1890, their possessions in this part of the world became known as "Colonia Eritrea." But they had been going on too fast, and wished to establish a protectorate over Abyssinia, which the proud people of that country much resented.

In 1889 they had drawn up a treaty with Menelek, John's successor. By this Treaty of Uccialli, the Italian protectorate over Abyssinia was announced in a clause which provided that the employment of Italy in treating of all matters between Abyssinia and other nations was agreed to by Menelek. But shortly afterwards Menelek denounced this clause, and each party made accusations of bad faith against the other, which resulted two or three years later in a resort to arms. The Abyssinians crossed the Eritrean frontier, but two actions fought at Koatit and Senafé went in favour of the Italians, who advanced to Adowa.

Early in 1896, an Italian force of four brigades under General Baratieri, consisting of 8,000 white and 6,500 native troops and 56

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guns, came in touch with an Abyssinian army numbering over 100,000 men, and the resulting action was an Italian disaster. They lost 4,000 men killed, 2,000 prisoners, and the whole of their guns, and only an inadequate water supply compelled Menelek to retire. Meanwhile General Baldissera arrived with reinforcements, and a force besieged at Addi Grat was relieved; but when peace was concluded six months afterwards at Adis Ababa, the Treaty of Uccialli was annulled, and Menelek's complete independence recognized. And so matters have since remained politically, although in 1902 the province of Kunama was surrendered by Abyssinia to form part of Eritrea.

During the Great War internal strife in Abyssinia ensured the immunity of Eritrea from attack, but at one time a Mohammedan rising in favour of Turkey seemed likely to involve the whole of Northern Africa in a religious war. This threat happily passed without being realized, and Italy has been free to develop the colony in which she takes so much pride.

Every maritime country has a "gate," or principal port of entry. Thus Portugal has Lisbon; the United States has New York; France has Le Havre in the north and Marseilles in the south; India has Bombay; and similarly Massowa is the "gate" of Eritrea. It is not a pleasant port, and it has the evil reputation of being the hottest place on the Red Sea. Certainly the author has no wish to test the accuracy of this dictum by visiting other Red Sea ports between the months of April and October, for in May and July he found Massowa almost unbearable. The modern harbour is not without beauty. Beyond it are the high Eritrean and Abyssinian mountains, and the Mountain Island described by the author of the "Periplus" is certainly an object of majestic beauty still. There is a causeway connecting Taulud Island with the mainland. Here the author is constrained to contest with the ancients the name which they gave to this island. "Diodorus" must surely have been adopted in irony, for it is difficult to imagine a gift which possesses less divine attributes than this hot and sandy island. Rank vegetation grows in the shallow waters which surround it; heat radiates from its very soil; and when a breath of wind stirs by any chance the oppressive atmosphere above it, the accompanying dust is almost stifling. As if all these discomforts were not enough wherewith to plague the unhappy mortal whose lot is cast in Massowa, the place is subject to severe earthquakes, the most recent of which, taking place a year or two ago, has rendered unsafe nearly every building which was left standing. So every evening, when the sun goes down, hundreds of Arabs and others "trek" across the island to the sandy plain beyond, where temporary erections ensure at least that they will not be crushed by masonry in the event of another earthquake taking place. The ancient Greeks were

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somewhat mixed in their divinities when they named the island "Diodorus"!

The government offices, the railway station, and the only passable hotel are built upon the island of Taulud. But none of them are objects of art, and the more imposing building of the Banca d'Italia does not compensate for Massowa's architectural deficiencies. The view from the island in the early morning is extremely beautiful, when the tinges of dawn serve to show up Mountain Island in singular contrast, and the water between is still, save for occasional birds flighting across it, and fishermen upon it plying their profession from inflated skins, as probably their ancestors did thousands of years ago.

Massowa is connected with Asmara, the capital of the colony, by a railway which is seventy-four miles in length, and at Ghinda, forty-four miles along the line, the ascent to the highlands can really be said to begin. The flat part of the journey has nothing to recommend it, since it passes through country void of all scenic interest—excepting, of course, the monuments at Dogali. Its hills and hillocks are treeless, its rivers and streams are dry, and it is what it appears to be, namely, a haunt for the jackal, the hyæna, and the wild pig. But beyond Ghinda the hills become mountains of singular grandeur, and the gradual change of climate due to increasing elevation is almost momentarily perceptible. It is a wonderful piece of engineering—this broad-gauge mountain railway. It winds its way among the mountains ever upwards, and occasionally the traveller looks out upon a sheer drop of hundreds of feet to the bed of a ravine far below. Between Ghinda and Asmara are twenty-nine tunnels, one of which is over 800 yards in length. The Italians may well be proud of this railway. Its construction is at places on the engineering border of safety, and yet it is perfectly secure. It is like the Kalka-Simla railway, only much more so, or like a mountain line in Switzerland or Northern Italy, and its principal drawback is its want of strategic value, for a train may only weigh thirty tons—engine and rolling stock included—to perform in safety its stiff climb from tropical heat to temperate coolness. The journey is one of six hours, and trains run three days a week each way.

Asmara is situated almost on the edge of the highland plateau which extends through Eritrea and Abyssinia. It is nearly 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, and climatically and otherwise—excepting for the absence of trees—is like a piece of Italy set in Africa. All who can do so build for themselves villas, of which no two are alike. And the residential part of Asmara is a soothing sight in July and August, when the villas are surrounded by every sort of flower, and the scent of the honeysuckle takes the thoughts back to summer days in England. The soil of Eritrea is very fertile, and almost anything grows there. Florally speaking, there are no seasons, and the violet

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is very nearly a "perennial." But Asmara is unfinished in appearance. It possesses a fine Government House, good government buildings, and an imposing opera house, but many private buildings are unfinished—a legacy, no doubt, of the years of the Great War—and heaps of building débris lie everywhere. No doubt the time will come when an efficient municipality will remove these abuses. The town is well planned on the European model, and electric light and hot and cold water are not the least of Asmara's attractions. The Franciscans are on the point of completing a fine cathedral, and to see them at work in habit and cowl carried one back to mediæval Europe. The church is characteristic, and with its chancel ceiling painted to represent a starlit sky, it has all the air of what a new English church must have looked like during the Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular Periods of our architecture. But the Italian Government is not bigoted, for it has presented to the Coptic and Mohammedan communities a church and a mosque, both noble in appearance, which has done much to increase their popularity with the natives.

There is an important bacteriological laboratory at Asmara, where it is said that the first successful introduction of the monkey's thyroid gland to a human being was effected, and the hero of this incident is pointed out to the curious—with what accuracy, I am unable to say.

Besides being the headquarters of the Government of the colony, Asmara is also the chief town of the province of Hamasen, and the remaining seven provinces are situated around the central district. Cheren, the chief town of the province of the same name, is perhaps the principal place in the colony after Asmara. The railway now extends to it, and its successful button industry is likely to lead to an increase in its importance. It is at a somewhat lower altitude than Asmara, and access to it by railway is a great advantage. Gold has been found in the colony, but the possibilities in this line have not been fully exploited, and an English firm of prospectors has, it is said, not been allowed to develop further the mines.

Communications generally are poor throughout the colony, and road-making is done chiefly by the Eritrean Battalions, who dislike the six months annually which they have to put in of this fatigue when they are not fighting in Tripoli or serving elsewhere. The Eritrean soldier has of recent years been much used in Tripoli—not always with success, for his discipline is not up to a high standard. But he is a brave soldier, and as the career of a warrior is about the only one looked up to by the Abyssinians, there is no dearth of recruits. A battalion goes to Tripoli or to Italian Somaliland for six months at a time, and the families of those killed in action are given, not a pension, but "blood money" for the fallen, the Government assuming the place of the slayer for the purpose.

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There are about 4,000 Italians in Eritrea, and they form the bulk of the petty traders in Asmara, though Indians, Abyssinians, and Arabs are the principal shopkeepers in the native quarter. There are also Italian colonists engaged throughout the more habitable parts of the colony in farming and agriculture. But all land taken up for this or any other Government purpose is well paid for, and the Italians, by their fair dealing with the native, have got him entirely on their side, and have earned his respect. Quite recently the Governor, Marchese Cherina Ferroni, who was formerly a naval officer, and whom the author had the privilege of meeting, was obliged to make room for a nominee of Signor Mussolini's, Doctor Gasparini, and it is said that the colonists are likely in some cases to be dispossessed of their farms. There is considerable perturbation in the colony just at present on the subject. The proper development of Eritrea appears to want an intensifying of the scheme of settling the Italian upon the land, which is very productive, and the more of it that can be put under systematic cultivation, the better.

The Eritrean native is really an Abyssinian, and he has all the virtues and failings of that people. He is dignified and pleasant to meet, and his Coptic branch of Christianity is a distinct link between him and the Italian. But his Christianity is of a low order, and is considerably mixed with paganism. He is virile, and on ceremonial occasions the man who has killed a lion has the right to wear the mane round his face; such a man is a great hero. The Abyssinian has no ear for music, and the weird sound occasioned by the music in the throng of a chief's retainers has not been heard elsewhere by the author. The " band " consists of three or four men, each of whom plays one note in turn, like the hand system of ringing a peal of bells. The party will go for hours upon a road in this way, the chief seated upon a mule surrounded by his retainers carrying rifles or spears, and preceded by the " band." The Eritrean women are regarded as are all Eastern women. They wear their hair tied in a series of plaits, worked back over the head. As a result their heads look rather a ploughed field, for in between each plait (and there are from ten to fifteen of these) the top of the head shows. They carry their infants in a skin decorated with shells, which is tied on the back, round the waist, and over the shoulders, keeping the baby warm and allowing its head to stick out of the top and its feet out of the sides. Most of the men wear a Coptic cross suspended round the neck by a cord, on which can also often be seen a long silver instrument, which is used to supplement soap and water in the ears. They are a homely people, these Abyssinians, but very cruel to their animals. A R.S.P.C.A. is very badly needed in Eritrea. They are generally illiterate, and only a few of them have been educated by the Franciscans.

It is a curious sight to see a crowd of them sitting around a village

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letter-reader, who reads aloud what each letter contains, in such a way that such a thing as a secret cannot exist, and a scandal is likely very soon to become a commonplace. But this institution is eternally Eastern! The Italian likes the Abyssinian. Some Italians have Abyssinian wives and families, and some who have married twice have both Italian and Abyssinian families. Such a remark as "This is my Abyssinian family, and this is my Italian daughter," is not altogether rare. All the same, there is no general intermarriage between the two peoples, and the social relations are a compromise between our system in India and that adopted by the Portuguese in Goa. But a white man can wander about the colony in perfect safety; and it is necessary to know something of conditions in the neighbouring countries of Abyssinia and Somaliland to understand all that this remark signifies.

At Senafé there is an English cemetery, of which the officer commanding the troops in Eritrea, Tenente Colonnello Frusci, kindly gave the author a photograph. It depicts the grave of Colonel Dunn, V.C., of the 33rd Duke of Wellington's Regiment, who was accidentally killed there while out shooting during our Abyssinian campaign against Theodore. Senafé was used as an advanced base, but was not at the time, of course, Italian territory. Judging from the photographs, the graves are well cared for, but the author had not the opportunity to visit them himself. He learnt that the last Englishman to pay a visit to them was a naval officer in the earlier days of the Great War.

There are some Eritrean memories which will never fade—the pleasant railway journey away from the heat up the mountains; the bracing atmosphere of the highlands; the kindly welcome of the Italians; the courteous bearing of the Abyssinians; the flowers and the honeysuckle; and the Franciscans building their cathedral. And not least of all, perhaps, the humour of an old Italian priest, whose age was said to be 92, and who spent much time drinking coffee in the restaurant towards the evening of his days. He had had an eventful life which he took a delight in recounting. He had been captured by the Mahdi, and had spent ten years in durance vile. After he had been five years in this unhappy condition, his captors took pity on him and gave him an Abyssinian girl to wife. At this point in its recital his story stopped, and the question then naturally asked him was, "And what did you do?" To which he invariably replied, "I did my duty!" But he left us none the wiser after all. And, yet again, there is another thought. The good wine of Capri can be obtained very cheaply in Eritrea, and there is plenty of it. What a contrast with conditions there nineteen hundred years ago, when the writer of the "Periplus" was moved to say that at Massowa there was "of the wine of Italy—not much"!

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REVIEWS

LANDS OF THE THUNDERBOLT. By the Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Constable and Co.

It is a truism that the busiest men have the most time to spare. We need therefore feel no surprise that, while occupied in the arduous task of governing Bengal, Lord Ronaldshay found time to travel in the countries with which this volume deals, and during his journeys to amass a large store of interesting and instructive information. He shares, perhaps, the view of a distinguished statesman of last century to the effect that the best holiday is to be found in a change of occupation.

The book deals with the States, known to Europeans as Sikkim and Bhutan, in the Eastern Himalaya, and with the Tibetan district, known as the Chumbi Valley, that presses forward like a wedge between them. Here and there intervene chapters which give information concerning the origin and development of the Buddhist religion.

Sikkim is fairly well known. Its cool, pure air, its scenery, grand and beautiful beyond description, and the charm of its people, combine to render it, in spite of leeches and torrential rain, a popular playground for Europeans from the plains of Bengal. The author possesses in a high degree the faculty of observation, the power of understanding the import of what he sees, and—what is no less important—the ability to place the result graphically before his readers. He has also visited one of the most interesting places in Sikkim—the highly venerated monastery of Tashiding, which has but seldom been explored by travellers.

In the Chumbi Valley, too, the author had the good-fortune to vary the ordinary round of travel by seeing a Tibetan oracle in action. The setting of this scene is well described, the tremors of the seer, the increasing violence of the crashing cymbals, the two-edged sword, the low, guttural prophecies painfully choked out, and the final collapse when " he fell back limp and motionless as a corpse, propped hideously against the back of the throne."

A journey to Jongri and beyond, along the base of the great snow mountains, shows us the autumnal beauties of high altitudes in Sikkim. The description of sky, mountain, and forest is admirable.

A brief synopsis of the recent history of Bhutan prefaces the portion of the book that deals with Lord Ronaldshay's visit to this

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country, the interior of which has hitherto been but little visited by Europeans or Indians. We find ourselves in a mediæval world. The castle of twelfth-century England with its barbican, its bailey and its keep, is found in each of the larger *dzongs*, for Bhutan is even now in the feudal stage, both as regards its government and the life of its people. Among other places visited were *Duk-gye Dzong*, the cliff-bound *Tak-tsang* monastery and the massive *dzong* at *Paro*, whose chief entertained the party with true Bhutanese hospitality.

The chapters on Buddhism deal *inter alia* with the life of Buddha, the earlier and later doctrines, the University of Nalanda, and modern Lamaïsm. It is evident that the author has made a careful study of this branch of his subject, and has consulted trustworthy authorities. An exceptionally good chapter on "The Outstanding Glory of Buddhism" concludes the volume.

It was not to be expected that a book of this kind should escape imputations of error. The travels occurred in the brief intervals of a busy life, and the traveller had of necessity not sufficient time to thread the intricacies of the history and language of Tibet and her neighbours. Accordingly we find Damthang translated as "The Meadow of Mud," whereas the rendering "Mud Flat" is at once more correct and more descriptive. Tak-tshang might preferably be rendered "The Tiger's Lair" rather than "The Tiger's Nest," for the word *tshang* has a wide application. The Dharma Raja of Bhutan is not *Druk Gye-po*, but *Shaptung Rimpo-che*. The phonetic rendering of Punaka's summer resort is, in the writer's opinion, *Tashi Chödzong* rather than *Tassi-chu Jong*. And it may be permitted to doubt whether this place can be accurately described—though often so described in the past—as the summer capital of the country, for neither the Maharaja of Bhutan nor his Council go into residence there. *Fadung* in Sikkim might preferably be spelt Podang, the Sikkimese pronunciation of *Potrang*, the Tibetan word for palace.

On the historical side we are told something of the Dalai Lama's flight to India, but hardly enough to enable us to understand the inner purport of this event.

It is natural that the author should notice the machine-like work of the prayer-wheel, remarking that "truly the vain repetitions of the Pharisees pale into insignificance before this prodigious outpouring." There is no doubt a measure of justice in this, but to the people themselves the prayer-wheel and the other symbols of their Faith mean far more than this mechanical output would seem to suggest. It is only fair to add that in general the author's comments show an understanding sympathy as well as a keen insight.

"Lands of the Thunderbolt" is written in an attractive style, and is furnished with illustrations of an unusually high order.

C. B.

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PATIALA AND THE GREAT WAR. Printed by the India Society, London, 1923.

This little book is an admirably written and excellently illustrated summary of the services in the Great War of the premier Punjab State under the inspiration of its gallant ruler H.H. Major-General Sir Bupendra Singh. The loyalty of the great Sikh house of Patiala to the Crown and Government of Great Britain had been proved in every crisis of the Indian Empire, beginning from 1809, when the State first came into direct relations with the British Government in India. The services of the Patiala State and its princes had been of great value in the Sikh wars, the Sepoy Mutiny, the Afghan wars, and the various frontier campaigns. These services had brought credit to the State and honour to its rulers. But they were eclipsed by the record of loyalty and valour established in the Great War—a record which transcends that of any Native State in India, with the possible exception of Jammu and Kashmir. The Native States of India, being still under direct personal government, respond in a way which the Western mind can hardly conceive to the inspiration and impelling force of their rulers; and when that ruler is a prince, endowed with the personality of the present Maharaja of Patiala, the results achieved are indeed remarkable. What the Maharaja asked his people to do in connection with the war was aptly summed up by him in his appeal at a great recruiting Durbar:

"Give all thou canst,
High Heaven rejects the love
Of nicely calculated less or more."

His Highness and his people translated those words into action. The Imperial Service troops—cavalry and infantry—were among the first to take the field and won glory for themselves and honour for their prince by their services in Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.

Soon 10,000 men were mobilized for the Imperial Service troops, expanded to meet war requirements, and the subsidiary forces, such as Camel Corps (three), Mule Corps (two), and other valuable transport. But apart from these, the State furnished some 18,000 recruits—nearly all combatants, and the majority of them Jat Sikhs of fine fighting qualities—to the Indian Army. A contribution of 28,000 men, from a State with a population of one and a half millions, was an achievement only equalled by Jammu-Kashmir, and our gallant ally, Nepal.

The Maharaja might have pleaded that his resources in man-power should be conserved for his own regiments. But that was not his conception of his duty to the King-Emperor. The writer of this review was at the time directing the recruiting campaign in the Punjab, which in four years produced 350,000 combatants

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for the Indian army; and he can confidently say that Patiala's example was a great source of strength and support to him in those critical years, especially in its influence among the Sikhs, from whom 90,000 fighting men were raised out of a total population of about two and a half millions. In those days the Akalis had not been heard of; the Sikhs were proud of the part they were playing as "pillars of the Empire." The Maharaja, on the outbreak of the war, had been among the first of the Indian princes to offer his personal services, and early in October, 1914, left with his troops for the Western front. Serious illness compelled him to return from Aden, but that disappointment was a blessing in disguise, for His Highness was able to render greater services to the Empire in directing and stimulating the war efforts of his people, and setting a fine example of loyalty to his brother princes down to May, 1918, when he left for Europe to represent India in the Imperial Conference and War Cabinet. That mission brought him into contact with most of the great statesmen and commanders who were directing the movements of the Allied forces in the final struggle for victory, and His Highness had the good-fortune to visit both the Western and the Palestine fronts when Haig, Foch, and Allenby were preparing for that great last push.

It was appropriate that an Indian prince who had mobilized all the resources of his State in men, money, and materials, in the service of the King-Emperor, should be an eye-witness of the preparations for the final struggle in the two great theatres of war. The Maharaja returned to his State in September, and threw himself with enthusiasm into the recruiting campaign which was still in full swing when the armistice brought the glad news of Germany's complete collapse.

The writer, who was then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, received a telegram of congratulation from the Maharaja, and quotes from page 501 of the book the reply he sent to His Highness: "Delighted to receive Your Highness's congratulations. Armistice terms just published show completeness of our victory. Heartily congratulate Your Highness on Patiala's splendid contribution to the Punjab war effort, on participation by Patiala troops in the final triumph in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and on the inspiring example set by Your Highness as premier prince of the Punjab at all stages of the conflict." About 1,000 of the soldiers of Patiala gave up their lives in the Allied cause. The State emerged from the struggle with a brighter lustre and prouder traditions, and the prince, who set such a splendid example of loyal service, won laurels such as had fallen to none of his many distinguished ancestors. He has now the Order of the Grand Cross or Grand Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, the Star of India, the Indian Empire and the British Empire, besides several of the highest foreign orders. They all sit well on his manly breast, for they have been well earned by personal devotion in the

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service of the King-Emperor, the appeal that will always meet with a response from the loyal princes and peoples of India.

M. F. O'DWYER.

THE ADVENTURES OF HAJJI BABA. By James Morier. (New Edition.) Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. World's Classics Series.

It has been said that anyone wishing to obtain a general knowledge of Persia should read two books—Curzon's "Persia" and Morier's "Adventures of Hajji Baba"; and it is certain that few Europeans have so thoroughly grasped the peculiarities of the Persian character, and that none has succeeded so well in depicting them as did James Morier in his delightful romance.

It is now almost exactly a century ago that the book was first published, and though contact with Europeans has added a thin veneer of Western civilization, at least among the official classes, the main characteristics of the Persians, their manners and customs and modes of thought remain substantially as they were when Morier knew them. As a picture of Persian life, "Hajji Baba" is without a rival, and we heartily commend it to every student of the East who has not already read it. It should, in fact, appeal to a larger circle of readers, for apart from the entertaining adventures of the hero, an educated Persian acquaintance of mine, who was asked to criticize the book when first translated into Persian, surprised us with the comment that "it gave such an excellent description of Europeans"—perhaps a novel point of view to most Englishmen, but one that might help us "to see ourselves as others see us." We therefore welcome the addition of this diverting story to the World's Classics Series published by the Oxford University Press. The volume is edited, with an introduction and a few explanatory notes, by Mr. C. W. Stewart, and includes the original footnotes of the Author in the editions published in 1824 and 1835. It is a handy size for the pocket (6 inches by 4), and in spite of the small space occupied by its 450 pages, the print is clear and easily read. A small map showing the principal places mentioned in the text is added at the end of the volume.

J. A. D.

ADVENTURES IN THE NEAR EAST, 1918-1922. By A. Rawlinson, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O. (late Lieut.-Colonel R.G.A. and Commander R.N.V.R.). Melrose. 25s. net.

In this book Lieut.-Colonel "Toby" Rawlinson, brother of the Commander-in-Chief in India, tells the story of his adventures in Persia, Baku, and Eastern Anatolia. The book is very sensibly divided into three parts, each of which is sponsored by a distinguished

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soldier, the commander for the time being under whom the author was employed.

In his preface, Colonel Rawlinson, by throwing himself on the generosity of his readers, goes some way to disarm criticism. He may be very sure that they will suffer him gladly, not only on account of the variety of his experiences but also for the simple and straightforward way in which he tells of them. Unfortunately, however, the many minor inaccuracies which occur in Part I. of the book somewhat detract from its historical value. Except that it would be a misfortune to be deprived of Colonel Rawlinson's own account of his share in the evacuation of Baku, in charge of a ship full of munitions and manned by a Bolshevik crew, it would have been better, perhaps, had Part I. been altogether omitted. While passing through Mesopotamia on his way to Kazvin, Colonel Rawlinson seems to have been ready to accept as fact any idle gossip as to past events or present conditions. Incidentally it will irritate many of his readers to find the Shatt-el-Arab constantly referred to as "the Euphrates."

The author is not strictly correct in stating that the real object of "Dunsterforce" was the keeping of Persia from the Turk. The original rôle of the force was to proceed to Transcaucasia to organize the tribes of the district and the refugees from the Russian Caucasian army into a disciplined force. With this it was hoped that German influence might be prevented from extending across the Caspian, among the Turkman tribes and so on through Afghanistan to India. Also it was desired to prevent a large quantity of cotton, which was lying on the eastern shore of the Caspian, from being transported across that sea to Germany, where it was urgently required. The force was to be self-contained on arrival at its destination. When it was found impossible for it to carry out its mission it was retained in Persia and given the task of holding North-West Persia and Caspian Sea. The protection of the road from Mesopotamia to Enzeli then became necessary, owing to the country being famine-stricken and supplies negligible.

The author himself will probably regret, on further reflection, that he has permitted himself some rather "cheap" sneers at the expense of various administrative staff officers at headquarters and on the lines of communication. On his part, he seems to have been rather prone to leave the troops under his command to look after themselves at times when it might be thought that their comfort and safety should have been his chief concern. With a larger military experience he would no doubt have realized that an officer owes a duty to the troops under his command greater than that which he owes to himself, or even to a superior commander who unnecessarily risks his life, without escort, in a hostile country.

It is also very much to be regretted that the book ends on a note

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of complaint as to the treatment which the author received as regards his pension and compensation. Presumably he was dealt with in accordance with the regulations formulated by the Ministry of Pensions, which are usually considered to have been generous. It cannot be expected that any officer who chose to carry about with him on service such unauthorized equipment as a private battery of machine-guns should have a right to compensation from the State in the event of their being lost.

With this exception, the two last parts of the book are wonderful reading. These, respectively, cover the two periods during which Colonel Rawlinson was employed on special service in Eastern Anatolia, supervising the disarmament of the Turkish forces and investigating the conditions obtaining in those regions. While this portion of the book reads like the finest romance, it will be valued by many for the clearness and moderation with which the author describes the various happenings along the old Turko-Russian frontier. At that time the Supreme Council at Versailles was endeavouring to formulate a policy on which to base a settlement of the conflicting claims of Armenians, Georgians, Kurds, and Tartars. These nations were, however, already seriously infected by the germ of "self-determination," and were experiencing all the usual symptoms of the disease as it appears in the Near and Middle East—massacre, looting, rapine, and atrocity.

Colonel Rawlinson relates how his suspicions that the Turks were not intending to carry out the provisions of the Armistice terms were confirmed, and tells of his escape to Batum to report. Of great interest are the accounts of his visits to local Kurdish chiefs, in his attempt to probe local feeling and conditions. At the end of Part II. he tells of his orders to evacuate the members of his mission, while he himself returned to Constantinople, bearing with him a copy of the National Pact handed to him by Mustapha Kemal Pasha. It is not stated whether this copy was identical with the terms of the Pact as subsequently published to the world. The point is of interest.

After a brief visit to England, Rawlinson was again dispatched to Anatolia. On this occasion he had received secret verbal instructions to endeavour to see Mustapha Kemal in person and find out what terms of peace the Turks were expecting to obtain. Judging by his account of the interviews which he had with the Commander-in-Chief in Constantinople and with the Minister for Foreign Affairs in London, it seems that the Government then in power had no idea as to what it intended to do with the victory which had been so hardly won by its soldiers in the East. It is apparent that there was some doubt as to whether the Allies were still in a position to dictate terms. For this equivocal position those at home, notably the Labour Party, who so loudly and insistently called for immediate and hasty demobi-

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lization, must be held largely responsible. But the Government, which weakly gave in to ignorant clamour and failed to retain the military strength necessary to enforce the terms granted to the defeated enemy, can certainly not be acquitted of blame. No surprise will be felt at the bitter words wrung from the author when, in degradation and disgust, he and his brave companions were flung into the common jail at Erzeroum, by an enemy who had been beaten to his knees and had been ready to accept any reasonable terms only twenty-eight months previously.

Colonel Rawlinson has an easy style and a command of descriptive language of much beauty. In a few simple phrases he is able to make his reader see the enchanting freshness of a grassy, flower-strewn orchard, in which he and his companions rested after experiencing the rigours of a march over a rocky, snowbound mountain pass. He seems to make one hear the tragic sweetness of a violin, played by his fellow-captive, a Russian aristocrat, who lay dying in his cell in the Erzeroum jail, where " both he and his wife and child grew daily weaker, but who would pour out his whole suffering soul in purest melody," while the Armenian prisoners in their ragged filth, sang the old songs of their country, " to which they would impart an amount of plaintive sorrow and sentimental pathos in proportion to the misery of their present condition and the hopelessness of their future prospects." No more poignant story has been written than that of the sufferings of the " little army " in captivity. Plain and unvarnished, in simple language, the sickening, sordid, but proud story is detailed. And one wonders how many others of our men suffered similar torture and starvation both before and after the Armistice, nor ever returned to give an account of the horrors to which they were subjected. Admirably and courageously written in the author's *apologia* for those responsible for his confinement. That he can still plead, with all the earnestness at his command, " that the inevitable policy of our country must always be to establish friendly relations with Turkey," proves the broadmindedness, the courage and the honour of a very gallant man. There is here a moral for those who, by a vacillating policy, allowed the fruits of victory to slip from their grasp, and who in the end found themselves in the position of having to grant to a once penitent foe whatever terms of peace he, in his new rôle of vainglorious conqueror, felt disposed to demand.

E. J. B.

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OBITUARIES

COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.

COLONEL KELLY, one of the original members of this Society and, for some years, also a member of its Council, died in London on June 20, 1923. From the prominent part which he played in the relief of Chitral in March – April, 1895, he was long known as "Chitral" Kelly. He was born on November 28, 1843, received his first Commission on September 11, 1863, and joined the Indian Staff Corps on August 30, 1867. He seemingly saw no active service till 1891, when he took part in the Hazara and (2nd) Miranzai Expeditions. For these he received a medal with two clasps.

In March, 1895, chance threw in his way as strenuous a bit of work as a frontier soldier could desire. Kelly at that moment was commanding the 32nd Pioneers at Gilgit. On March 22 he received orders by telegram from Calcutta to take command of the Gilgit District and to co-operate in the relief of Chitral with another force marching straight from India via the Malakand Pass and Dir under General Sir Robert Low. Chitral was held by a garrison commanded by Captain C. P. Campbell, of the Central India Horse, whose death in May last in California was recorded in *The Times* of June 27, 1923. Campbell's second in command was Captain C. V. F. Townshend, also of the Central India Horse, and now best known as the resolute defender of Kut-el-Amara in Mesopotamia during the European War of 1914-18. It is not proposed, indeed it is out of the question, to follow Colonel Kelly throughout his remarkable and laborious march from Gilgit to Chitral. The story of it has been told by Sir George Robertson, by the two Younghusbands, by Lieutenant W. G. L. Beynon, and by Mr. H. C. Thomson. The frontispiece of Mr. Younghusband's book reproduces the officers of the column which relieved, and that of Thomson's book the officers of the garrison which defended, Chitral. Two of the former, Lieutenants Cobbe (now Lieut.-General Sir A. S. Cobbe, V.C.) and Moberly (now Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly, C.B.) are members of the Central Asian Society.

For his services in relieving Chitral Colonel Kelly received the thanks of the Government of India and the Companionship of the Bath, and was made an A.D.C. to the Queen. He subsequently held

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the post of Colonel on the Staff at Sialkot, and retired in 1900. He died at the age of seventy-nine. His funeral took place at Romsey Abbey, after a service at St. Philip's, Earl's Court Road, on June, 23, 1923. A. C. Y.

SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir Evan James was one of the original members of the Central Asian Society and had served on its Council for many years. As far back as 1885 he had intended to travel in Central Asia with his fellow-member of the Indian Civil Service, A. D. Carey. But being unable to obtain leave in that year he had to abandon the project; and he then formed the idea of exploring Manchuria, which in those days was unknown beyond the coastline and the main trade routes. The results of the journey which he carried out in 1886 were published in his book "The Long White Mountain," which was the standard book on Manchuria for many years and opened the eyes of the world to the rich possibilities of that fertile and populous country.

James, after a long and distinguished service in India, undertook many other journeys in different parts of the world, mostly in pursuit of his main interest, natural history; and he never fulfilled his original intention of travelling in Central Asia. But he always took a keen interest in the Central Asian Society, and long after his health had seriously broken down he made a point of attending the meetings of the Council and listening to the addresses. F. E. Y.

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CHAIRMEN OF COUNCIL SINCE 1901

1901-02. General Sir Thomas Gordon, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.

1902-04. The Right Hon. Sir A. C Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., I.C.S.

1904-06. Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.

1906-07. General Sir Edward Collen, G.C.I.E., C.B.

1907-08. Valentine Chirol, Esq. (now Sir V. Chirol.)

1908-14. The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

1914-17. The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

1917-18. Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B.

1919-23. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., etc.

1923. The Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

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NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Lady MacGregor for a valuable gift of books from the library of the late Major-General Sir Charles MacGregor, and Colonel Etherton for a copy of his book "Across the Roof of the World."

Books received for review:

"Adventures in the Near East." By A. Rawlinson, C.M.G.
"The Semitic Religions." By D. M. Kay, M.C.
"The Adventures of Hajji Baba." By James Morier (World's Classics Series).

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal.*

It may be of interest to members of this Society to learn that one of our members, Mr. F. W. Chardin, late Assistant Political Officer, Government of Iraq, is a partner in the Overseas Bureau for Travel, 83, Pall Mall, S.W. This bureau makes a speciality of booking passages to, and arranging travel accommodation in, Egypt and the Near East, and has been entrusted by the Nairn Transport Company of Beyrout with the booking of passages by the overland mail route between Haifa, Damascus, and Baghdad.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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1924

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PALESTINE AFTER THE WAR

By Colonel E. W. Costello, V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution on Thursday, October 11, 1923, Sir Maurice de Bunsen presiding. Before commencing the lecture, the Chairman called on General Sir Raleigh Egerton to speak.

General Sir Raleigh Egerton (*Hon. Secretary*): Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have only to announce that thirty-five new members have joined since our last meeting, bringing the total membership up to seven hundred and fifty. The energy of the other Honorary Secretary has produced this satisfactory increase of membership, and we hope you will all use your best endeavours to get new members to join. We should like to attain the number of one thousand within the next eighteen months.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have now to introduce to you our lecturer this evening, Colonel Costello. This Society has certainly shown no lack of interest in the subject of Palestine, as the last number of our *Journal* will show, containing in the first place a very interesting address by Sir Wyndham Deedes, and secondly the account of our Annual Dinner, with the speech of our principal guest, Lord Milner; so that we approach the subject with some knowledge of it and with a great deal of interest. It is a subject that of course excites a good deal of controversy still. I confess that the impression left on my mind from what we have already heard is that whatever one's view might be about the original policy of Zionism and of our position in Palestine, now that this policy has come apparently to stay, we may at least be satisfied, all of us, that—whatever we may think of that—the administration we have given to the country is a first-class administration, and has been very well carried on, in the way that British administration is carried on in many parts of the world, holding the balance even between the conflicting interests, and seeing fair play done as far as possible all round. That, I think, we may feel is the case. Colonel Costello has had a great deal of experience in Palestine. He has been there really, I understand, three times since the Armistice; he has commanded the brigade of troops there, and he has also been instrumental in raising the Defence Force—a force of Arabs and Jews—and running that for a time; and about that I have no doubt he will be kind enough to tell us. No one better than he is in a position to give us really authentic and first-

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hand information about what he has seen and what he has known about the position in Palestine. I introduce him to you with great pleasure.

THE LECTURE.

Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As a member of this Society returning from the Near East, I have been asked by the Council to review some aspects of Palestine and its affairs as they presented themselves to me since the war. I will endeavour to confine myself to facts, and to avoid speculation as to reasons of Higher Policy.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS.—The Armistice with Turkey on October 31, 1918, found us wondering what would be done with the large tracts of country which British, Colonial, and Indian soldiers had conquered from the Turks, and which we then policed so expensively, in Mesopotamia and Palestine. They might have been embodied in the Empire, as we had done last century with our conquests from France, or they might have been colonized, like Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

There were great wastes which needed population, and the idea of colonization appealed to those of us who had sacrificed their businesses or careers when they joined up for the war.

MESOPOTAMIA.—Australians might have been settled in Palestine, or Indians rewarded by placing some of them to revive the population and wealth of Mesopotamia. We owed nothing to the Arabs of that country. When Turkish subjects they had quite rightly fought against us. The tribesmen had on many occasions attacked us treacherously when we were in difficulties; at other times they had thrown their lot in with us and submitted to our authority after we had occupied their country, and because they thought we meant to stay; they had not contributed towards our conquest, and to the Mesopotamians as a whole we owed nothing.

ARABIA.—In Arabia proper matters were different. King Hussein in the Hadjaz had become our ally, and had co-operated with us, attacking the long and exposed Turkish flank on the Hadjaz Railway.

TRANS-JORDANIA. — The tribesmen of Trans-Jordania and of Damascus had joined us when the opportunity came. These two countries had borne their share in freeing Arabia from the Turk; and it was right their homelands should fall to them.

PALESTINE AND SYRIA.—The future of Cis-Jordanian Palestine and of the Lebanon was another matter. There the inhabitants had certainly acclaimed our coming, but they had in no way been material to it. Many of them had done their duty as Turkish subjects, and had fought against us on one or other of the fronts. They had not handed their country over to us, as is now so frequently implied.

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We had taken the country, conquered it in war, and it was for the Allies to decide its fate.

Possible Alternatives.—Apart from Arabia, then, the alternatives from which we had to choose were—

(1) The embodiment in our Empire of Mesopotamia and Palestine.
(2) The return of these countries to the Turk.
(3) Their formation, with or without Arabia, into a State or Union of States.
(4) Similar treatment, but protected by us or by the Allies until able to stand alone.

Of these alternatives, embodiment in the Empire would have entailed much complication and expense; our existing responsibilities of this nature were already as much as we could bear.

Return of these countries to the Turks would have meant death and ruin to all who had assisted us or had taken service with us. It would have been a betrayal, and was unthinkable.

In the third alternative the independent State or States, unprotected by us, would soon have fallen once more to the Turks. This was tantamount to the second alternative, perhaps even worse.

The last solution remained—some form of State or States, protected until strong enough to stand alone.

But it was clear that we could not guarantee such protection for ever, and that the design of these new States must be on lines so practical and so progressive as to give reasonable prospect of their eventual ability to stand alone without military or financial claims on us.

Difficulties of the Holy Land.—The question of the Holy Land was the most difficult of all. There were obvious objections to any scheme for burthening the British Empire with permanent responsibility for this country; at the same time it was essential that no Power hostile to us should hold it.

It was not reasonable to hope that our Arabian Allies now emerging from the Desert could avoid the many pitfalls connected with the administration of this land, so sacred to rival creeds and sects of creeds, with its mixed population of Asiatics and Europeans, and its relations with the Great World Powers; nor was it likely that these Powers would submit to such a control of their interests.

Neither could it be hoped that the petty population of Palestine, itself accustomed for centuries to foreign rule and domination, would provide men of the calibre required to rule it independently and deal with questions of European consequence.

Our Government Solution.—We know the solution which was eventually found. Arabia and Mesopotamia became kingdoms. The

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interests of our Allies had to be considered, so Syria had to separate from her kindred Palestine. France undertook the problem of the Lebanon and later of Damascus; our Government attempted that of Palestine in the Balfour Declaration, which, in return for a national home, brought Jewish brains and Jewish money to supply the deficiencies of the country

The solution was not a popular one, but it exploited a very progressive element which already existed in Palestine, and formed a basis of growth towards a union of qualities and of powers which might eventually free us from our mandatory responsibilities and give us a firm ally, perhaps even united with its neighbour fellow-Semitic races.

Whether we liked the plan or not, it was hard to think of a better one, and the allied victors were fully entitled to dictate it. In any case, our country seems to be committed to it; two Governments have accepted it; it appears extremely doubtful that any change of Government would or could refuse to recognize it.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.—The Balfour Declaration puts our Government into the position of a cook mixing his ingredients, which consist of a Mohammedan population of some 600,000 souls of all ages; 73,000 Christians; originally some 70,000 Jews; a birth-rate increase from each; a Jewish immigration flow of adults in their prime; their presumably large birth-rate increase.

The one thing the cook must control firmly is the flow and the quality of this adult immigration. Discretion lies with him, but he is responsible to the British taxpayer both for the flavour of his concoction and for its not being too bulky for the Palestine bowl.

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE NEAR EAST.—Before considering our position in Palestine, it is as well to recall its connection with its neighbours, and our position as regards King Hussein, and in Mesopotamia. We "hold the ring" around these countries, protecting them from outside aggression, and they in turn are beholden to us for much.

Our command of the sea renders the task easy except along the land frontiers of Persia and Turkey, where the Turks might create trouble near Mosul, but they would have to reckon with our Air Force, overwhelmingly stronger than theirs, with our means of retaliation in Europe and the Mediterranean, and with the threat to their flank from Syria.

PALESTINE'S IMMEDIATE FRONTIERS. — The immediate protection of Palestine, Cis-Jordania, against external aggression is provided by the position of the French in Syria to the north,* the Mediterranean to the west, the Egyptian Desert to the south.

* The north-east corner of our frontier with Syria is shaped like a promontory where a narrow strip of territory, containing the long-shaped Lake Huleh and

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The eastern frontier of Lakes Huleh and Galilee, the Jordan and Dead Sea, is naturally strong and is covered by the position of Trans-Jordania, which was recently formed into a State under the Emir Abdullah.

TRANS-JORDANIA. — Trans-Jordania is closely connected with Palestine, and, unlike the rest of Arabia, is included in the mandated area, though the Balfour Declaration does not apply to it.

Feeling there against the Jews runs high, and the people will not allow any Jewish schemes of canalization east of the Jordan River. The population of about 350,000 includes a considerable body of Christians; many are nomadic, and drift at certain seasons towards Cis-Jordania or towards Arabia, where they come into contact with the Wahabis. These Wahabis are likely to be a thorn in the flesh to their more easygoing co-religionists, as they insist on strict adherence to their own interpretation of Mohammedan tenets, and, for the good of his eternal soul, kill the body of the neighbour who refuses conversion—a contagious method with nomads who must return whence they came, and must continue the process amongst their compatriots.

The Emir Abdullah has a small standing army of a few hundred men, which enables him to deal with frontier incidents, to enforce collection of revenue, and to maintain order amongst his Sheikhs. He had little difficulty in destroying a band of several hundred Wahabis (missionaries) who set out from some eight hundred miles away with sword, spear, and musket for the conversion of Trans-Jordania. He also inflicted a salutary lesson last month on some Sheikhs when our aeroplanes showed themselves, and doubtless contributed to his easy victory. The aerodrome at Amman, on the Baghdad air route, is, of course, a great asset to our Ally. The Arab and his vulnerable horse or camel cannot contend in the Desert against the aeroplane, that spies him out from afar off, summons up armoured cars and mobile troops, and combines with them in his destruction. It is well to remember, however, that our task is not so easy in broken ground, where cars cannot leave the road, where the road is easily destructible, and where our opponents can screen themselves from air attack amongst the boulders and ravines. Country of this description exists on both sides of the Jordan Valley, but it is limited in extent and can be worked round, unlike the mountain and hill areas on our Indian frontiers, where the use of aeroplanes and cars is a different proposition.

CIS-JORDANIA.—We have glanced at her external relations, and

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the road to Mutulleh and Dan, juts into French territory, and is exposed to robbers or raiders on both flanks—a difficult strip to police. It was here that a party of our gendarmerie were attacked the other day when returning from escort duty to the High Commissioner.

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can now turn to Palestine herself and her urgent questions of internal policy.

The historic portals of the country are, by sea, Jaffa and Haifa, by land the Ladder of Tyre, the Dan and Huleh routes, Beisan, Jericho, Beersheba (Dan to Beersheba), the Desert routes from Egypt.

Ships using the Jaffa and Haifa ports must still anchor some distance out and unload into native boats, a troublesome performance and impossible in rough weather. Haifa is the least exposed roadstead of the two.

There has been much talk of making moles and a good harbour at one or other of these ports, but nothing has been done so far; it would be a costly undertaking.

Good metalled roads lead from each of these ports, from Jaffa to Jerusalem and on to Jericho, whence a motor road leads to Amman. Another road crosses this at Jerusalem, starting at Beersheba and running through Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablus, Nazareth, Haifa. Roads from Nazareth lead to Tiberius and Damascus, from Tiberius to Beisan. There are also many secondary roads. The pipe line and wire road over the sand used during the war have both ceased to exist.

The railway from Egypt starts at Kantara, on the northern bank of the Suez Canal, where there is no bridge and where the traveller has a most uncomfortable change. The line runs to Haifa and on through Beisan to Damascus, with branches to Beersheba, Jerusalem, and Jaffa.

The improved road and railway communications form most marked features of our occupation.

Telephones and telegraphs connect the main towns. Postal arrangements function, though handicapped by the employment of a native staff, who still have much to learn.

Water, Climate, Health.—This map of Palestine shows the great central ridge of highland country with Hebron, Jerusalem, and Nablus (Shechem), the highlands of Galilee, the Philistine Plain, the Plains of Sharon and of Esdraelon, Galilee, the Jordan Valley. We usually expect valleys and streams to attract settled populations, but this was not the case in Palestine prior to the arrival of the modern colonists. They were avoided for reasons of health. The hot and, in summer, unhealthy Jordan Valley, seventy miles long and up to fifteen miles broad, contains the only real river in the country, but it is practically unpeopled except at its upper portion and at the Jericho Springs, where the descendants of negro slave plantations made by the Romans still show traces of their ancestry.

The river itself is fringed with reeds, bushes, and trees, but the plains beyond are parched and deserted except where a few small streams enter the valley. The climate is more temperate on the

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western and northern plains of Palestine, but the neighbourhood of the Wadi Reuben and Auja streams and of the Kaishon consists of grazing and marsh land where mosquitoes thrive and malignant malaria is not uncommon. There is one such place in the Beersheba district where Arabs consider it certain death to pass a night.

Last autumn three officers out shooting from Ludd spent the night without curtains in a spot of this description; all three and their chauffeur went down with malignant malaria. These spots are the exception in Palestine, which, generally speaking, is a healthy country, but I mention them to explain one of the reasons why there is room for pioneers in the plains. That the pioneer can remove this evil is shown by what has happened in the new colonies and in the military camp at Jenin of Esdraelon, where the clearing and banking in of a small stream entirely stopped the malaria which had hitherto infested the garrison.

Lowland Population.—The natives of the Philistine Plain, of Sharon, and of Esdraelon, are either tent-dwelling nomads or live in closely-built villages on commanding positions with well water adjoining in watercourses, or near the sea, where at certain places the salt water filters in through the sand and becomes more or less drinkable. Most of the country used to be uncultivated and much of it, particularly along the coast, is still a waste of encroaching sandhills, while south of Hebron the Beersheba and Ghaza districts are sparsely inhabited.

The wilderness west of the Dead Sea between Jericho and Beersheba is the least habitable of all; there it was that Saul and David hid, and it is through there that raiders coming from below the Dead Sea still pass on their way to rob travellers near the Good Samaritan's Inn on the Jericho road.

I have described these lowlands at some length in order to show that a great area exists there to invite the colonist who can produce a good water-supply and overcome the malaria.

Highlands and Population.—The best climate and most sturdy population is found in the highlands, where rivers do not exist and springs are rare. The soil is good but rocky. Fields have been cleared and the mountain-sides built up into terraces from time immemorial. Many of the fields and cisterns have fallen into disuse, and there are indications that the population has decreased since olden times.

Water is obtained from cisterns cut in the rocky soil, bottle-shaped and closed over, or made beneath houses, to catch the rainfall.

The People.—The Palestinians, as might be expected from their very mixed pedigree, are a most cosmopolitan lot. The Arab type is seen most strongly amongst the nomads, whose habits are still those of Arabia, and amongst certain of the settled Arabs who claim

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Desert descent, and who still love to welcome the stranger in true Desert style. But the European and Turkish strain, perhaps the old Gentile strain, is very evident in the fair and sturdy Mohammedans of Hebron, the Breton-like and kindly Christian women of Bethlehem and of Galilee.

As elsewhere, the Arab does not trouble himself about the colour question, either with the stranger from Overseas or with his immediate neighbour, who may or may not be of darker hue; he is very sure of himself, courteous and hospitable. This absence of colour distinction and the greater toleration of his neighbour's religious beliefs are in strong contrast to what we find in India.

Intelligent and good talkers, many have been through one or other of the schools maintained, chiefly at Jerusalem, by the religious denominations, not least amongst which is the St. George's College of the Church of England, where many fine manly lads are turned out. Girls are also educated, but to a lesser extent. These schools are generally open to Christian and Mohammedan alike, and a convent education is considered a great attraction in a Mohammedan girl.

A great many Palestinians have been abroad, mostly to America. They take readily to European customs, and do not seem to suffer from contact with Western civilization; but there is room for much improvement in both the character and extent of education before they can take their proper position in Palestine and hold their own against the keen intellects of the new immigrants. This fact is fully appreciated by the Administration, which has devoted £80,000 to Arab education in this year's budget.

The peasantry are hardy and industrious, well understand their own methods of agriculture, and are by no means averse to progress. Well officered, they would make excellent soldiers.

On the whole, the Palestinians are an attractive and law-abiding race, but with their full share of wilder elements to produce the usual quota of crime. As elsewhere, their crimes are usually due to "zan, zaz, zam" (woman, gold, land). The murder of Captain Swan when driving from Saragand to dinner at Jaffa; the attack on two officers trollying with cash for pay of coolies from Tulkoram and Lydda; the attack on the High Commissioner's escort in the strip near Lake Huleh—all recent occurrences—were in each case attributable to "zaz"—gold—they had nothing to do with politics.

It is not uncommonly implied that it is we Britishers who have introduced racial strife, and it is forgotten that the coming of the Jews has had the effect, for the first time, of driving Mohammedan and Christian into the same camp; and that anti-Christian riots were by no means unknown in old days. Ever since the Crusades the Mohammedans have feared that the crowds of Christian pilgrims coming to their country for the great religious festivals might

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endeavour to regain the Holy Land by a sudden coup. To obviate this danger Mohammedan festivals of comparatively recent origin were arranged to coincide with those of the Christians, and to attract corresponding bodies to the same neighbourhoods. These festivals recall the religious victories of Saladin and of their ancestors, and keep alive a feeling of warlike enthusiasm for their faith. The fear of the Christian has now been replaced by the fear of the Jew.

EARLY COLONISTS.—The first colonists in Palestine were the missions of religious orders, Latin and Greek Catholics who founded hospices for pilgrims, monasteries or convents, cultivated gardens and vineyards, instructed their flocks, and strove to safeguard the holy places in their charge.

The last fifty years have seen the growth of other semi-religious colonies. A German sect of Templars planted homes round Jaffa and in the outskirts of Jerusalem. They reclaimed ground, sunk deep wells, introduced pumps and machinery, and were generally model pioneers.

Several prominent Jews, the forerunners of Zionism, founded similar colonies on the wastes near Jaffa and Haifa, little European villages with streets and gardens, school, town hall, and synagogue. Their eucalyptus-groves replaced the haunts of malaria. They planted oranges, almonds, and vines, established an export trade of Jaffa oranges and of wines, which prospered well, but has suffered through closing of the American wine market.

All these colonists brought money to the country, threatened no one, and were welcomed by the Turkish rulers. The Jews were accepted by the people, and employed much Arab labour. Their religion appears to have been strictly orthodox, but they were a class apart from their co-religionists who had existed for centuries at Jerusalem—the men with long curls who wail at the Temple wall and pray for the restoration of its lost glories.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.—The Balfour Declaration in its original ambiguous form and the utterings of extreme Zionists combined to make the Arabs alter their attitude towards further colonization by the Jews. It was known that the extremists hoped to establish a strong footing in the country prior to seizing it and founding a Jewish State, and the Arabs henceforth began to regard all Jews as potential enemy invaders.

ARRIVAL OF ZIONIST COLONISTS.—Meanwhile the new colonists began to arrive in batches of men and young women, a very small proportion of whom were of British or American stock. Some had served in the Allied armies as officers or in the ranks; others were professional men with undeveloped muscles, students fired by idealism fresh from Eastern Europe and from Russia, in the throes of her social experiments. The standard of education was high; linguists,

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doctors, lawyers, technical experts, engineers, were all represented, but the sturdy peasant type was lacking. Some of the newcomers looked down on their darker brethren, and for the first time introduced the colour question. Essentially European, they could not hold their own in this climate with the Arabs as labourers, nor could they exist on an equally low standard of living. Zionist funds had to support them in the immigrant camps until work could be found for them, and these funds had later to supplement their inadequate earnings.

Road-making gave an opening to many who were to be seen trudging in bodies to their work or camped alongside the main routes. The Arabs observed that they had no place of their own, and said that they were casting longing eyes on their land.

The avowed ambitions of extreme Zionists did not help matters. A "root and branch" policy was feared, and Old Testament stories of the first Jewish settlements in Palestine were recalled. Mohammedans spoke of their rights to the Temple being disputed. Christian and Mohammedan joined together in face of the common danger. Some of the Jews, fearing retaliation, secretly imported arms.

The old colonists, Christian and Jew, viewed these conditions with disfavour—the Christians because they feared lest the rabble might turn on them when it had finished with the Jews; the Jewish colonists because their isolation exposed them to attack, and because they were not in sympathy with the extremists nor with those of the newcomers who were not Jews by religion and who spoke of "the tribal God." We are apt to overlook the fact that many so-called Jews are not Jews by religion, and they cause much offence to their orthodox brethren. Many of them have very little Jewish blood if fair hair and blue eyes are any criterion. The slight strain they possess, however, seems to debar them from true national feeling towards any European country, and they have flocked to Palestine in the hopes of escaping persecution and of finding an assured future. They are unlike those of our British or American Jews who have ceased to be "International Jews," and who evince no desire to exchange their present birthright for Palestinian pottage.

THE GOVERNMENT.—Since the Armistice the centre of Government of this "occupied enemy territory" had continued at Jerusalem, with outlying Governorates in the district.

Officials were all British, a few of them being of the Jewish faith. Martial law prevailed, and a large force held the country in a strong grip.

Small detachments of French and Italian troops remained from the contingents which had represented their armies in conquering the common Holy Land. Their presence and that of the various religious dignitaries and Consuls was significant of the great interests gathered together in this capital, where a sect frequently represented a nation.

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In accordance with the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist Commission had established its headquarters in Jerusalem and was dealing with the immigration scheme; it was regarded with suspicion by the Arabs, and some went so far as to say it was preparing to take over all Government posts in the country.

Plans had been made for the creation of a great Jewish University on Mount Scopus, and Hebrew had been recognized officially as one of the three languages of the country. The wisdom of introducing a third official language had been questioned by many who considered that the number of languages might preferably have been reduced to one, and that in any case English would have been a better medium than a dead tongue for bringing Palestine into closer touch with Europe and America. The three languages system certainly has many inconveniences. It is distinctly tedious to hear a long official speech uttered in English, and then to wait whilst two interpreters read out its translation in Arabic and Hebrew respectively. Taking the number of an offending motor-car is far from easy when the plate shows three sets of hieroglyphics crammed into so small a space. We can all sympathize with the spirit which is to revive so great a language in its classic form, but the experiment certainly has many drawbacks, apart from the possible addition to our school curriculum. We should be grateful to Mr. Mussolini that his ambitions to revive the glory of his race do not include substitution by Latin of the present Italian language.

Outbreak of 1920.—By the spring of 1920 Arab suspicion of the Jews had hardened to execration, and it was felt that the time had come for protest to be backed by action. A clash came in Jerusalem City, and a pogrom seemed to be on foot; troops were called out to quell the trouble.

This riot may be ascribed to the feeling amongst the Arabs that it was incumbent on them to give a forcible demonstration of their antipathy to Jewish ambitions, and to the fact that the Jews, realizing their danger, had in some cases banded together for armed self-defence lest assistance from Government should arrive too late to save their lives and properties. The outbreak was quickly quelled, and an all-round disarmament of unauthorized persons was ordered. Government asserted its prerogative of enforcing law and order irrespective of creed, and made every effort to bring the rival factions together; it realized, however, that Palestine could never emerge from tutelage if it were to remain a divided house, and all denominations were urged to merge themselves into a common nationality, such as exists in Great Britain itself.

Second Outbreak.—Unfortunately, these efforts were checked by a second outbreak in 1921.

A portion of the Jaffa and Tel Aviv Jews of the Labour Party,

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while celebrating a May Day at Jaffa, came into conflict with extreme Communist or Bolshevist Jews, commenced fighting, and struggling thus, entered the Mohammedan quarter of Jaffa.

The Mohammedans took alarm; some say that they were only too glad to take alarm, others that harems were invaded. Be that as it may, they fell on the Jews and started killing. Others joined in on both sides. Troops were called out, but the trouble had spread, and it took time to control the rioters in the outlying hamlets. The news had travelled far. Distant Arabs had been told that their fellows were being exterminated by armed Jews wishing to make space for a national home. Great crowds commenced to march on Jaffa from all over the country. They were encountered by our forces, suffered severe punishment, and were easily dispersed. Order was restored, but feeling still ran high, and it was evident that the wording of the Balfour Declaration continued to be a cause of unrest to Arab and Jew alike. The acceptance of the Mandate by the League of Nations last year has given us a clearer definition of the Balfour Declaration. The intention to establish a national home for the Jews in Palestine has been restated, but it has been made clear that the rights of the existing population will not be overlooked, and that it is not the intention to establish a Jewish State. The province of the Zionist Commission has been defined as that of an advisory body to the Government, not, as some of the Arabs feared, as that of an intrinsic portion of the Government itself. This and continuous fair treatment by the Government of all creeds alike should make Arab and Jew realize that the mandatory Power intends to rule and to enforce law and order, but that the rule will be a just one.

Present Arab Conditions.—But a strong and audible body of Arab opinion is still opposed to acceptance in any form of the Balfour Declaration, as they fear that increasing numbers of Jews may swamp out their vote. They consider that the British people may be induced to abandon their policy if resistance continues, and they ignore the fact that we are committed to the Declaration.

Some, however, have seen the futility of blocking progress, and there have been instances of open reconciliation between Arabs and their Jewish neighbours, but the elements of trouble continue to exist, be their cause economic, racial, or religious. Apart from this question the people as a whole are prosperous and contented.

Jewish Community To-day.—The new Jewish colonies have extended through Sharon and Esdraelon to Beisan, and on to the plateau above Tiberias and to parts of the highlands near Jerusalem. Some of the colonists have married, with or without the religious ceremony, but the birth-rate is small, perhaps because houses are not yet completed and conditions remain unsettled. The colonies

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are still in their infancy, and will need subsidizing for some time to come by their co-religionists.

As might be expected, a proportion of the colonists drift back to the towns or leave Palestine altogether. Many of them have been disappointed with their prospects in the country, and have decided to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

The town-dwellers are to be found in the new Jewish quarters and large suburbs which are fast springing up around Jerusalem, 'Safed, Haifa, Tiberias, and in purely Jewish Tel Aviv, which may soon rival the town of Jaffa.

Near these towns several agricultural colleges and experimental farms have been started. A large orphanage is being built at Jerusalem, and many schools already exist. The scheme for the University is said to be well in hand.

Many residents in the new suburbs are people with small private means in search of a congenial home, and, judging by the more substantial style of house now being built, it is hoped to attract a still more wealthy class, but very few prominent English or American Jews have settled in the country, though many have visited it.

Other residents are professional men or small tradesmen with a certain amount of capital. Their presence and the various Zionist building schemes combine to give employment to the poorer class.

The community as a whole is most advanced, distinctly European in type, speaks many languages, and is rapidly working up classic Hebrew as its mother-tongue; perhaps we should say as its common tongue. But it is not yet a self-supporting community, and there is a considerable amount of unemployment, which is likely to continue unless money comes from outside to finance the various exploitation schemes.

Present Conditions of Government.—Palestine is striving hard to balance its budget, and to prove that it will not be a burden on the British taxpayer. Military forces have been reduced to an absolute minimum; mobile British gendarmerie are provided with cars to enable them to concentrate rapidly at threatened points and reinforce the police or otherwise maintain internal security. A small force of native gendarmerie, consisting of Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews intermingled, gives good promise of success. Their employment may make it feasible to still further reduce our forces in the country.

Civil establishments have been cut down, and wherever possible Palestinians have replaced British officials, many of whom have suffered bitter disappointment in the sudden shortening of their careers.

All-round reductions have been made in pay; in fact, with the present high cost of living the remaining British officials find it hard to exist on their pay.

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The police, of course, in such a country have an extremely difficult task, as they are drawn from rival sections of the community, and are invariably subject to severe criticism. Individual instances of failure in duty occurred in early days, when partisanship had not been eradicated and the tradition of Turkish methods still remained. But great improvements have taken place. All creeds mix well in the ranks, they are smart and workmanlike in their demeanour, and the great improvement in their efficiency struck me as one of the most marked features of our occupation. It may reasonably be hoped that this common service in their ranks may result in an esprit de corps which will enable them to perform their duties with strict impartiality whenever called on to restrain their compatriots.

Development Scheme.—The great needs of Palestine continue to be water and fuel and prevention of malaria.

I have alluded to the work done in sinking deep wells and importing pumping plant into the new colonies, but more than this is needed for the support of a large population.

The Rutenberg project intended to canalize the waters of the Jordan and smaller streams, to harness them for electricity, to store rain-water, to exploit the Dead Sea salts, and perhaps its oil.

We also heard of a pipe line which was to bring oil across the Desert from Mesopotamia, but funds have not been forthcoming and these schemes have not as yet eventuated. If they succeed they will doubtless change the face of the country, but they will need time and the experience of actual test.

Meanwhile a start has been made; an electric lighting plant has been constructed at Jaffa; work is said to have commenced on the Auja; some buildings for the Jordan Canal scheme have been erected or earmarked near Semakh.

Trade.—As an Empire we have gained one-third of Palestine's import, one-sixth of her export trade.

The excellent roads have created a great demand for cars, but the market has been captured by America.

Furniture of all kinds and pianos are imported from Austria and Germany. It is sad that there is not more trade with Britain. The rate of exchange may be an explanation where the Continent is concerned, but this does not apply to competition with America.

Conclusion.—The facts in Palestine now are that we have the full right to colonize or otherwise settle the country, as decided by the Allies in the Balfour Declaration.

It cannot be denied that this Declaration, when first made, raised false hopes amongst extreme Zionists—hopes which have been dashed by its further definition. But, nevertheless, the Jews have obtained a recognized footing, and practically a monopoly of immigration and of land acquisition. They have also obtained great industrial con-

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cessions, but it remains to be seen whether they can find the money to finance them. The money must come from somewhere if the country is to support a large population.

Arab suspicion of the Zionist movement still continues, as they fear the growth of the footing now established, and consider that an increase in population may swamp out their vote.

But it is essential that not only the Arabs, but that we in Great Britain and the Empire should realize that our present policy in the country is one which we are fully justified in adopting, and which we have adopted in conjunction with our Allies, and one to which we are committed by two successive Governments. It is extremely unlikely that it could be changed.

As individuals we may not like the policy, but it does give a solution to a very difficult problem.

Such control as we should properly exercise is through our Government at home, which conceives our policies, and which directs immigration and population.

The kindest advice we can give the Arab is to make the best of conditions as they are, to insist on having good education, to insist on being suitably represented in all ranks of the public services, and most of all to show that he can hold his own in ability and in integrity. By taking his proper position in the country he will be able to see that the rights of his race are not overlooked; but he has no time to lose, and he is losing time by boycotting the opportunities which he has been given.

Feeling runs high at present, but it may be hoped that the relations between Arab and Jew will improve with time, and when each has learnt to recognize the uses of the other. They come of common stock, they have common religious customs regarding the preparation of food, they can sit down to a common meal, and we all know that nothing promotes good feeling more than this; but it remains for the Jews to prove that they can make a success of agricultural life in the colonies and in every sphere of Palestinian citizenship, and that they are prepared to meet the Arab halfway, to recognize his kinship and equal rights in the State as fellow-Palestinian citizens.

As Britishers we should wish success to the venture for which our country is responsible. Optimists may even hope one day to see a Palestinian nation like the Swiss or Canadian, on good terms with its neighbours and perhaps linking the Near East through its culture.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: Mr. Chairman, I have taken a great deal of interest in Palestine for a good many years now, and I remember one instance of a friend of mine who had been in Palestine speaking about the nomadic tribes on the Jordan. Years ago, when the tourists used to be taken through the country, they had to go under armed escort. A friend of mine, a clergyman, was with such a party,

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and he wished to bathe in the Jordan. He stayed behind, and was greatly surprised when the dragoman quickly ordered him to keep with the party. He could not understand why he could not be allowed to stop and bathe, but the dragoman explained that if he stayed behind he would probably lose his life. Things have settled down, I suppose, considerably now, and it is very interesting to hear from the speaker about the attempts that have been made to settle the country and bring about a better state of feeling beween the different nationalities—between the Jews and the Arabs who have lived there for so many years—and to hear of the development now taking place with regard to transport. The Chairman mentioned the railway-line from the Canal. When I heard about the bridge being taken away from the Canal I was very much surprised, for it seems to me a very short-sighted piece of policy on the part of whoever insisted on it being done—I believe it was the Suez Canal Company, though I may be incorrect. It was supposed to be an obstruction to the traffic, but, of course, like a good many more things of that description, if matters had been reconsidered, there is no doubt whatever that the bridge could have been left there, or an improved bridge constructed and put in its place, and means taken to have it open at certain times without obstructing the traffic in any way whatsoever. It is a great inconvenience for people going from Cairo or Alexandria to have to stay several hours on the other side of the Canal at Kantara, and be eaten alive by mosquitoes. Progress is going to be made, however, with the railway, and when the line farther north, from Haifa to Damascus, gets linked up to Aleppo and the Baghdad line, it will be a much greater benefit to the travelling public. I think, with the lecturer, that the great problem is the antagonism between the Arabs and the Jews at the present time. It will take a great deal of coolness and grave consideration getting that put on such a footing that they will live together in peace with one another; but I have enough faith in my own country, having regard to what has been done in India and other places, to realize that, although at present it seems impossible, and although hard knocks have been given on both sides, the antagonism will gradually die down and we shall see Palestine emerging into a peaceful country. ("Hear, hear!" Applause.)

The LECTURER: About the bridge across the Canal. It is very difficult to make a bridge across the Canal. If you make an ordinary bridge it has got to be sufficiently high to allow the ships to pass underneath, or you must make it so that it could be cut. The alternative would be to make a tunnel, which would have to be started five miles back, where it is sandy soil. The engineers say that if the sand shifted the tunnel would go. It is a very difficult question to make a bridge or tunnel, and it would cost a lot of money.

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The CHAIRMAN: If there are no further questions to ask, or discussion to ensue, I will only ask you to join in thanking the lecturer for his very kind attention to the matter and the exposition of it that he has made to us to-day. I think on the whole he spoke hopefully. Anyhow, we must agree that whether we like the scheme or whether we don't like it, it is not likely to be changed, and we must hope that the best results will ensue from the fact that all classes of the population, and all nationalities, will undoubtedly perceive that the British Government, as mandatory Power, is absolutely impartial between them, and wishes to deal out justice right and left. They will get to learn this, that they can rely on the sense of justice of the authorities, and we shall see prosperity gradually develop. There still seems to be a good deal of suspicion on the part of the Arabs of the incoming Jews. I think it is a very natural feeling, although it seems that even before the Jews came the hostility of the Arabs was directed against the Christians. Now the incoming of the Jews has rather thrown Christians and Arabs together, and the hostility is between them and the Jews. But I think Colonel Costello spoke hopefully, and that he looks forward with his experience to results being obtained which will be not unlike those which we have seen develop with so much success in Canada, where the French and English elements have come to work together and to unite to form a great nation. We must all join in hoping that some results on those lines will ensue in Palestine. I do not know that any of us who have opposed the policy adopted by our Government in the matter will have been convinced by what we have heard to-day, but still I think we shall all go away feeling a little more hopeful than we did before. Evidently it was a country in very great need of development, and one does not quite see in what other way it was going to be developed except by opening the doors to an influx of foreigners, outsiders, and perhaps the Jews may have been the natural people to invite to develop the country, with their superior knowledge, intelligence, and so on. But we cannot expect for some time that the Arab majority will peacefully acquiesce, and we can only hope that the efforts of the Government, with such impartial and able administrators as, for instance, Sir Herbert Samuel, who has done such good work there, will in the end produce the peace and harmony which we all desire. I call upon you to show by your applause that you heartily thank the lecturer, as I am sure you all do, for telling us so much about the country. (Applause.)

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PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA

By Lord Headley

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, October 25, 1923, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., when an address was given by Lord Headley on his Pilgrimage to Mecca. The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presided.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The interest taken in the subject of the lecture we are to hear to-day is very apparent by the numbers who have come to hear it. We are all anxious to hear what Lord Headley has to tell us about his remarkable journey to Mecca. Mecca we used to look upon as a mysterious capital that was not accessible to others than Muslims, and for many other reasons was so difficult of approach that it kept its secret for a very long time. I think we knew very little about Mecca until we heard the results of the great traveller Burton's journey there, which he made in disguise and at the peril of his life. Our lecturer, I believe, went there as an honoured guest, and so had many advantages of which others who may have preceded him in the journey were deprived. Mecca takes us back to great antiquity; the Muslim world, we are told, even associates the Kaaba with the name of Abraham. However, ladies and gentlemen, I will not keep you, but will introduce you to Lord Headley, and ask him to be kind enough to give us his address. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with very great pleasure that I see so many friends here to-night to hear a few remarks concerning my recent visit to Mecca. The first idea of undertaking the pilgrimage was in the year of the war, 1914, when my old friend the Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and I booked our berths on the ill-fated P. and O. steamship *Persia,* which was later on sunk by a German mine or torpedo. All arrangements were complete when, on that memorable 4th of August, war was declared between England and Germany, and I abandoned my intended journey, as I did not feel justified in leaving a family of four young children at such a critical period. No further opportunity occurred until the end of last June, when the Khwaja Sheik Abdul Mohyi and myself took our passage out to Port Said on board the P. and O. steamship *Macedonia.* This time there were no lions in the path, though my doctor made a few rather discouraging remarks about my age and the heat of Central Arabia in July and August.

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We left London on the 22nd of June, and, though I expected some sort of welcome in Egypt, I was quite unprepared for the extraordinary warmth of the reception in every direction, from the highest Princes and Ulimans down to the humblest peasants—the same hearty grip of the hand, the same kindly welcoming smile from all.

I felt not like a stranger in a strange land, but a brother in the midst of my brothers, and I had the feeling that there were fourteen million of them in Egypt alone, any one of whom would have given me shelter and shared with me his last crust of bread. The wondrous brotherhood of Islam—I never quite understood what it really meant until this pilgrimage was over, but now I do so most thoroughly.

I always knew that there was a strong feeling of attraction, a sort of bond of union, between us Muslims whatever land we belong to or under whichever sovereign we may serve—a real carrying out of the idea of beneficence to our fellow-creatures, which is the main feature of Islam.

It had been suggested that I should go to the East under the disguise of a Persian merchant—like my late friend Sir Richard Burton —and so pass into Egypt and Arabia quietly and unobserved; but disguise was impossible because the news of my sailing from England had become known in Egypt, where they had elected three reception committees—one at Port Said, one at Cairo, and one at Alexandria, headed by Prince Omer Toussoun. As soon as we had passed the Straits of Messina I was handed a long wireless message from Port Said, asking me to accept the hospitality of Egypt; a little farther on another message reached the ship offering me the loan of a very fine yacht during my stay, so I was not altogether unprepared for what followed. No sooner had the anchor dropped off Port Said than we were boarded by about fifty of the delegates appointed by the three reception committees, and three addresses were read and replied to.

On landing, we were taken round Port Said by our host, Khalil El-Kasseify, in a long procession of carriages; beautiful bouquets of flowers were presented, and altogether one felt almost like a royal personage instead of an ordinary pilgrim.

We only stayed about twenty-four hours in Port Said, and then went on to Cairo, where the welcome accorded to us was quite as warm, but, of course, on a much larger scale. There was a large crowd inside the station on the arrival platform and a much larger one outside in the big square; more bouquets were presented, and there was a beautiful motor-car waiting, lent by one of the leading ladies in Cairo for my use during our stay in the city. We then drove off to the house of our host, Shaik Achmed El-Bakri, under whose hospitable roof we stayed the whole of our time in Cairo. Amongst the notable people who received us with great cordiality

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were the Grand Mufti of Egypt, Seyed Muhammad Biblawi, Seyed Abdul Hamid El-Bakri, Gefar Pasha Wali, Shaik Abdul Megdid Labban, Osman Pasha, Zaki Pasha, Nejib Barada Bey, Malik El-Khateeb (Representative of Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, in Cairo), Ahmed Shafeek Pasha, and Ehsan El-Bakri (the son of my host at the Manchiet El-Bakri).

Besides those I have mentioned, there were many well-known Ulimans, Muftis, and Imams, who gave us hearty welcome. There are no priests, properly so called, in Islam, but there are in all Muslim communities learned religious men who know the Quran better and can lead the services in the mosques with greater certainty than the majority of their co-religionists.

I wish to emphasize the fact that before starting for the East I was careful to point out that there was nothing of a political nature in the undertaking. It was purely a religious move. I said at the time: "My reverence and admiration for the Prophet is very great, and I am doing this in honour of his memory, and for that alone. There is no political significance whatever." But I am glad to find since my return that in the opinion of many influential Muslims and Christians a good effect has been produced. Many letters have reached me to this effect, and especially pointing out that it has tended to cement the feelings of kindness and brotherhood existing between Muslims of various nationalities.

During our stay in Cairo several banquets and entertainments were arranged in our honour, one of the principal being the grand reception at Khronfish, given by Seyed Abdul Hamid El-Bakri, and presided over by Seyed Muhammad Biblawi, the Grand Mufti.

We were much interested in the Alazhar Mosque, one of the largest educational establishments in the world. It is said that it is possible to accommodate ten thousand students in the great hall of the marble pillars. In this splendid institution they take in and feed numbers of poor people who cannot afford to pay for their education; board, lodging, and instruction are given free of all cost.

On July 8th we arrived at Alexandria, where our hearty reception was very similar to that which we had at Cairo. We were put up at the Savoy Palace Hotel in beautiful suites of rooms, and on the first day a reception was held in the great hall of the hotel. All the chief people came, headed by Prince Omer Toussoun, who took the chair. A great many speeches were made, and the recitation of poetry elicited hearty applause from the large audience. The Prince speaks excellent English, and we chatted on various matters connected with the Muslim world.

On the following day Prince Omer again presided at a banquet, which was attended by about a hundred of the Ulimans and other important people from Alexandria and the neighbourhood. Again

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there were many speeches and several poems were recited; the interest was well kept up, for, though we sat down at 7.30, we did not rise from table till after midnight.

The Abousizi Mosque of Alexandria is a wonderful place, and in it the Khwaja and I spent some time in meditation; we also went to see the museum and other places of interest. We called on His Majesty King Fuad and Prince Omer, and had a very pleasant interview with Lord Allenby before our return to Cairo.

July 10th found us back in Cairo, where we dined with Malik El-Khateeb, the representative of King Hussein of the Hedjaz, and also busied ourselves with serious preparations for the pilgrimage to the Holy City. We made no long delay in Cairo, but pushed on to Suez, where on the 11th we boarded the Khedevial liner *Mansurah*, which was to take us down to Jiddah, the seaport of Mecca.

The skipper of the ship, a genial, good-natured Greek, was rather pessimistic about the weather and the heat we might expect. When we pushed off there was a refreshing north-west wind blowing, and it was pleasantly cool; but the captain looked at the sky, and said: "It will be very hot to-morrow." To-morrow came, and with it a freshening of the north-west wind, which was blowing at a much faster rate than our modest eight knots, and we were kept nice and cool. I said: "Well, now, captain, how about the weather?" He replied: "It will be very hot to-morrow." But though we were within very measurable distance of the Tropic of Cancer, the temperature, kept down by the following breeze, became cooler still. Again the captain insisted that it would be very hot the next day. His prognostications were always incorrect until we left Yenbo and anchored off Jiddah; then the wind fell, and we felt the heat considerably.

A sad accident happened when we arrived at Jiddah. There were two ships close together, and the second engineer in one of them was handing something across to a man on the other ship when he slipped and fell, striking his head against a projection of the ship. Being stunned, he could not see the ropes which were immediately thrown to him, and just then, whilst he was completely insensible, the ships came together and he was smashed to pieces between them. His body was at once eaten up by the sharks, which are very plentiful in that neighbourhood. On the previous day, when we had been anchored off Yenbo, the seaport for Medina, a great many of the diving-boys had swum out from the shore to dive for small coins thrown into the sea by the passengers, and, though I watched most carefully, I could not detect a sign of a shark during the whole time we were there. Certainly the sharks must be there, and it seems wonderful that not one attack was made on any of the swimmers. There were twenty or twenty-five of them, and many swam out all

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the way from the shore quite alone. This reminds me of my first voyage out to India some thirty years ago. I was on board the old P. and O. steamship *Thames*, and we were anchored off Aden. The diving-boys were swimming all round the ship, when, all of a sudden, a shark appeared and snapped off the leg of one of the poor little chaps. We took him on board, and our doctor looked after the injury and tied up the stump. The strange thing is that a couple of years later the same boy was back at his old calling, diving for coins, and apparently as comfortable with one leg as he had been with two!

When we landed at Jiddah we were received by the King's representative and invited to a big dinner, which was attended by the Consuls of many foreign countries, including Mr. Bullard, the British Consul. With the thoughtfulness which characterizes him, and of which we had abundant evidence during our stay in Arabia, King Hussein had instructed his followers to arrange for us a most interesting entertainment for our after-dinner amusement. This was nothing less than a performance of the celebrated "sword dance," which has been for many generations the delight of Jiddah. The dancers come from the small towns and villages around about, and I was told that this same dance had been in favour for several hundreds of years. The dancers formed a very large circle, and we could look down upon them from the balcony of the big room in which we had dined. The scene was a weird one—the active, lithe figures, the firelight causing the shadows to dance upon the high white walls of the courtyard, reminded me of a scene in some opera, but I have forgotten which. There were perhaps a hundred dancers, all men, who stood in the circle with a curious clapping of the hands and rhythmic swaying movement of the body, accompanied by a monotonous singing. Tomtoms were going all the time, and the refrain was always the same, until it became almost tedious; but the thing that was not tedious was the dancing—it was energetic to the verge of frenzy. Every now and then two or three of the dancers would detach themselves from the ring and whirl towards the centre of the circle, twisting and turning with incredible speed. They twisted like tops, brandishing their swords in every direction, so that it seemed nothing short of a miracle that half the people present were not decapitated. As an exhibition of pirouetting and skilful swordsmanship it was truly wonderful; the risk of serious accident must be considerable, but I have not heard of any such having taken place. One could understand doing these sword feats on a perfectly lighted stage or in the clear daylight, but in the flickering and uncertain light thrown by a log fire the eye must often be deceived.

The dance went on for quite a long time; nothing seemed to tire the performers: it was we, the audience, who succumbed first, for we were very sleepy, and had to be ready for an early start for Mecca

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the following morning. When the guests had departed the dance stopped, and we were soon asleep.

On the day following the dance the King very kindly sent his motor-car to bring us into Mecca; this was not quite unexpected, because Dr. Naji had told me before I left London that His Majesty intended to have me driven in instead of my having to ride in on camel-back, which takes a day and a half instead of two or three hours, which is the time taken by the car. On the way we only had one short delay, caused by a sand-drift, in which the wheels sank so deep that we had to get the assistance of some natives at a place called Hadda to pull us out. A very good road might be made between Jiddah and Mecca, as there are no stiff gradients, no rivers, no tunnels to construct. It is all almost dead level, and there is an abundance of excellent metal, fragments of the igneous rocks of which the steep little mountains are composed. I expect it is a case of "vested interests"—if the road were made, or a railway-line constructed, the occupation of the owners and drivers of camels, mules, and donkeys would be at an end, and there would be the usual outcry which invariably attends the march of useful devices for the benefit of mankind.

After about three hours' drive we reached Mecca, and we were immediately visited by the King's son and heir, the Amir Ali, who is also the Governor of Medina. The Foreign Minister, Fuad Khateeb, also called, and saw us installed in the beautiful house near the Grand Mosque, where from the upper windows we had a perfect view of the Kaaba, standing in all its grand and solemn simplicity in the midst of the great courtyard. We lost not a moment in preparing to see His Majesty, and I shall never forget the brotherly affection of his greeting. Here, again, as in Egypt, I was no stranger, and I did not feel like one. I was his brother from the West, inspired with exactly the same love of Islam, imbued with the same reverence for our Holy Prophet, and anxious to ever worship the same Almighty Allah. I know that both my dear brothers Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and Abdul Mohyi felt as I did; we were in our home, and perfectly at rest and at our ease.

I must not forget to describe the "ihram," or sacred dress, in which all pilgrims, without any exception, must be garbed when they enter Mecca. Only two sheets are permitted, one for round the loins and the other for the shoulders. These have to be put on when some miles from the Holy City, and to the European they are not easy to manage or wear gracefully. They are cool, but one always feels anxious about them, because they are apt to slip off at all sorts of times.

I had some trouble one day when with the King, and when I wanted to look very dignified; one of these sheets slipped and as

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nearly as possible came off altogether. I grabbed it only just in time and saved the situation. With the ihram dress you are supposed to wear nothing on the head and only sandals on the feet, leaving the instep bare. I had to point out that it would be impossible for me to go in the sun with my bald head, and that if it was expected that I should do so it would be just as well to dig my grave at once. I was allowed to wear a white turban and slippers.

Of course, the symbolic meaning of the ihram is very beautiful. We brought nothing into the world, and we give up worldly thoughts and approach our Maker in deepest humility, asking His blessing and direction in the right path: "Thee only do we worship, and of Thee alone do we beg assistance."

Having paid our respects to the King, we carried out two of the most important rites or ceremonies—viz., walking seven times round the Kaaba and kissing the black stone in the eastern corner of the building; and walking and running seven times between two small mounds outside the Grand Mosque, in memory of Hagar's search for water when she and her son Ishmael were perishing of thirst in the desert. The former rite is called the "Tawaf" and the last named the "Saiee," and both have to be performed again after the return from Arafat, where the sermon on the mount is preached.

There is a little misconception about the holy carpet. The Kaaba is an oblong stone building about 50 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 25 feet high. I did not measure it carefully, but the dimensions are about right. Round the sides the holy carpet is hung. It is made of very thick dark blue silk mounted on strong canvas, and has a broad belt of rich gold wire embroidery running round the edifice about 12 feet from the ground. This carpet, or curtain it might well be called, is changed each year, and a new one is put on, fresh from the busy hands which have been at work on it for twelve months. It is made in Cairo, and for many generations the work has gone on from father to son.

Having asked permission, I was at liberty to take photos of the Grand Mosque, the minarets, and, indeed, anything that I wished to be reminded of when away from the city. From the upper windows of the house we had been lent we also obtained a splendid view of the Seven Minarets, the Zam Zam Well, the Ali Gate, and the Way of the Saiee. Of course, I took advantage of this, and succeeded in getting quite a nice lot of snaps, which came out very sharp and clear, and I now reproduce some of them on the screen.

On the day of our arrival the King arranged a review of his troops, which proved interesting. The barracks are half a mile outside Mecca, and we saw the different units march past, after which there was a display of horsemanship, javelin-throwing, etc. After the review of the troops the King entertained us at a big dinner in the

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barracks, and this was attended by a number of Ministers of the Crown, as well as by the chief officers in the army.

I must not forget to mention that we all visited the various shrines commemorative to those who were dearest to the Blessed Prophet—Amena, Khadeja, and Ayesha. We were now approaching the time when it would be necessary for us to make the journey to Arafat and Mina, both well within ten miles of the city; at the first named we should hear the sermon which is preached every year from Mount Arafat in memory of the Holy Prophet, who was wont to address his followers from a certain spot about halfway up the hill, which is not more than 250 feet high. This sermon was due to be preached on July 23rd, so on the 22nd we were off from Mecca at 4 a.m. The cavalcade was an imposing one. First came the Camel Corps of Bedouins, all armed to the teeth with scimitars, rifles, pistols, and javelins. Then we followed in a carriage drawn by four splendid mules, the quietest and best-behaved animals of their kind I ever came across. Immediately after us came the beautiful Arab stallions of the King's stable. These pure-bred animals were led in long procession, one after the other, by their grooms, and at a short interval came the King, riding upon a magnificent white Arab stallion and surrounded by his guards and standard-bearers. Immediately behind His Majesty rode the bearer of the golden umbrella, whose duty it was to ward off the heat and glare of the sun. The long procession was brought up by various units of the Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery. Our progress was slow, since it was regulated by the pace of the camels, who invariably adopt their own long, deliberate, shuffling stride, except when they scent water in the desert—but that is quite another story.

Our first stop was at Mina, where the guns boomed out a salute, the echoes of which seemed never to die out amongst the endless ranges of mountains. Here we stayed for prayers, and then pushed on to Bozan, where we slept under the stars and in delightful freedom from mosquitoes or other pests which are so often the curse of hot climates. Up very early on the 23rd, we passed on to Arafat, where we duly attended the service and listened to the sermon, from time to time calling out the well-known cry, "Labbayk, Labbayk," which means "I am here, Lord; I am here." After sunset we started on the return journey to Mecca, and this time broke the journey at Muzdalfah, where we again slept out in the open in the gentle breezes and in sight of the thousands of twinkling lights which illumined the vast plain and made it look almost like an inverted star-spangled vault of heaven. Both at Bozan and Muzdalfah I discovered that I had been using the King's camp-bed, whilst His Majesty slept on the ground. Needless to say, I was quite unaware of this till afterwards, and felt covered with confusion and remorse—

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it was another instance of the King's thoughtfulness and kindness. He had evidently given instructions for the little camp bedstead to be placed so that I could use it, and I suppose I was too sleepy to ask any questions at the time.

From Muzdalfah we joined the cavalcade, and returned to Mecca in the same order in which we had arrived, and then, in company with the King and my two friends, the Khwaja and Abdul Mohyi, again repeated the circumambulation of the Kaaba or Tawaf and the journeys between Safa and Mawar, or Saiee. We now lost no time in returning to Mina, the place of the sacrifices. There is a good deal of nonsense talked about the cruelty of the sacrifices by people who should know better. There is no more cruelty than there is when your butcher kills a sheep which provides you with a mutton chop for lunch. All the slaughtered animals are eaten by the poor pilgrims, and the skins are turned into leather for the use of the people. We were provided with a very nice house in Mina, and from the windows there was a fine view of the never-ending and wonderful procession of pilgrims returning from Arafat. We saw thousands of camels, mules, and donkeys, sometimes four abreast, passing from earliest dawn to sunset. Almost every nationality one can think of passed by, and the scene, with the gorgeous colouring of the East, produced a succession of kaleidoscopic views entrancing to behold. There were Chinese, Japanese, Egyptians, Thibetans, Baluchis, Cingalese, Soudanese, Persians, Turks, Indians, Punjabis, Afghans, South Africans, North Africans, Somalis, Nubians, West Africans, and many others. Thoughts of the Brotherhood of Islam came into my mind very often when watching this ever-changing spectacle; all these people of widely differing temperament, different manners and customs, unable to speak each other's language, yet irresistibly drawn together by the great tie of earnest belief in the One and Only God and the Brotherhood of Man. I have not observed this kind of simple devotion in Christian countries, where the different sects seem to be kept apart by jealousy or dislike for each other's dogmas.

There is one ceremony in Mina which must be described. There are three different places where Abraham was tempted by the Devil. At these places, which are not many hundred yards from one another, stone pillars have been built. Each pillar is surrounded by a low wall, round which the pilgrims stand whilst they throw seven small stones at it. Each time a stone hits the pillar we invoke God's protection and defence against the wiles of Satan. This is done at each of the three places, so that twenty-one stones are thrown altogether, and each time we say: "In the name of Allah, and Allah is Almighty, I do this in hatred of the Devil and to his shame."

Having performed all the duties and rites connected with the pilgrimage, I received congratulations from many friends in the

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market-place of Mina, and soon afterwards we returned to Mecca finally.

The King had given me a gold-embroidered robe, and it has been suggested that I should wear it on the occasions of my few lectures; but I think it is better to remain a Western in appearance, the tarbush, the turban, and the Arab head-dress all being somewhat out of place in this climate, besides which I have no wish to be accused of "showing off."

This pilgrimage was undertaken on religious grounds alone, and I am somewhat annoyed to find that certain mischievous persons have put about a report to the contrary, and endeavoured to show that there was a political meaning attached to it.

We saw a good deal of the preparations for the caravan to Medina, to which a number of the pilgrims were going. There was trouble anticipated from the Bedouin tribes, some of which are turbulent and lawless and give cause for grave anxiety; so the caravan had to be a strong one.

We were fortunate in seeing the changing of the holy carpet—a fresh one is placed round the Kaaba each year—and said good-bye to our most kind host, King Hussein, and also to his son. That very day, and after we had made all arrangements for the return journey to Jiddah, the Amir Ali called with Fuad Khateeb, the Foreign Minister, and in the name of the King invested me with the Order of the Nahda First Class, the highest order that can be given in Arabia. On the following morning we motored back to Jiddah in the King's car, and soon afterwards left by the same steamer, the *Mansurah*, which had brought us from Suez a month previously.

In due course we reached Suez, after being three days in quarantine at Tor, on the Sinai peninsula, and again stayed with our friends the El-Bakris in Cairo. Before leaving the country we went again to Alexandria, where we saw His Majesty King Fuad of Egypt, who gave us a long interview. We also said good-bye again to our most kind friend Prince Omer Toussoun, and soon afterwards our party broke up, as I had to return to London on business, my friend the Khwaja had to start for India, and Mohyi Abdul was detained in Cairo.

Personally I feel much improved by the pilgrimage, for it seems to have opened my mind to many things which were not so clear before. Recently I received letters which show that in the opinion of several people the journey has not been without good effects. Here are two. The first is from Sir Ahmed Hussein, Secretary to the Nyzam of Hyderabad. He writes: "I send you the second edition of the same book, which I trust your Lordship will accept as a token of the regard and esteem I entertain towards one whose courage and conviction have been an object-lesson to Muslims all over the world." And here is a letter from an Englishman in Government employ, rather an

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important man: "Of one thing I am sure, that it [the pilgrimage] has helped greatly to bind anew the bonds between the East and the West, which is an object I have very much at heart." Such expressions are encouraging, for they seem to point to an honest desire to see a genuine and kindly feeling between us Muslims who are Britishers and the Muslims who owe allegiance to our King in various parts of the world, and also the Christians who are good and loyal subjects in many lands.

I have just come across a copy of an old report of the British Muslim Society, which is not without interest at the present moment, so I will read it. It is dated October, 1914, about two months after the war broke out. As President of the Society I had called a meeting, which was held at the Mosque, Woking, on Sunday, September 30, and proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by the Maulvie Sadr-ud-Din, and carried unanimously: "'We desire to offer our whole-hearted congratulations to our Eastern Brethren now at the front, and to express our delight to find that our co-religionists in Islam are fighting on the side of honour, truth, and justice, and are carrying into effect the principles of Islam as inculcated by the Holy Prophet Muhammad.' This has been sent to Lord Kitchener in Urdu, and his Lordship is forwarding it to the troops at the front."

That shows the interest we British Muslims were taking; we who were not in the fighting-line. Here are a few lines which occur in the same report under the heading "Comrades in Arms": "We are now putting together a glorious page of history, which countless generations of our descendants will read with honest and grateful pride. To feel that one actually belongs to a grand Empire, whose sons are freely pouring out their life-blood in defence of honour and for the love of truth and justice, and to think that one is permitted to live and see heroism and devotion on such a magnificent scale, thrills the soul to its very innermost recesses. If the spontaneous support forthcoming from all the British Colonies has elicited admiration, the equally spontaneous and affectionate outburst of loyalty and devotion from all parts of the Indian Empire has called into being a new consciousness of brotherly love, the somewhat cold and phlegmatic temperament of the Briton being thoroughly warmed to enthusiastic delight by the wholehearted and noble efforts of his Eastern brother. There has been no hanging back, and the spirit which hundreds of years ago animated the Holy Prophet Muhammad, when he was compelled to draw the sword in the cause of freedom, truth, and justice, now dominates all Britishers and Muslims who are fighting shoulder to shoulder in this war, righteously undertaken in defence of right against the might of arrogant oppression. The Muslims of the West are naturally proud of the efforts now being

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made by their Eastern Muslim brethren, and those sentiments have been fittingly expressed at a recent meeting of the British Muslim Society, when a resolution was passed congratulating those followers of Islam who are privileged to assist in carrying into effect those principles which characterized the life and dealings of the Holy Prophet. When we declared war against Germany, I received letters from friends, who appeared horror-struck that we, a Protestant nation, 'should take up arms against another Protestant nation' in order to help 'idolatrous Roman Catholic countries like France and Belgium.' I wrote back, pointing out that this was in no sense a religious war, and that we were simply carrying out our promise, whilst Germany was deliberately breaking hers. The Germans might be of any religion or of no religion; it mattered not what they were; they were breaking a solemn and binding written promise, and placing a deep and never-to-be-forgotten insult on the British Empire by asking us to be a party to a great international crime. Were we to commit sin and break our word because the majority of Germans happened to be Protestants? Were we to lose our self-respect and do wrong because the national religion of France and Belgium happened to be Roman Catholic? One cannot help feeling intense thankfulness that we followed the example of the Holy Prophet, who always administered justice impartially, whether those appearing before him were Jews, Muslims, Christians, or idolaters. We did the right thing, quite irrespective of any religious leanings or beliefs, and took just the very course Muhammad would have taken had he been with us. In the end, when we have beaten the modern Huns, may the spirit of justice guide our hearts and keep us from blindly inflicting punishments in excess of what is required. The *lex talionis* cannot, of course, be applied; but do not let us lose sight of the necessity for so arranging matters that the whole civilized world shall not again be kept in an incessant state of feverish anxiety because one nation insists upon armaments on an enormous scale, and strives at her aggrandizement at the expense of the rest of the world. 'Insaf kerna hoga'—that means 'Justice shall be done'—has often been a watchword of talismanic power in the East, and, thank God, it has been, and will, I hope, be, our motto all through this war, in which Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Hindus are all showing the whole world that their moral sense of right and wrong is in no way warped by their particular religious views." There are some verses and a prayer, and the concluding paragraph: "We may not rejoice in ill-deeds because they appear to bring certain advantages; we cannot praise the Germans for their dishonourable conduct in starting the war, but there is no doubt at all that healthy and happy results are already becoming manifest as the outcome of one of the most outrageously unfair wars in the history of the world. Paradoxical as it may seem,

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we are, in a sense, great gainers through this scourge; but for the urgency of the case and the need for concerted action, we should never have known, as we now know, how deeply attached we of the British Empire really are to one another. It is not merely a case of English-speaking races, but a case of some 250 million of our Eastern brethren as well. Thus out of the jangling clash of arms and falling buildings there is one note of sweetness which will echo for ever down the aisles of futurity—it is the note of brotherly love established between peoples who delight not in war, but, with true Islamic sincerity, in upholding the right at any cost."

I honestly think that there may be some little good come out of my pilgrimage. It may make people more sympathetic and brotherly. Let us try to see if we cannot regard ourselves as all equally loyal British subjects, bound together by ties of brotherly love, instead of looking down on others because they happen to be born on another part of the globe and are not quite like ourselves in some respects. I know that my brothers in the East love me and I love them. I don't say that I don't love you of the West also—I do, for I am one of you; but I love my Muslim brothers all over the world quite as much as I love anybody. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then declared the lecture open to discussion.

Mr. F. H. SKRINE: You, Sir, in introducing the Lecturer, mentioned that Sir Richard Burton had made this pilgrimage at the imminent risk of his life. Now a Muslim friend of mine, while I was serving in India, went three times to Mecca, on the first occasion as a fellow-traveller with Burton, and he told me that before the caravan had been an hour out of Jiddah every man, woman, and child knew that Burton was a European. But he had been so splendidly coached in all the intricacies of the *Namáz*, and performed the genuflections so perfectly that everyone in the caravan thought that he was a Muslim. Of course, things would have been quite different if they had known he was not a genuine Muslim, and I think he would have had his throat cut. But as a matter of fact there was no more risk than for you and me while travelling to Brighton in a Pullman car. There is no doubt that Burton was a master of words, and in his book, which came out four years afterwards, he keeps up a marvellous atmosphere of terror. It is really one of the most fascinating books I ever read, but it is entirely based on a misapprehension. One more remark, on Lord Headley's criticism of the Pyramids. It is rather curious; I do not know whether he is aware that the base of the Great Pyramid is of the same area as the whole of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Yet to Lord Headley they seemed small, and I found them so, too, until I began to think in figures. As a matter of fact, there is nothing to compare with them. There is a vast desert

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around them, the adjacent buildings and trees are small, and you don't realize until you have been hauled up by the Arabs—as I was, and got nearly killed in the doing it—what an illusion the "smallness" of the Pyramids is. I wish to express the delight we have had in the charming lecture, and the entire agreement we have in the spirit in which Lord Headley performed the pilgrimage. I think it will do a vast amount of good, and create more sympathy between Christians and Muslims. We are not considered Kafirs or infidels by the latter; we are "People of the Book"; and Muslims will hold out the right hand of fellowship if we show some sympathy with their religious beliefs.

Mr. O'Reilly: I very much appreciated the lecture we have listened to; there is, perhaps, a little political undercurrent, unintentionally, in the reference to the Sherif as being head of the Arab world. Without bringing up a controversial political question, there are many of us who look towards a greater man in the Nejd in the north-east—it is perhaps a rather thorny subject to bring up—as a better and worthier ally of ours—Ibn Saud. (Some applause.) There will be some of us who, having been out there, will find Ibn Saud a better man to rest on; but that is a side-issue in politics which I do not wish to come in. We have had two or three times this evening reference to that most attractive book of Burton's, a book on which there are a great many controversies; and some of us, who remember traditions at Damascus, where Burton was well known, will be inclined to remember how much adulteration from Burckhardt there may be in the book, or what other sources he has used. There have been other visitors since the war, not so attractive as writers, but more reliable in detail. May I ask one question? I understand that pilgrims visiting the House of God are always, I suppose, conducted round by the guides, who teach them the correct ritual. I presume that Lord Headley is the first one who has openly gone as an Englishman, and I should like to ask what kind of a system is going to be used for English pilgrims. Who are the guides who will take them in hand, teach them the ritual and proper prayers? I presume some kind of procedure is now going to be established. I should wish to join my humble appreciation to those who have already thanked Lord Headley for his lecture, and those most interesting views that he has shown us. (Applause.)

Mr. B. L. Kaye: I should like to add a few words to the remarks of the previous speaker. In Sir Richard Burton's book, in the Kashèdá he says: "Do good, for good is good to do." I want to ask Lord Headley whether that comes from some Muslim thinker. I should like to add my humble appreciation of the lecture, which, so far as I am concerned, and I am sure a great number of others agree, has aroused an amount of appreciation that I am not able to explain

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in language, not having the power of speech; and I should like to say this, that I think Lord Headley has done a very great service to humanity in telling us that he did not go to Mecca for any political purpose, but to show up the brotherhood of man, of which we in the West talk so much and act so little. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: With regard to my old friend Sir Richard Burton, the gentleman, Mr. Skrine, said that he did not go through any dangers. Well, the dangers and discomforts that he must have suffered in that journey, which I have just made so easily and so comfortably, show up the contrast in a most wonderful manner. He had to go the whole way from Alexandria to Suez by camels. He had the greatest difficulty in getting arrangements made. Mind you, this was in the year 1853, before I was born, that he had to do this. Then from Suez he had to go down to Jiddah in an uncomfortable zambook, one of those wretched sailing-boats with three times as many people on board as there ought to be, and in the greatest discomfort and danger, too. All through he had an extraordinarily uncomfortable time. I speak open to correction, but I do not think he was actually suspected of being a Britisher until quite at the end, when he said something which stamped him as a Britisher —not during the pilgrimage. I think it would be an exceedingly dangerous thing for a man to get into the Mosque under false pretences. I believe only twenty people have accomplished this by subterfuge. It is all done by trickery and disguises. I cannot understand why Burton did not say he was a Muslim and go in openly, because from my conversations with him—not that he ever said so in so many words—I am almost certain he was a Muslim. Of course, when he was dead they baptized and buried him in another Church, but that is another story. The line quoted by the gentleman here is attributed to the Prophet. Dr. Leon tells me it is one of the Prophet's sayings.

Professor H. LEON: "Do good because it is good to do good"—that is the exact translation.

The LECTURER: About the Pyramid. I am told the great test is to try and kick a football clear of the base, and that nobody has ever been able to do it. If it is the size of Lincoln's Inn Fields, I think if you tried to kick a football from the centre of Lincoln's Inn Fields to either of the sides it would be rather a long kick. They have tried over and over again, and it always drops on the stones. But I never said a word about King Hussein being the head of all Arabia, though I think myself that it would be a very good thing if he were. He is a man of very great character and very sound. He is about seventy years of age, but always on the *qui vive* to do whatever is good and useful for his country. About instructing Muslims over here: that if there were a lot of Muslims there would

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be nobody to tell them how to pray, and all that. We have many Muslims here to tell them anything they want to know. It is very simple; there is no great difficulty in learning the bowing and prostration. The Fatiah is the prayer that is usually learned, and it is a very beautiful one. I do not think there is any other question. It only remains for me now to thank you very much for listening to me so long, and to apologize—I must do so—for being rather uncertain about some of these pictures. I hope you will excuse that. I hope for better luck next time. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will not say now more than just a word, to agree most heartily with those who have already expressed the sentiment that great good has been done by the journey, undertaken on religious and moral and humanitarian grounds, by Lord Headley to Mecca. I have no doubt, as he has been assured in some of the letters already, it has contributed a good deal to promoting friendship between the great masses of different religions who are subjects of the King. We must remember—in fact, I think we always do remember—that the King has at least as many Muslim subjects as he has Christian subjects—probably many more, so that all of us must desire the most harmonious relations between them, and we shall not forget certainly the part that was played by the Indian Mussulmans who came to the front in our moment of peril. We shall not forget that, although, of course, we know there were other Mussulmans who were misled into an opposite camp. We feel that Mussulman feeling on the whole throughout the world was in sympathy with us, and we wish to do everything to promote that feeling. Lord Headley has taken a leading part in doing so, and will continue to do so, and to promote harmony between these great religions. He has given us a most interesting lecture, and I am sure you will allow me on your behalf to express the thanks of the entire meeting for the address he has given us. (Applause.)

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THE DALAI LAMA; LHASA, 1921

By Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Services Institution, Whitehall, London, S.W., on Thursday, November 8. The President of the Society, the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, was in the chair, and the principal speaker was Sir Charles Bell.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not keep you a minute more than to say that our lecturer this evening is Sir Charles Bell, who, I suppose, more than anyone living, has had constant and continued experience of Tibet and Tibetan conditions. He has been for many years Political Resident in Sikkim and Bhutan and Tibet. He has made journeys to Gyangtse and many other parts of the country. He has entered into intimate relations with the Dalai Lama, who, I believe, looks upon him as a personal friend. He has mastered the Tibetan language, has a great knowledge of Tibetan history and literature, and, in fact, I can conceive of no one more able to enlighten us upon present conditions there. I may mention that his first introduction, I believe, to that country, was in the capacity of a member of Sir Francis Younghusband's first mission to Lhasa in 1904, of which we all know as a great historical event, which raised the veil from that mystic city and caused us to take an increasing interest in the fortunes of that country. That was the time when its independence appeared to be seriously threatened by Russia—a fear which was dispelled by the results of Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission. I believe that we are not going to dwell particularly on the political aspects of that, but I am sure that Sir Charles Bell will have many other aspects of the question to deal with this evening, and I will ask him now to be kind enough to give us his lecture.

Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—During the latter years of the fourteenth century, A.D., there arose in Amdo, one of the north-eastern districts of Tibet, a man who was destined to play a large part in the national life. Buddhism had been introduced into the country several centuries earlier, but this man felt that reform was needed. He aimed at increasing priestly effort and strengthening priestly discipline. Among other measures he advocated the celibacy of the clergy and their abstinence from strong drink.

The name of this reformer was Tsong-ka-pa—*i.e.*, "The Man from the Land of Onions." When, however, his followers increased and multiplied, he received the name of Je Rim-po-che—*i.e.*, "The Noble

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One of Great Price," a more dignified appellation than that which put him among the onions. His disciples became known as " Yellow Hats," from the colour of their headgear, in contradistinction to the " Red Hats " of the unreformed priests. They were also called Ge-luk-pa, as opposed to the Nying-ma-pa, or " The Old Sect." The word Ge-luk appears originally to have been taken from Gan-den-luk, " The Gan-den Sect," but is nowadays generally interpreted as " The Sect of Religious Merit."

Je Rim-po-che founded the great monastery, Gan-den, " The Joyous," which contains nominally 3,300 monks, but at the present day about 4,000, for the large monasteries in Tibet are mostly over strength. In Gan-den he lived and died; there, too, is his mausoleum in one of the large monastic buildings under the canopy of a Mongol tent. He founded also the large monastery, Sera, which now contains 6,000 monks, and, with the solitary exception of Dre-pung, is the largest in the country.

On his death Je Rim-po-che's power appears to have been assumed by Gan-den Trup-pa, a monk of the Gan-den monastery. The latter, after his death—by the system of reincarnation already familiar to Tibet—was believed to have passed his spirit into the body of a newly-born boy, who thus became the second of the series. In due course he died, and his reincarnation succeeded him under the name of So-nam Gya-tso. This one, the third, spread the religion in Mongolia, and received from one of his converts, a Mongol chief, the title Dalai Lama, or, more correctly, Ta-le Lama, to which was added Vajradhara (in Tibetan, Dorjechang), the whole meaning " The All-Embracing Lama, Holder of the Sacred Thunderbolt." It was thus that the title Dalai Lama originated.

The fifth in the series obtained, with the aid of one of his Mongol adherents, the sovereignty over the whole of Tibet. He is always regarded as the greatest of all. Others are referred to simply by their numbers—the eighth, the eleventh, and so on; he is styled Nga-pa Chem-po, " The Great Fifth." The present Dalai Lama is the thirteenth.

All are recognized as embodiments of Chen-re-zi, the Divine Buddha of Mercy, who is also by tradition the founder of the Tibetan race. The Tibetans anticipated Darwin by claiming descent from a monkey. The latter, an incarnation of Chen-re-zi, met a she-devil, and, after much hesitation, married her. They had six children, and thus the Tibetan race began. The Tibetans say that they inherit their good qualities from their first father and their failings from the she-devil.

During my nineteen years of service on the Tibetan borderland and in Tibet itself it was my good-fortune to be brought into close contact with the Dalai Lama on many occasions. In 1910 His Holiness, with

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the leading members of his Government, fled to India from the Chinese invasion of Lhasa. They remained in Darjeeling and in Kalimpong—the main entrepôt of Indo-Tibetan trade and close to the Tibetan frontier—for over two years. I was in charge of them during this period, and had with the Dalai Lama frequent private interviews, at which he invariably dismissed all others from the room so that we two, sitting together alone, could converse without restraint.

After the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet in 1912 he frequently invited me to visit him at Lhasa. The Indian Government did not see their way to permit me to accept any of these invitations until October, 1920, when I was placed in charge of a diplomatic Mission to Lhasa. I remained in the Holy City for close on a year, and during this time also had frequent *tête-à-tête* interviews with the Dalai Lama in his country palace, two miles outside Lhasa. When I left the Tibetan capital I felt that there were few Orientals whom I knew as well as the mysterious personage who governs Tibet.

I should like to take this opportunity of putting on record my great obligations to the Tibetan Government and people for the unfailing hospitality and kindliness to myself and my colleagues throughout our visit. This is no formal expression of thanks, for the atmosphere of friendliness was far above the ordinary. Even when the country was on the verge of civil war I rode about unarmed and practically alone, receiving nothing but courtesy from both the contending parties. And, when the trouble broke out again a few months later, the priests—who are of all the most intolerant of foreigners—desired me to intervene in the dispute.

I was fortunate also in my colleagues. Lieut.-Col. Kennedy, I.M.S., was the only other white man in the party, and we met no others during our year together in Lhasa. He was proficient in the Tibetan language, in sympathy with the people, and surprised them in no small measure by his medical skill. To the others, too, my debt was very great, and perhaps most of all to Ku-sho Pa-lhe-se, a Tibetan nobleman, who had been working with me for some seventeen years.

The road from India to Lhasa leads through Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley to the uplands of Tibet, and affords a striking example of the climatic changes that may be encountered in seventy miles of travel on this frontier. Sikkim, with its dripping forests and dense undergrowth, has on parts of the road a rainfall of 200 inches per annum. Crossing the Sikkim-Tibetan frontier, you descend through pinewoods to the Chumbi Valley, where the rainfall averages only 55 to 60 inches yearly. Starting up this valley at an elevation of 9,400 feet, you keep by the river to its source on the Phari plain, pass Phari—a busy little mart where the trade converges from

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India, Tibet, and Bhutan—and cross the main axis of the Himalaya, eleven miles farther on, by the Tang La, a pass 15,200 feet above sea-level. You are now on "The Plain of the Three Sisters," and the change in climate is complete. Here the yearly rainfall is only 7 or 8 inches on the average. For seventy miles there is no tree or shrub; not even a plant more than a few inches in height. It may, no doubt, be regarded as a desolate land, but it has an abiding fascination for those who come to know it. Among its varied charms it is—as, I think, Sir Francis Younghusband has remarked in one of his books—a land of beautiful sunsets.

Beggar minstrels are frequently passed on the road. They play, sing, and dance as one passes. They call for "Sö-re, sö-re," with the distinctive whine of the Tibetan beggar folk; and in some cases an increasing contact with the outside world has introduced that penetrating little word, "baksheesh."

The Gyantse fort and town stand midway between the Sikkim-Tibet frontier and Lhasa, 150 miles from each. The fort is a massive building, typical of Tibetan architecture; and in the days of bows and arrows and flint-lock muskets—days that are only now passing from Tibet—was well able to withstand such attacks as might be made against it. For many centuries Tibet was divided into a number of petty principalities, each chief or chieftainess holding the fort and governing the neighbourhood. It was then that the Tibetan saying came into common use:—

"The fort on the hill;
The fields on the plain."

It was the duty of the fort to defend the villages within its jurisdiction: it was equally the duty of the villagers to feed the fort.

We left Yatung in the Chumbi Valley for Lhasa on November 1, 1920, and Gyantse a few days later. From Gyantse onwards our party was in country but seldom visited by Europeans. I will, however, describe only a few incidents on this road, for the road itself has often been described before. Two officials (*dzong-pön*) hold joint charge over the Gyantse district, and one of these, Ne-tö Dzong-pön, being attached to my Mission, accompanied us to Lhasa and made all the travelling arrangements for us. We had now left behind the staging bungalows of the Indian Government and lodged in those belonging to the Government of Tibet or in the private houses of the people.

Forty miles from Gyantse we passed under the snow mountain known as Nö-jin Kang-sang, which is reputed to be the residence of a masterful demon, who would appear to take his cue from the Plagues of Egypt. He not only has the power of afflicting the population with boils, but joins with six other like-minded devils to send the hail-

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storms that too often devastate the ripening fields of barley and peas. It seems to be in harmony with his character that the name of the mountain should have a troublesome spelling. *Nö-jin* is spelt *knotspyin*, while *kangs-psang* is responsible for *kang-sang*.

At this point we crossed the Ka-rö La, a pass between 16,000 and 17,000 feet above sea-level. A gentle but continuous descent was made to the Yamdro Tso, "The Lake of the Upland Pastures," sometimes also known as the Yu Tso, "Turquoise Lake." Continuing along it for some twenty-seven miles, we then crossed the pass, known as the Kam-ba La, which divides the province of Tsang, that of which Shigatse is the capital, from the province in which Lhasa itself lies. The latter province is known as Ü, "The Centre," spelt *Tpus*. A steep descent followed, first down the bare slope, clad with snow in patches, and then by shrubs of juniper, barberry and rose interspersed with plentiful clumps of edelweiss. Still lower down were willow-trees and cultivated fields. We had now reached the great river, usually mapped and referred to as the Tsang-po, which flows through Southern Tibet from west to east, and is known on maps of India as the Brahmaputra. The word Tsang-po, however, merely denotes a large river. The one we were to cross is known by different names on different portions of its course; here it is called the Tsang-chu, "The River of Tsang." During winter the water is low, so we went over it in a large, square wooden boat; in the summer floods you must cross in one of the coracles made of yak-hide.

On the other side, at Chu-shur, we were met by one of the Dalai Lama's Secretaries, who brought a message of welcome from His Holiness, and informed me that he, as well as Ne-tö Dzong-pön, would be attached to my Mission during its stay in Lhasa. I arranged to halt for one day at Chu-shur in order to arrive at Lhasa on November 17, an auspicious date in the Tibetan calendar. In order to meet the wishes of the people it is of the utmost importance in Tibet to observe dates in this way, and, as far as possible, to take up an important work on a day of good omen.

The Holy City is screened from view until one is within a mile of it by two low hills which stand side by side on the Lhasa plain. On one is the Temple of Medicine; on the other the Dalai Lama's palace, the world-famed Potala. It is not until one has passed under the long archway of the western entrance that the city of Lhasa is visible, barely a mile away.

We were now directly under the Potala, a huge and wonderful palace, nine storeys in front, and built into the rock at the back. It is filled partly by ecclesiastical officials and the Dalai Lama's private College of priests, partly by numerous chapels and mausolea, and partly by the Dalai Lama's private apartments. It was built originally some eleven hundred years ago as a fort, and on a much

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smaller scale, by one of the early kings of Tibet. It was rebuilt, almost in its present form, by the Regent of Tibet, De-si Sang-gye Gya-tso, during the time of the fifth Dalai Lama. The walls are of stone, whitewashed except the portion enclosing the chapels, which are coloured red, and another small part, which is yellow. The massive grandeur of the great palace catches the eye and grips the imagination at all times, but perhaps most of all when the sunset lights up its gilded roofs.

At its base lies Potala Shö, a village of about a thousand inhabitants, ecclesiastical officials and others in the service of the Grand Lama. Farther on is the city of Lhasa. It lies well out in the plain, surrounded by groves of willow and poplar trees. The houses are large and solid, two or three storeys high, very often of stone below and of sun-dried bricks above. There are no brick-kilns. The people are fond of an outdoor life, and thus the groves, or parks (*ling-ka*), are in constant request, especially for the summer picnics, when the days are spent in singing, dancing, and gambling.

The members of the Mission were lodged in houses in the large grounds of the Kün-de-ling monastery, between the city and the Dalai Lama's country palace. To Lieut.-Col. Kennedy and myself was assigned the residence of a former Regent of Tibet, the Head Lama of this monastery. With the kindly consideration that is characteristic of him, the Dalai Lama had chosen this house for us, both because it was clean and because it was near his own residence, so that I could visit him frequently.

Shortly after our arrival in Lhasa my Personal Assistant, Rai Bahadur A-chuk Tse-ring, died of influenza contracted on the journey to Lhasa. He belonged to the Sikkimese branch of the Tibetan race, and was a man of exceptional political insight. In him I lost not only a trusted counsellor but an old friend, for we had worked together for some seventeen years. Three out of our small party of thirty died of this scourge, which is greatly dreaded in Tibet. It frequently turns to pneumonia, and the difficulty of breathing in these high altitudes necessarily lessens the patient's chance of recovery.

But let us return to the Dalai Lama. He was born in the province of Tak-po, a hundred miles east of Lhasa, of poor parents. His name is Nga-wang Lob-sang Tup-den Gya-tso. This name is, however, seldom used. His Holiness is ordinarily referred to as The Precious Protector, The Precious Sovereign, The Inmost Protector, The All-knowing Presence, or simply as The Presence.

Let me tell you something of the manner in which Tibetans discover the boy into whose body the spirit of the previous Dalai Lama is believed to have passed. The best way to do so will perhaps be to recount the story of the finding of the present Dalai Lama as it was told to me by the late Prime Minister of Tibet, a man of excep-

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tional ability and shrewdness. I mention this latter point because, no doubt, the story may appear fantastic.

The chief oracle of the Tibetan Government, Ne-chung, gave the names of the father and mother; the oracle at Sam-ye added the news that the hill behind their house was shaped like an elephant. The committee of priests, which deals with such matters, then deputed a lama and some doctors of divinity to a certain lake, and told the former that he would see reflected in the lake a picture of the young Dalai Lama, a boy about three years of age. On reaching the lake the lama found it covered with snow, but soon afterwards a strong wind arose and blew the snow off the ice which covered the lake. The lake itself stood on end, and in it the lama saw the picture that had been promised. A vision that appeared to him the following night showed the young Dalai in his mother's arms. With such wealth of detail before him he soon found the young boy, with everything as shown by the oracles, the lake, and the vision. As a further confirmation the child indicated articles belonging to his predecessor, or, as we should more correctly say, to himself in his previous life. Among these was an image of Buddha, which he had given to the Chief of Li-tang, a district more than a month's journey distant. This Chief, from fear of losing the image, had hidden it in a beam in his house, and the little child was understood to disclose this fact. And the final confirmation that the boy was the true embodiment was made clear when they found on his person several of the distinguishing signs of Buddhahood.

The present Dalai Lama is somewhat below the average height of Tibetans, and the difference is accentuated by a slight stoop due to long hours spent in religious devotion. His eyebrows are arched and his moustache is larger than the average among those of his race. His face is slightly pitted with the marks of an old attack of smallpox. But when he speaks his face lights up with a peculiarly winning smile. He has a strong sense of humour, which shows itself not only in his conversation, but sometimes also in his administrative acts, and this is appreciated by his subjects, for the Tibetans are a laughter-loving people.

Of his four predecessors, none lived long enough to attain the temporal power. Against himself also an attempt was made, by witchcraft, when he was a young man, but he succeeded in defeating it. He is now about forty-nine years of age.

His Holiness spends as little time as possible in his great palace, the Potala. The dust and dirt of the city injure his health. He likes to take a fair amount of exercise, and he cannot take this except on the roof. So he has built himself his country palace, two miles from the town of Lhasa, in the ample grounds of Nor-bu Ling-ka, "The Jewel Park."

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A good many are admitted to the outer grounds of the Jewel Park. But from the inner enclosure all except a few, very few, are excluded. Even Cabinet Ministers are barred. I was, so far as I know, the first white man to enter this. When the Dalai Lama showed me round, I was able to appreciate his fondness for animals, birds, and flowers. Huge Tibetan mastiffs of unappeasable ferocity are chained here and there, including one remarkably fine specimen from his own province, Tak-po. Deer and wild sheep, monkeys and porcupines, pheasants and snow-cock, are housed within the inner enclosure. Of the numerous flowers hydrangeas and sweet-peas are his especial favourites. A large artificial sheet of water adorns these inner precincts, and the Grand Lama not infrequently spends his time in a beautiful little pavilion built upon it.

His is a busy life. His days are long and arduous. He rises before six, in the cold grey dawn of a Tibetan morning; and, with but scanty intermissions for food and leisure, prays and works till after midnight. Sometimes, when a ceremony is unusually early, a journey has to be started, or arrears of work to be overtaken, he will rise at 3 a.m. His subjects gratefully recognize the promptitude with which he despatches the State business.

One among his multifarious duties is that of blessing each year the monks of the Dre-pung, Se-ra, and Gan-den monasteries, who total about 20,000. Each is blessed separately. Another is the delivery of a public sermon in the early morning of the fifteenth day of the first Tibetan month. His religious devotions, public and private services, take at least three or four hours a day, usually more. In addition, all important matters of Church and State—and many others which would seem to us of trivial concern—are laid before him for decision.

When one realizes the difficulties in governing such a wide and sparsely-populated dominion, over half a million miles in area, one must admit the general orderliness which the Tibetan Government are able to maintain throughout most of the country. It is far more orderly than the government of those parts of Tibetan territory which are occupied and administered by China; it is far more orderly than Chinese administration in China itself.

Much more might be said about the Grand Lama's many-sided activities. But time presses; I must close my remarks. He is more than a pope: he is god as well as king. The great majority of the people are well content that he should rule, for, as the couplet runs—

> "The Ruler in this Life;
> The Uplifter in the Hereafter"

—they have only one Authority to deal with; this simplifies life's problems.

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On the whole, if one considers the peculiar difficulties of his position, there are many less able rulers in the world than His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet.*

The CHAIRMAN: I am now going to ask Sir Francis Younghusband, who is present, to speak to us. I need not tell you about him; his name is written on the pages of our history, and his journey to Tibet is famous, and one of the most interesting Missions, I suppose, ever undertaken is the one that led him to that mysterious capital; besides which, of course, as we all know, his travels in various parts of Central Asia have made known to us great regions of which before we knew very little, and are of thrilling interest to all who read them, as we all do. I will ask Sir Francis kindly to address us. (Applause.)

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very glad to take this opportunity of testifying to the splendid work that Sir Charles Bell has done in Tibet. (Applause.) As I dare say you have already gathered, Sir Charles Bell is not one of those who go out of their way to obtrude themselves on the public eye. It is therefore all the more necessary that societies like ours should accord him a real welcome, and should give testimony to our appreciation of the work which he has done. As he has already said, he was on the borders of Tibet and in Tibet for the last nineteen years. The reason he has been so successful is this, that in his quiet way, by learning the Tibetan language, understanding their literature, and getting as it were inside their skins, he has been able to get into the closest possible touch with all classes of the Tibetan people, and, more especially, with that most interesting and mysterious figure the Dalai Lama. I cannot say anything from personal experience of the Dalai Lama, because he was ungracious enough to depart when I went to Lhasa. He wrote me a letter when I was three marches off Lhasa, asking me not to come there, because if I went there I would spoil his religion and he would die. I wrote back to say that he had put me into a very awkward predicament, because I understood from him that if I went to Lhasa he would die, but, I said, on the other hand if I did not go to Lhasa I should die myself. And so he retired from Lhasa for what he described as three years' spiritual contemplation. Eventually, however, as Sir Charles Bell has related, he did come down to India, and, largely through the tact and experience of Sir Charles Bell, he was able to gather a favourable impression of our attitude towards him, with the result that our relations with Tibet have been on a friendly footing ever since. (Applause.) To me it is extremely interesting to look back from this distance, and over nineteen years' period of time, to what has been happening since I first went to Tibet. When I first went there three Lamas were sent down to the Tibetan camp opposite mine to curse me for a week.

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(Laughter.) I rode over unescorted and unannounced into the Tibetan camp, and I had the chance of seeing them in the actual practice of cursing me, and they seemed to be doing it in a very thorough way. So there were two great spiritual forces in opposition. On the one hand were the Tibetans cursing us. The Dalai Lama was supposed to have control over spiritual forces which could harm us, and those Lamas considered that they had control over them, too. They were shooting them out at us, and they really believed in their efficacy for destroying us. It was for a perfectly intelligible reason that they were cursing us. The reason was this, that they really did think that if we British got into Tibet we would, as they said, destroy their religion. It was very natural that they should resent this, and that with all the forces they had at their command should do their best to keep us out. But, on the other hand, opposed to that were the forces which we exercised. Part of those forces were extremely material. They were guns and rifles and bullets. But all the same there was behind these the spiritual force of goodwill, because after all we were not sent up there to destroy the Tibetans. We were sent to Tibet to put our relations on a good and friendly footing. We bore no malice against them. It was a matter of practical business to have the people inhabiting that great area of Tibet on a friendly footing with us instead of in a hostile temper. I was very fortunate to have as my assistant and secretary Captain O'Connor, a man who had studied the Tibetans, knew their language, and had himself a great liking for them. I had also Mr. Bell, as he then was, himself. He had the same kind of feeling towards the Tibetans. He naturally liked them, and they are a likeable people. The consequence was that we gradually got them round and obtained their goodwill. That is a practical point. And what Sir Charles Bell has said this evening gives evidence that during the last nineteen years this feeling of the Tibetans to us has been continually friendly. Not only Sir Charles Bell himself has been up there for a whole year in the most intimate relations with Dalai Lama himself, but other Englishmen have been there also. Sir Henry Hayden, who lost his life this year in the Alps, was the geologist in our Mission, and spent many months up there last year as geologist at the invitation of the Dalai Lama himself. And there have been telegraph officers there. A most interesting journey was also made through Tibet by General Pereira, who was received, I believe, by the Dalai Lama himself. That all goes to show that during the last nineteen years the efforts to get our relationship on a friendly footing have been successful, and any Englishman is now welcomed in Lhasa. I close these few remarks by offering to Sir Charles Bell the congratulations of the Society upon the fine work which he has accomplished and our high appreciation of his great services.

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The CHAIRMAN: I believe that we have with us at this moment Dr. McGovern, who has lately published his most interesting account of his recent journey in Tibet. We should all be very glad to hear a few words from him if he would be kind enough to address us. (Applause.)

Dr. MCGOVERN: First of all, I think I should like to echo very sincerely the words which have been uttered by Sir Francis Younghusband with reference to Sir Charles Bell himself. Although I was forced to go to Tibet under not quite the pleasant conditions which met Sir Charles Bell, during the course of my stay in Lhasa, where I came in contact with various notable officials, it was always of interest and a pleasure to me to find the extreme enthusiasm with which they spoke both of the personal character of Sir Charles Bell and the services which he has rendered to the Tibetan nation. (Applause.) The Dalai Lama himself, and his Cabinet, have had in the last few years a very strenuous tussle inside their camp. There are many of the prominent monks who are not by any means fond of the British Government, nor do they approve the known friendship of the Dalai Lama and his immediate Court for the British Government and officials, and certainly the Dalai Lama's task of attempting to win the friendship of his own people for India has been very largely helped by the very sympathetic nature of the negotiations which Sir Charles Bell has always kept with the Tibetan Government. (Applause.) We have therefore to say that the present condition, and the probable future condition of the country, will depend very largely upon the result of the policy which Sir Charles Bell has himself initiated. Jumping now from Sir Charles and his immediate service to Tibet, undoubtedly the thing that impresses one are the remarks that he made about the Dalai Lama himself—certainly a most extraordinary character; and perhaps, not being in the Diplomatic Service, it will be possible for me to speak more openly than was done by Sir Charles himself. His Holiness has had a career which is unique for Dalai Lamas in the past, and which has all the elements of the romances which were the delight of our childhood. Out of thirteen Dalai Lamas who have so far been on the throne, only two have really been of any importance—namely, the fifth and the present man, the thirteenth. The present has indeed been twice exiled from his own country. Two attempts have been made to get rid of him while still a boy—by witchcraft first of all, then by poison. Later, the trouble with the British forced him to retire to Mongolia and China; and, lastly, he was forced to fly into India in order to escape from the Chinese; and now, by the efforts of that extraordinary man, Tsarong Shapé of Lhasa, he has come back into his own. These vicissitudes in his career wholly modified his character and person. It is said—

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I do not know upon what evidence—that as a young man he was full of violent passions, difficult to curb, and lacking in self-control, but as the result of his long vicissitudes of fortune he has united a caution and canniness that reminds one of the Scotch rather than the Tibetans. I think the next few years are going to see an interesting development in Tibetan politics because of the caution with which he has learned to face every issue. I think one point left out by previous speakers is the new position of Tibet since 1912, when the Dalai Lama went back in glory and triumph to Lhasa. Prior to that time the Chinese had been very much in power, and the Dalai Lama had been, to a certain extent, but only to a certain extent, a puppet in the hands of the Chinese. The situation is now changed, and he is practically an independent monarch who refuses to recognize any overlordship on the part of China. This is a situation fraught with much difficulty, not only to Tibet and China but to our own country, because we have to make up our minds in the next few years whether we are going to support the Dalai Lama and his claims to be an independent Sovereign, or whether we are to side with China as to Tibet being a part of her own empire. This is not the time to discuss that matter, but it is an interesting fact that this is a problem for Tibet in the near future. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then called on Sir John Jordan.

Sir JOHN JORDAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I had hoped to escape the Chairman's vigilant eye and to avoid this ordeal. I really know hardly anything at all of the subject of the lecture to-night, and I can only express the very great interest with which I have listened to all that Sir Charles Bell has told us, especially his excellent pictures of Tibet. Naturally, coming from China, I look upon Tibet from a different angle, and if I say anything, I hope it will not be considered that I do not appreciate all that the lecturer has told us, but in China we do not see Tibet from the Indian point of view. It so happens, to begin with, that I have a personal grievance against Sir Charles Bell, Dr. McGovern, and all these explorers. When I went to China first there was some mystery about the Far East, and it was really a pleasant place to live in. In Pekin there was the mystery of the Imperial Palace. We knew nothing of what was going on. Chinese officials came there in flowing robes and stood before the Empress Dowager. Now, when you go to Pekin, you are ushered into the presence of the representative of a republic, practically nobody at all, who receives you perhaps not even in uniform, but in a frock-coat and ordinary morning dress. The Far East is changed and all its glamour has departed. The same with Korea, where I spent a few years. In my early days Korea was the Hermit Kingdom and everyone wanted to go to Korea, but now nobody wants to go there at all. Now they have opened up Tibet, the last remaining mystery, and

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future generations will have no mystery to explore. As regards the Dalai Lama, I have met him and cannot altogether share the great admiration expressed for him. But my knowledge of him is of a very slender character indeed. He came to Pekin—I think it was in 1908—during one of those exiles, and I do not think he spent the time in that contemplation of which Dr. McGovern has spoken. (Laughter.) My American colleague was at that time Mr. Rockill, a very great Tibetan explorer and scholar. He was very anxious to see the Dalai Lama, and had made many efforts to enter Lhasa, but always unsuccessfully. The Dalai Lama came right across Asia with an immense retinue of people, who preyed upon the country like locusts—so the Chinese told us. He settled down for a time at Wu T'ai Shan, and Mr. Rockill was afraid he would not come to Pekin at all. He paid His Holiness a visit there, and gave us the same impression as Sir Charles has given us, of a very ethereal person. But when the Dalai Lama came to Pekin he did not strike us as being so ethereal as he has apparently since become. At that time he was very anxious to get back his temporal power. He wanted to recover the position held by the fifth Dalai Lama, of which the Chinese had deprived him; he spent probably three or four months in Pekin, and it was a time of very heated intrigue indeed. We all had private channels of communication. I had a very active Russian colleague, and I myself displayed a certain amount of activity. We all had these secret interviews as to the policy of Tibet and its relations with China. The whole Tibetan question was in the melting-pot. It so happened at the time that the Heir-Apparent of Sikkim was staying with me—and he, too, was a reincarnation of someone. He was a very nice little man, who had been educated at Oxford, and he used to go and see the Dalai Lama every morning. As an earnest Buddhist, he was deeply disappointed with the low state into which Buddhism had fallen in China. I always asked him what was going on; I wanted to get political information, but I got nothing but the latest sutra and prayer, and ecclesiastical news generally. Things became so bad that the Chinese did not know what to do to put an end to the intrigues. There was a man there, Chang Yin-t'ang, who had gone to India to conduct negotiations connected with Tibet, and the Chinese Foreign Office put him on the job. He was a very astute little person, and he thought out a plan. He said the Dalai Lama was too much engaged in spiritual duties to attend to all these mundane affairs, and that really the time must be limited. He sent out a circular, and said that in future the Dalai Lama, instead of having these private audiences, would receive from four to five every day, Sundays excepted, and that any person who wanted to see him—Members of the Legations or any of the foreign community of Pekin—had only to send an application to the Chinese Foreign Office and they

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would be introduced by Mr. Chang. The receptions lost their attraction. The whole thing was reduced to the level of a ladies' tea-party, and after a short time nobody wanted to see the Dalai Lama any more. So there was no more trouble. That is really all I know about the Dalai Lama; but as this is a private meeting I might tell one little incident that occurred. It so happens that when you go to see His Holiness you have to take a *ka-ta*, a sort of silk scarf. Instead of taking a card you take a *ka-ta*, and we had some difficulty in Pekin in finding these *ka-tas*. They were rather expensive. I got one which cost me something, but some members of my Staff naturally objected to paying two or three pounds for a visiting-card; but one, a resourceful man among them, was a commercial Councillor, and he said: "I will supply you all with *ka-tas*. I have got remnants sent out from Manchester, and I will have them cut up into *ka-tas* for you." So they all got *ka-tas*, and I was rather disappointed—for their *ka-tas* all looked quite as good as mine. I mention this to show that the Dalai Lama, or his people, had a certain amount of worldly shrewdness. The custom is that you get back a *ka-ta* when you present one. I presented mine, and another handsome one was given me in return. The next man presented his *ka-ta*. They inspected it and gave it back to him. Then a procession came up, one after the other, and each *ka-ta* was given back. One of my colleagues did better than that. He went there not knowing about this custom at all, and they said: "You cannot see the Dalai Lama without a *ka-ta*." He said: "I have brought none." They said: "We will lend you one." And they lent him one, and he went up and presented this *ka-ta* to the Dalai Lama, who gave it back. He walked away with it, but they followed after him for some distance and said: "Look here, you brought nothing here and you are going to take nothing away." At that time the Dalai was not viewed with much favour by his co-religionists in North China. I think, looking rather far ahead, that China will have something to say about Tibet yet. I do not wish to dwell upon the relations between Great Britain and Tibet. I am sure they are all right and going on very well, but, of course, the Tibetans know they are a shuttlecock between two battledores, and, as always happens in such cases, the friendship is, to a certain extent, a lively sense of present needs and of favours to come. Although China is disorganized now, they have not altogether forgotten Tibet. If there is anything the Chinese will never give up, it is any remnant of suzerainty over any other country. So that although China has been turned out of Tibet for the present, and there is not a Chinese in it, the day may come when there will be some trouble over it. I do not think you can take it for granted that China will not try to get back.

The LECTURER: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

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I am more grateful than I can say for the extremely kind remarks that have been made about me, and for your generous expression of thanks.

I have not much to say as regards the remarks of the other speakers, which to me were exceptionally interesting. As Sir John Jordan has quite rightly said, nothing in Tibet can be done without the little piece of silk cloth known as a *ka-ta*. If you go to see a person, you give a *ka-ta* and get one back, the same or another—it all depends upon intricate rules whether you get your own or another. If you write a letter you cannot merely put it into an envelope and send it; you must put it into a *ka-ta*. In fact, you must always use them. As regards their price, in Tibet this varies from eight shillings to a half-penny; and according to your rank you spend eight shillings or a half-penny, or something in between. There are eight recognized qualities of *ka-ta*.

As regards Sir John Jordan's and Sir Francis Younghusband's experiences with the Dalai Lama, there is no doubt, as Dr. McGovern has said, that his character has been considerably modified by the force of adverse circumstances. If anybody has been schooled in adversity, the Dalai Lama has certainly been that man. He has always been a man of quick temper. He has likewise always been a man of strong will, and in many ways a very strong character. No doubt he has said and written things which seem peculiar to us, but Tibetans do not look at these things in the same way as Western people. When, for instance, the Dalai Lama fled to India from the Chinese invasion there were many who said: "What a coward he is to run away and leave his people to their fate!" That was, one may say, a very common Western view, but the Tibetans did not look upon it in that way at all. They knew that, if the Dalai Lama remained in Tibet and was captured by the Chinese, not only would he be stripped of his temporal power, but possibly be made to issue orders and edicts in his own name that were really inspired by the Chinese. They knew that if he was captured it would be the end of the national hopes of Tibet. Tibet is very much opposed to Chinese domination; so the Tibetans hold that the Dalai Lama was perfectly right to flee. I only mention this as an example to show how the Tibetan point of view may differ from that held by European peoples.

The political questions at issue between Tibet and other countries are very complex, and—although, of course, I have had a great deal to do with them—I do not think it would serve any useful purpose if I entered into them now, nor indeed would there be time to do so.

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TURKEY, FROM THE ARMISTICE TO THE PEACE

By Colonel D. I. Shuttleworth

A meeting of the Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on November 22. The Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presided.

The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Colonel Shuttleworth, who commanded a brigade under Sir Charles Harington in Constantinople, and at Chanak.

The Lecturer: On October 30, 1918, an Armistice was signed by Admiral Calthorpe on behalf of the Allies, and Raouf Bey on behalf of Turkey. It was actually signed in H.M.S. *Agamemnon*, off Mudros. On November 9, units of the British 28th Division occupied the Dardanelles, and on November 13, French and British units, belonging to the 122nd French Division and the 28th British Division, entered Constantinople. The Turks immediately protested that the occupation of Constantinople was against the conditions of the Armistice; but the Allied Governments upheld the occupation on the grounds that it was necessary to guard the Headquarters of the British and French Commands and of our High Commissioners, and to safeguard and take over the munitions of war, and arms and equipment of all sorts, which Turkey had agreed to surrender to the Allies. The Turks, at that time, claimed to have some four hundred thousand men under arms, but this claim was grossly exaggerated, and, in addition, it included men who were too old for war. The Turkish strength was actually distributed in the Ninth Army in the Caucasus, the Sixth Army, north of Mosul, and the Yilderim Army in Syria. With the exception of the Ninth Caucasian Army, the Turks had been completely defeated, and the Turkish Army, as a whole, was demoralized and useless for war. The Ninth Caucasian Army, on the other hand, had just completed a victorious march to the Caspian Sea. It had founded there the two independent Turkish Republics of Azerbaijan and the Northern Caucasian Republic, and was in process of forming a third Mohammedan State, on the shores of the Black Sea, at Batum. The British took action, and British troops were despatched from North-West Persia to Baku, on the shores of the Caspian, and from Salonica to Batum, on the shores of the Black Sea. The Turks were compelled, reluctantly, to withdraw

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and to submit to disarmament, but though disarmed, the Turkish Ninth Army was not beaten, and it never has been beaten, and it has supplied the nucleus of the Turkish Army of to-day, augmented by over a hundred thousand prisoners of war, who were returned to Turkey by the British after the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres. That point I will deal with later, but it is important for us all to remember that that Ninth Army has inherited victorious traditions in the Caucasus, which are remembered to-day by its leaders, and which may have an important bearing in the shaping of the future.

The position actually in Constantinople was not an easy one. The Allied Command commenced at once to demobilize the Turkish Army, but as a preliminary step the Turkish units had to be brought in to their territorial centres. The Turkish Government, under the Armistice of Mudros, was entitled to be consulted before the future strength of the Turkish Army was definitely fixed. In addition, they were authorized to maintain 52,000 gendarmes on a territorial pre-War basis. There was no exact definition of responsibility between the French and British High Commands, and as a result there was a considerable amount of misunderstanding. General Franchet d'Esperey, who was in command of the Allied Armies of the Orient, resided in Constantinople. General Sir George Milne, the British Commander-in-Chief, also had his headquarters in Constantinople; but General Sir George Milne, though subordinate to General Franchet d'Esperey, was independent, in so far as Turkey was concerned, and was in command of all Allied troops in the Constantinople area, which was inclusive of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. General Franchet d'Esperey wished to allot to the French the European shore as their sphere, and to the British the Asiatic shore; but General Sir George Milne was unable to accede to the request to limit the British troops to the Asiatic shore. The question was referred to the British and French Governments, but no decision was made, but, as it became of paramount importance in the autumn of 1922, when the French withdrew their troops from Chanak, I will describe the position in detail in 1919, and give it again as it was in 1921 when the Turks threatened Constantinople, and finally in 1922.

In 1919 the British occupied both shores of the Bosphorus and the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles. In addition, they held Constantinople, and British detachments were spread along the railway as far as Angora and Afiun Qarahisar, both inclusive.

The French occupied Constantinople, and held the European shore of the Dardanelles, and French detachments were spread along the railway that leads to Thrace. The French, on the other hand, had a battalion at Zangaldak, in the centre of a coal-bearing area, which was of economic interest to our Allies; so that actually in 1919 the British had not accepted the limitation of their troops to the

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Asiatic shore, but were in Constantinople, while the French had not limited their troops to the European shore, but were also in Anatolia. In January, 1920, the first Italian battalion arrived in Constantinople, and, in addition, the Italians took over Konia and Adana, so that Allied co-operation was complete.

The Turkish position at that time was, broadly, satisfactory. The Turks were loyally carrying out the Armistice they had signed, and they commenced in Thrace and Anatolia to hand in war material—in Thrace, to the French; in Anatolia, to the British. To give you some idea of the quantities involved, the British had in Constantinople some twelve hundred breech-blocks of field-guns. Transportation difficulties, owing to the winter, had made it impossible to get the guns themselves in from Anatolia, but as well as the twelve hundred breech-blocks, we had 630,000 bolts of rifles—transportation again not being available for the rifles themselves—and we actually had 3,500 machine-guns. The French also had large quantities of war material of all sorts entrusted to their keeping.

Allied relations were satisfactory, as I said before; and the French and British were working closely together, assisted by the Italians, when in March, 1919, M. Venizelos proceeded to Paris and made out a strong case for the Greeks. He proved by statistics that prior to 1914 the Greeks had a numerical preponderancy in Smyrna and along the littoral. The statistics were examined by an Allied committee, and finally the Supreme Council decided that Greece was to occupy Smyrna. This was carried out on May 15, 1919. The situation then became impossible—that is a strong word to use, but it is very difficult for you here to realize the state of feeling which existed then, at the end of the War. The racial feeling was intense. The Turks wrongly refused to accept Greek equality. To them the Greeks were a subject race, who would never have obtained their independence without assistance. The Greeks, on the other hand, realized their superior civilization and claimed, at least, equality with the Turks. Theoretically it was all right, but practically the difficulties were extreme. A very highly placed American, the representative of the United States, visiting Smyrna at the time, said the tension was unbelievable. The only way he could describe it was to say that it was as if the Southern States of America had been taken away from the Southerners and placed under an alien and negro administration by a foreign Power. The language is very strong, but that is exactly what I was told. The position became unworkable, and the Supreme Council realized this, and made General Sir George Milne Allied Commander-in-Chief for the Smyrna area, regarding the Greeks as a mandatory. General Sir George Milne proceeded to Smyrna, and, working in conjunction with the Greek Command, fixed territorial limits for the Greek occupation, and a neutral zone beyond, which

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was to be respected by the Greeks and also by the Turks. The responsibility was Allied, but moral only. There were no troops available, and in this part of the world very little can be done without troops; British and Allied officers were sent with a watching brief, and any encroachment on the neutral zone was to be reported to the British Commander-in-Chief. The arrangement worked pretty satisfactorily for a short period.

In Turkey there was an immediate reaction to the occupation, and two movements started—one in Anatolia under Mustapha Kemal, and the other in Constantinople, where Raouf Bey led a constitutional movement against the illegality of the occupation, and at the same time collected money, arms, and munitions for Mustapha Kemal. The Great Powers decided that the matter required immediate attention, and in June, 1919, there was a conference in Paris, which was attended by Turkish representatives. It is stated that the United States were offered a mandate for Turkey, and it is also stated that they refused. At any rate, at that Conference nothing definite occurred, and the situation was once more allowed to drift on, while, apparently, the local Allied commanders were trusted to keep things steady.

In October, 1919, the British commenced to hand over Cilicia to the French, and there was considerable resentment, it is said, on behalf of the Mohammedan population, because the French were supposed to be giving preference to the Armenians. I have no first-hand knowledge. The French at that time were committed in South Russia, as were we. The French took a certain number of Greek elements to Odessa, and so it is legitimate to say that the question of employing the Greeks as a mandatory in that area was, possibly, under consideration. But, at that time, the French had trouble. Their troops in South-West Russia refused to advance or fight against the Bolsheviks, and one of the French battleships in the Black Sea hoisted the Red Flag. The trouble was suppressed, but the French realized that the position in the Near East required very careful handling. The Italians, too, at that time, experienced trouble. They were about to send a detachment to Albania, when the troops refused to embark at Valona. Italy also had just refused the mandate for the Caucasus, so that Italy, too, commenced to hedge. We British were engaged in demobilization, and we had our difficulties; but thanks to the discipline that Sir George Milne enforced we had no actual trouble, but our British commitments were reduced, by withdrawal from the Caucasus in August, 1919, with the exception of the port and district of Batum. Broadly, all three Great Powers realized that their position in the Middle East required serious consideration and curtailment wherever possible, but their methods were different.

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In January, 1920, fighting commenced, and the Turks attacked the French in Cilicia. Marash was invested. The French withdrew from Marash, and later the Turks invested Urfa. After two months' siege the French were unable to extricate the garrison, which withdrew, by agreement with the Turks, but was treacherously attacked on the march, and surrendered. The effects of that surrender reacted in Constantinople. There, there was marked hostility to the Allies, especially towards the British, who were considered to be the direct supporters of the Greeks. The Turks were secretly sending arms and equipment into Anatolia, and strong diplomatic action was taken by the Allies with the Turkish Government without success. Finally, reconciliation was attempted and an announcement was made in Paris that Constantinople was not to be taken away from the Turks. It was hoped, probably, that that announcement would result in an improvement of the situation, but it did not. Turkish intrigue continued, and later a French detachment at the Dardanelles, on the north shore, was overpowered, and the arms and munitions it guarded were taken to Anatolia. The time had come for military action.

The Allies considered the possibility of a military occupation of Constantinople, to stop Turkish preparation for war. It was originally to be an Allied operation carried out by all the three Governments, but there were delays on the part of our Allies, and, as a result, on March 16, 1920, the British occupied the Turkish War Office and the Admiralty building. It was a combined operation, carried out by the Royal Navy and the Army. It was anticipated that the Turks would oppose, but the occupation was carried through with very little bloodshed, and a few days later the French and Italians joined, so that the operation became an Allied operation and the control effective. The control actually was control of all communications, land and sea, including the Bosphorus—control of customs, passports, posts and telegraphs—and a censorship of letters and newspapers. In addition to that, earlier, the Allies had started Allied police in Constantinople and an Allied sanitary commission. So that Constantinople was completely under Allied control, but worked by the Turks themselves, under supervision. The War Office and Admiralty were controlled, and effective, close supervision prevented further preparation for war.

The news of the occupation of Constantinople reached Anatolia, and the Turks moved from Angora against the British detachment at Eskishehr. The British, at Eskishehr, had postponed their departure in order to give the Italians, who were at Konia, time to withdraw through Eskishehr; but communications were interrupted, it was impossible for the Italians to get out that way, and they came through Afiun Qarahisar to Smyrna. The British detachment—a small one

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—was surrounded, and withdrew, losing some first-line transport animals and some followers. General Milne immediately gave Mustapha Kemal an ultimatum, and demanded the surrender of the men and animals. The Turks complied.

In Constantinople, the Sultan appointed a Government which took strong measures against its opponents, and certain arrests of Turkish leaders were carried out by the British section of the Allied police, and they were sent to Malta, where they remained for two years. The Turkish Government tried to raise troops, regular and irregular, to be used against Mustapha Kemal, and the Sultan himself assisted, by issuing a *fetwa* of excommunication against Mustapha Kemal. It was hoped by this means to arouse the religious ardour of Turkish officers and men, but the result was a failure, and it was proved that patriotism and nationalism were more potent factors than fanaticism or religion. The Turkish Government took stronger action, and decided to stop the pay of military officers not actually serving in the Sultan's forces. Presumably, the object of that was to obtain recruits for the Sultan's forces, but the results were contrary. There was an exodus of military officers to Angora to join the Kemalists, as they were then called.

In April, 1920, the outline of the Treaty of Sèvres reached Constantinople, and it had a hardening effect. All the Turks who up to that time had been anti-Kemalists left Constantinople for Angora, except for an active minority who remained behind to obstruct the Turkish Government. It may be said that for all practical purposes the Turkish Government ceased to be representative.

In May, 1920, the French concluded an armistice in Cilicia. This relatively improved their local position. Equally, it made our position the harder.

In June, 1920, the Turks advanced from Eskishehr and attacked the Sultan's troops, who were then near Ismid. They drove these troops behind the British detachment at Ismid, which was itself attacked, and resisted attack. The French at Zangaldak exchanged shots with the Turks, and the French battalion was brought back from that place to Constantinople. The situation was reported to Paris, and the Supreme Council decided to take further action, and the Greeks were given permission to occupy Brussa and Western Thrace. The Greek operation was carried out very successfully, and when it was over the Greeks placed a division at Ismid, under the nominal control of General Sir George Milne. At the same time British connection with the Smyrna *vilayet* ceased. During this month Batum was evacuated, and the British finally left the Caucasus. This was inevitable, but the withdrawal encouraged the Turks, who realized that Great Britain, too, intended to limit her military commitments.

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In July, 1920, there was an extraordinary amount of unrest in the Mohammedan world. In Egypt, India, and North Persia there was trouble. There was active rebellion in Mesopotamia, and the French themselves had trouble in Syria, where they ejected the Arabian National Government from Damascus, while the Turks invaded the Caucasus, defeating the Armenians, and captured the fortress of Kars.

In August, 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres was signed. In September, 1920, the Sultan's Government resigned, and a moderate Nationalist Government took over, and this Government remained in control until November 5, 1922, when Rafet Pasha, one of Mustapha Kemal's lieutenants, created a change by a *coup d'état*. That I will come to later. As peace had been signed, Great Britain could no longer retain the 130,000 prisoners of war taken in Egypt and Mesopotamia. These were sent back to Anatolia, and after a short rest rejoined the colours and, with the Ninth Turkish Army, formed the force under Mustapha Kemal. It was my duty to see these Turks when they went through, and they were then very much impressed with the way they had been treated as prisoners. They had been given regular work and regular food, had been well looked after and been medically attended, and had got their pay as prisoners of war each week. It was a wonderful thing for them.

In Europe four events happened which affected the Turkish situation extraordinarily—the Bolshevik defeat by the Poles, the Bolshevik success against the White Forces under Wrangel, the fall of M. Venizelos (the friend of the Entente), and the accession of King Constantine. The French were committed to an active support of Wrangel, and when he was compelled to evacuate Russia, they rather naturally looked for a counterpoise to replace him to the south, and they commenced to negotiate secretly with the Turks. The fall of Venizelos gave them the opportunity to change their Greek policy. As far as the Turks were concerned, the success of the Bolsheviks to the South and their defeat to the North probably gave Mustapha Kemal a direct line. He was now able to measure their strength and their weakness, and from that time onwards he used the Bolsheviks as an active lever to force his pact of Angora—his national pact which had been signed in Angora in January, 1920—and he used them, apparently, without any fear of the future consequences of Russian aggression, which is an interesting fact.

In October, 1920, General Sir George Milne was recalled. Personally, as an officer who served under him, I would like to pay a tribute to what he did for our country. He established law and order in the Caucasus, in Anatolia, and in those portions of the Balkans which were entrusted to the British. He worked loyally with our Allies, and he did his best to stabilize the situation by sup-

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porting Governments in the areas for which he was responsible militarily, and, above all, he was firm, he was moderate, and he was absolutely just. He worked selflessly, and increased our military reputation and prestige, and actually put the Englishman once again on the high level which he always had occupied in that part of the world. (Applause.)

General Harington took over as Allied Commander-in-Chief, to enforce the military provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres. His position, theoretically, was easy, but actually, under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, he did not commence to exercise his command until ratification, and the Treaty was never ratified. It was his own personality and the qualities he possesses which alone enabled him to carry on the Allied work loyally and successfully. General Charpy, who commanded the French, and General Mombelli, who commanded the Italians, worked with and under General Harington, despite difficulties, until the end.

As soon as King Constantine had ascended the Greek throne, the Allies proclaimed strict neutrality, and the British handed over the nominal command of the division at Ismid to the Greeks. It was now necessary to organize neutral zones to cover the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles from attack. The High Commissioners issued a proclamation definitely fixing boundaries, which were accepted by everybody to whom they were communicated. At that time the Kemalist Government was not recognized, and they were not informed, but, of course, they knew all about it. It was decided by the British to organize a Turkish force to keep law and order in the areas which had been entrusted to them, and permission was obtained by General Harington to form two gendarmerie battalions, without prejudice to the Treaty of Sèvres: one battalion for the Ismid area and the other for the Chanak area. These battalions were equipped, paid, officered, and commanded by Turks. The supervising officers were British, who worked closely in liaison with the Turkish officers, and themselves took orders from British Commanders who were responsible to the Commander-in-chief for the areas under British occupation—namely, Ismid and Chanak. The system worked satisfactorily. General Harington tried also to obtain a declaration of neutrality to cover the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, but in this he was not successful. The Greek warships were permitted to use these waters until the autumn of 1922.

In March, 1921, the Indian troops who had been brought into the area to enable the British troops to demobilize, and had done excellent and loyal service, were repatriated to India. They were relieved by British units, whose strength at Constantinople was fixed at one British cavalry regiment, five infantry battalions, and a brigade of artillery, with a field company, and necessary military services

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attached. General Harington, seeing the delays in ratification, came to the deliberate conclusion that the British force was too large to keep the flag flying and too small to enforce respect for itself, and he recommended its withdrawal.

At the time the Greeks and Turks were making final preparations for war. Shortly afterwards, the Greek threat in Anatolia made the possibility of a Turkish advance on Constantinople feasible, and it was decided by the Allies to take up a defensive position covering Constantinople. In the summer of 1921, a position was selected, ten and a half miles in extent, which was called the Dodolu line. The southern portion of this line was held by the British, the northern by the French, while the Italians were in reserve. In the summer of 1921, locally at any rate, the French troops were committed to the Asiatic shore, but the Dodolu position was never occupied because the Greeks were ready first, and after a preliminary check, near Brussa, advanced and drove the Turks from Afiun Qarahisar and Eskishehr, thereby clearing and securing the main railway. At that time General Harington considered the Greek strength sufficient to occupy the railway, but he deprecated any further advance into the interior as beyond the Greek strength. To him it was preferable to keep the Greek army undefeated and its morale high, rather than to follow an elusive enemy into a hostile country. However, the Greeks themselves were very confident in their troops and after restoring railway communications, decided to advance to Angora. There was hard and prolonged fighting on the Sakharia River, in which the Greeks fought well, as did the Turks, but the Greeks were checked and finally withdrew, and went into winter quarters at Eskishehr and Afiun Qarahisar, guarding the railway line. The use of Turkish cavalry to harass Greek communications was the noticeable feature of this fighting. That was the position at the end of 1921. It is important to note that during the year the French had agreed to support us on the Asiatic shore against the Turks had they advanced.

At the beginning of 1922 the situation was dragging on, and there was a conference held in Paris to try and get a solution. The Allies decided to offer to negotiate on certain conditions. They decided to give the Turks Western Thrace up to a line called the Midia-Lule-Burgas-Gamos line. The Allies also offered a plebiscite in Anatolia which, if it showed Turkish numerical superiority, was to result in a Greek withdrawal, and a temporary Allied administration of the Smyrna area until such time as conditions stabilized. This offer was being considered by the Greeks when it was rejected by the Turks. The proposed partition of Thrace did not comply with the Turkish National Pact; that was the actual reason for rejection.

The financial strain of keeping troops in Anatolia was felt by the Greeks, and there was a change of Greek command. General

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Hadjianestis, an untried man, was appointed to command the Greek army, and it was anticipated that there would be some change of the Greek military plan. General Hadjianestis proceeded to the interior of Anatolia and inspected his units, and did what appeared to be a foolish thing: he told those Greek troops who were guarding the railway that the Greek Government contemplated the possibility of withdrawing them, at a future date, to the Smyrna area. That must have undermined their morale. Rumours were spread about in Constantinople that the Greeks intended to advance on Constantinople. It was unbelievable, and was not believed, but there were movements of Greek troops in Western Thrace, and, finally, the actual transference of Greek forces from Anatolia to Western Thrace was noted, and the matter was no longer in doubt. General Harington issued a proclamation recalling the neutrality of the neutral zones, and stating that the Allies would defend those zones against any attack. French, Italian, and British troops were moved out to Chatalja under General Charpy, and the British and French navies were prepared to assist on the flanks, if necessary. However, the situation was arranged peacefully, and the Greeks did not advance. Undoubtedly this check diminished the morale of the Greek troops, but at the same time it reacted upon the Turks. The Turks became apprehensive of their capital, and the situation appeared favourable for further negotiations, when certain speeches were made in this country which finally decided the Turks to take the desperate expedient of attacking.

The plan of Turkish attack was drawn up by Mustapha Kemal, assisted, it is said, by Ismet and Rafet Pashas. It was simple and very bold. It entailed a concentration of every available man at Afiun Qarahisar to break the Greek right, while towards Eskishehr and towards Brussa, with minimum forces, the Turks were to be particularly active to cover the real concentration. Secrecy was essential, and was obtained: the Turkisk attack came as a complete surprise to the Greeks. The Greeks fought very bravely; there is no question about that. There were four days' desperate fighting, and the Turks were continually repelled, but superiority in numbers told, and they broke through. The Turks made use of their superior cavalry, just as they had made use of it at the Sakharia River battle in the year before, which showed that Ismet Pasha had learned from Lord Allenby in Syria; and the result was the débâcle which terminated in the burning of Smyrna and the evacuation of the Greek divisions from Panderma. The situation had changed dramatically.

General Harington realized that the danger-point was now the Dardanelles, and he arranged to organize a mobile force consisting of detachments of all three Allies to show the flag in the Chanak area. It was considered that Allied forces on the neutral line would keep the

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Turks back, and, as an additional safeguard, the Sultan's Government asked to be allowed to extend its sovereignty over the whole of the Chanak Mutassarifate, or district. Up to this the British had occupied only a portion of the district, while the Greeks had held the remainder. This subdivision of an administrative area had been a great inconvenience; revenues had been collected in the British area by the Turks and expended by them; revenues in the Greek area had been collected and spent by the Greeks. In the confusion of the Greek withdrawal the Sultan's Government hoped to recover the whole district. Had the Sultan's Government's administration been established, there would have been an additional buffer between the Kemalists and the Allies. To secure this the Turkish gendarmerie battalion was to be used, but the Commander-in-Chief's instructions were that the British officers were not to break neutrality by crossing the neutral line. That was the situation on September 9, 1922.

On September 20, 1922, the French Government, basing itself on General Franchet d'Esperey's contention in 1919, which it had not upheld in 1921, decided to withdraw French troops to the European shore, and the Italian Government did the same. At that time French and British cavalry detachments were out on the neutral line, and French and British flags were flying side by side on the main approach. Recall orders were at once sent to the French cavalry, and the French flag was taken down from the frontier; on the evening of the 22nd the French and Italian detachments embarked, and were ferried across to Gallipoli town on the European shore. Information was received locally that 17,500 rations had been baked for Turkish troops at Ezine, to the south-east, while at Karabigah, north of Chanak, the small British detachment left there, under the Navy's protection, reported the movement of Turkish troops from Panderma and the presence of Turkish cavalry in considerable bodies in the immediate vicinity. A telegram was received from the Commander-in-Chief saying that the Turkish Second Army (strength 40,000) was advancing on the Dardanelles, and with the approval of the home Government, Chanak was to be defended against any attacks. Work on the defences had been in progress for twelve days, practically day and night, and in addition civilian labour gangs had been employed to their maximum extent; but the troops on shore could never have done the job without the absolutely loyal and wholehearted co-operation of the Navy, who landed every available man to assist.

On the morning of September 23, at 5 a.m., the Turks crossed the neutral line: they were met by British cavalry and requested to halt and withdraw. The Turks said that their Government recognized no neutral line, that they were at war with the Greeks, that they intended to pursue the Greek army, and that they were moving

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down to the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus with the intention of crossing. They had no quarrel with the British.

The situation was unexpected. Peaceful penetration had not been foreseen. It looked as if the Turks did not intend to open fire, because the butts of their rifles were slung over their shoulders. Eleven hundred men were counted and behind them formed bodies, and in the distance dust-clouds could be seen. Orders were issued that fire was not to be opened unless the Turks fired, and the British cavalry squadron remained in contact, hampering the Turks and blocking the road. Progress was slow. The Turkish mounted men only made seven miles that day. That night the situation was anxious. Actually, the British had ninety-five sabres of the 3rd Hussars, and behind them forty mounted infantry belonging to the Loyal Regiment. In Chanak itself, over twenty miles away, was the original garrison of one battalion, augmented by two battalions sent from Malta, and a battery, which with the squadron of 3rd Hussars had arrived from Constantinople. General Harington, with characteristic generosity, on receipt of news of the Turkish intentions, had immediately stripped Constantinople and sent one additional battalion and two batteries, which was all he could spare: these were actually being disembarked at Chanak. On the way to Chanak, from Egypt, were two battalions, while two more were leaving Gibraltar; at sea, also, despatched from Egypt, Malta, and Gibraltar, were pack, field, and medium brigades of artillery, approaching ever closer and behind were British reinforcements, leaving England, and the British Government had promised its full support. Actually, off Chanak itself, were four battleships of the Mediterranean Fleet, and the bulk of the light cruisers and destroyers in close support of the garrison, which at that time totalled some three thousand.

The situation demanded delay, if delay could be obtained. The Turkish advance had been very slow. On the morning of the 25th they were still at Erenkeui, which they had reached the first day. The Turkish halt possibly indicated indecision, or it might be accounted for by the time taken, to close up the Army before attack. If there was indecision, a British advance might cause the Turks to withdraw and so free the Dardanelles, while, from our point of view, an advance would make it clear that our Government intended to uphold the principle of the neutrality of the Dardanelles. With the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief a mobile force of three and a half battalions and two batteries, sufficiently strong to look after itself, moved out on the afternoon of September 25th, to get close to the Turks and delay them. There was no intention of attacking the Turks, unless the Turks attacked, or unless the general situation necessitated it. This did not appear to be likely for the moment, at any rate, because the Commander-in-Chief had informed us that he was negotiating

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with Mustapha Kemal, and that he hoped to be able to arrange a meeting. He informed us that Lord Curzon was in Paris striving for Allied unity, but he told us also that the Turks were to be kept from advancing on Chanak. Boldness, therefore, was necessary, and an advance seemed to be advisable. The night of the 25th passed without any movement. That night General Marden arrived and took over the command of the ever-increasing forces, and on the afternoon of the 26th the Turks advanced from Erenkeui and tried to interpose between the British advanced troops and Chanak itself, thus proving definitely their aggressive intentions. The British force was withdrawn, but still hung on to the high ground overlooking Chanak until the evening of the 28th, when it was drawn back within the defences of Chanak. The position, although overlooked and lacking in depth, was held by the best equipped force England has ever put into the field at the beginning of a campaign. The Turks advanced right up to our wire, and for days the tension continued to be extreme. Our men showed good discipline, and although night and day our sentries and patrols were in bodily contact with the Turks, there was no actual fighting.

During this time Lord Curzon, in Paris, succeeded in obtaining Allied unity, and General Harington, authorized by our Government, and assisted by Generals Charpy and Mombelli, at Mudania, obtained the signing of the Mudania Convention. That was a great achievement. Success was due chiefly to the effect that General Harington's firmness and straightness had upon the Turks. Under the Mudania Convention, the Turks agreed to withdraw from Chanak. As a matter of fact the Convention was signed at 3.15 a.m., and General Marden's plan, at Chanak, was, in the event of failure, an ultimatum at 5 a.m., when hostilities would have commenced, as the British had done everything possible to avoid war. I mention this to give some idea of how close things were—but war was averted and the Turkish troops actually had to withdraw from the Chanak defences on the morning after the signing of the Convention, and they hated it—their withdrawal was an outward sign of our moral victory. (Applause.)

The reasons for holding Chanak have been criticized. At first, Chanak was to be held only as a rearguard position, but later it had to be held against any attack because it was necessary from a naval point of view to cover the Narrows, which are the most difficult portion of the navigation. Had the Turks emplaced concealed artillery in Chanak, it would have been very difficult for ships to get up the Narrows at night. Then, although Chanak itself is overlooked by the heights of Asmali Tepe, within artillery range, the heights themselves are difficult obstacles for an infantry attack, because, to capture Chanak by assault, a serious attack would have had to be staged,

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and the Turkish infantry could not have secured sufficient deploying room owing to the proximity of the hills to our wire. Again, the heights themselves are difficult obstacles for artillery, owing to the steepness of the ground. The Turks also were short of artillery ammunition, and so continuous bombardment was unlikely. Their reserves were not up to war standard, and their railhead was a hundred miles distant, with bad roads, and winter rain and snow in sight. Had hostilities commenced, the British would have had absolute aerial superiority, behind them would have been a powerful artillery, and supporting them the Fleet. The position was a selected one, and, except to the north, was strongly wired. It was known to all our men that the Turks had never turned British infantry out of extemporized trenches; much more difficult, then, would it have been for them to turn British infantry from positions carefully selected and defended. Behind lay the European shore of the Dardanelles, with inspiring memories of Helles and Anzac, and the British force, as I have said, was very well equipped. The regimental officers had actual battle experience, and if collision had come, the result would not have been so certain as our Allies have tried to make out. The Turks, although numerically much superior, would have experienced very great difficulty in overwhelming the British force, which awaited attack with quiet confidence. I will give you some idea of Turkish numerical superiority later on, but I wish to make it clear that the position was not untenable, because our Allies have criticized General Harington's decision to hold Chanak. Besides, withdrawal would have been fatal to British prestige.

The Mudania Convention was signed on October 11th, 1922. Under it the British were not allowed to improve their defences, either at Chanak or on the Ismid peninsula covering Constantinople, while the Turks had complete liberty of action. They utilized this to regroup their army (strength 140,000) into three groups. One army remained opposite Chanak, another came round the Bosphorus and threatened Constantinople, and the reserve was placed about Brussa to reinforce whichever wing needed it. The situation dragged on. One point to notice is that the Turks had troops within our defensive areas. Those troops were designed to attack the Allies, and the Allies were prepared to deal first with those troops. On the European shores there was a total of 20,000 men. Therefore, the local internal situation was not as easy for the Commander-in-Chief as has been supposed in certain places.

The Lausanne Conference met on November 20, and the delay made the Turks suspicious. But delays were inevitable owing to changes in Government in Great Britain and Italy. During this time the Allied Generals, under the Mudania Convention, supervised the withdrawal of the Greek armed forces from Thrace, and the

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Greek population to the other side of the Maritza River. This was carried out by the Greeks themselves, assisted, as possible, by the Allies, and was a very orderly move, well carried out.

The Turkish Commander-Designate of Thrace, Rafet Pasha, was allowed into Constantinople, to wait there, until Thrace was cleared and ready for Turkish administration. He used his liberty to scheme against the Allies, and on November 5, 1922, a *coup d'état* was carried out against the Sultan's Government, and the Kemalists obtained control of Constantinople. It was intended at first to use force and declare a state of siege in Constantinople, but the French and Italians were unable to accept anything but moral responsibility, which meant that the British would have had to act alone, and as the Commander-in-Chief did not consider that the military position made this possible, the declaration of a state of siege in Constantinople was deferred indefinitely.

Gradually the Turks obtained control of the civil administration, and the position became as before March, 1920. It was annoying and exasperating to those of us who were there, but looking back on it, it was probably the best way gradually to get stability before the Allied withdrawal. On December 5th, the Turks forced an Allied guard on board ship in the Bosphorus, and arrested some Greeks and Armenians who had Allied passports. British detachments went down and recovered all the men. Although the situation was difficult, fighting was avoided. Lord Curzon protested in Lausanne, and as a result the Kemalists removed Rafet Pasha. Incidents often happened, but they were ably handled by the Commander-in-Chief. Gradually the local position appeared to improve, until suddenly the Lausanne Conference terminated without peace. The situation was not understood, by either Turks or Allies, locally, and there was confusion and uncertainty at first, which resulted in the Smyrna incident, when war was narrowly avoided. After that, the Conference reassembled, and finally peace was obtained, although on one occasion war was extremely close when the question of the indemnity to be paid by the Greeks became acute. However, in July, 1923, the Treaty was signed.

The final withdrawal was an orderly one, and to the surprise of the British, the population of Constantinople was demonstrative, especially towards our men; and I think it can be said without boasting that the British private soldier—and I include the sailor and the airman—has left behind a record which at least is equal to that of any of our Allies. During this three years' occupation, and during the period of stress, each nation stamped its civilization and nationality upon Constantinople, and in the years to come the acts of the men will be criticized and discussed in many Turkish homes,

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and I think our soldiers will at least, as I have said, hold their own with those of our Allies. (Applause.)

There is one thing I would like to say. We are British, neither Turk nor Greek, but it must be admitted that the tenacity of the Turk in sticking to the pact of Angora, signed in 1920, has to be recognized. Admittedly the Turkish leader to-day is a strong man and a man of vision, who cannot be ignored. The Turks believe, in principle, in representative government: it sounds an anomaly to say this with the situation as it is; but at present their leaders, who have been tried in war and who have been educated in distress, realize that strong control is absolutely necessary. Nationalism and independence is the dominant note to-day, and we see the Turks true to nationalism even at the expense of their religion. The situation is difficult—more difficult than before the peace almost, but I think that the Turkish leaders are educated enough and long-headed enough to realize its difficulties. The problem for them is mainly an economic one. They desire independence, but I believe they would accept guidance and assistance from any of the Allies, or the United States of America, provided that assistance was disinterested and just. On the other hand, they must realize that until the situation is stabilized no financial assistance will be forthcoming, except from adventurers.

As far as the British are concerned, before closing, I cannot help saying that our country is greatly indebted to our Commander-in-Chief. General Harington's sympathetic genius and his absolute uprightness impressed themselves on everybody. There was teamwork all through—the British Navy, Army and Air Force co-operated to carry out the orders of our Government, and worked in harmony with Mr. Neville Henderson, our acting High Commissioner, who remained at Constantinople while our diplomats wrestled for peace at Lausanne. This teamwork extended beyond the British, thanks again to the personality of the Commander-in-Chief, who carried with him the Allied Commanders and the representatives of the associated Powers. As a result he was given an extraordinary tribute when the Allies departed from Constantinople, and to-day our prestige is high, and our reputation for justice is, I think, re-established; but a wide gulf exists, and although the old tradition of friendship towards England still remains, mistrust also remains, and it must be remembered that we are not liked—we are extremely disliked.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Captain Tweedie, who commanded the flagship in the naval operations at Chanak in October, 1922.

Captain TWEEDIE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I had no idea when I came here of being asked to say anything. I can only say the Navy had the greatest pleasure, and a most interesting time, in

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supporting Colonel Shuttleworth, as we found him with his one battalion, as he has told us, at Chanak. The whole of the credit is due to him; there is no question about that. We were there to give what support we could to the military forces we found. We landed everybody, and helped to dig and wire trenches, because we were there, and because it was the obvious thing that was necessary for us to do—there was nothing else for us to do just then. Colonel Shuttleworth directed the whole thing and told us what he wanted. We had 500 or 600 men who could be spared to land, and naturally we did all we could to help him. I do not think there is any more I can detain you about; the part of the Navy was a very small one. (Applause.)

A very hearty vote of thanks was then accorded to Colonel Shuttleworth.

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'IRAQ SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR

ANY survey of the progress of affairs in 'Iraq during the past few months must necessarily be divided under three separate heads—Kurdistan, Mosul, and internal affairs generally. Reference has already been made in this *Journal* to the activities of the Turks in and about Rowanduz, the evacuation of Sulaimaniyah, the return thither of Sheikh Mahmud, the signature of the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty, and the opposition to the election of the members of the National Assembly. It must be the business of this note to follow the development of the movements then appearing, and trace their progress up to the present time.

Sheikh Mahmud had not been long in Sulaimaniyah before it became obvious that he was coquetting with the Turks, and from the Baghdad point of view getting out of hand. His administration of the country, too, left much to be desired, and finally he was instructed by the High Commissioner to come to Baghdad in order that his position might be made clear and misunderstandings removed. This he refused to do, and on a demonstration being made over the town by the Air Force, he left it with a large following and made off northwards. From that time the state of affairs in Sulaimaniyah has been very indefinite, and but little accurate information has been obtainable. Deputations from the town and district have from time to time come to Baghdad, and an influential body, including the High Commissioner and the Prime Minister, visited the town by air from Baghdad in the early summer, to report on its return that Sulaimaniyah was warmly desirous of union with 'Iraq and of coming under the Baghdad Government. Sheikh Mahmud returned, however, a short time later, and set about ill-treating and oppressing all those who had shown themselves at all well disposed to the British or to the Baghdad Government, while Turkish influence began to be seen with increasing clearness.

Rowanduz was the only way by which Turkish intriguers could reach Sulaimaniyah and become a serious danger to 'Iraq, and it was therefore decided to occupy that town. A large force, composed principally of Assyrian levies, moved up there in the early summer, and occupied the town almost without a fight. This force has remained there, and its presence has done much to render that part of the country less restless and to make the leading Kurdish

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Aghas, who have for long been a thorn in the flesh of the Government, tender their submission.

At the same time a force composed largely of Indian troops moved in the direction of Sulaimaniyah, and had no difficulty in occupying the town. Sheikh Mahmud, however, escaped capture by fleeing over the frontier to Persian Kurdistan. Those who had been ground down under the Sheikh's oppressive government were much elated at the reoccupation of the town by the British troops, but were horrified to find that no sooner had the troops arrived than they again evacuated it, leaving it to Sheikh Mahmud's tender mercies. A large proportion of the population, therefore, rather than face the consequences of Sheikh Mahmud's return, left the town with the troops, and migrated to Kirkuk and other places under effective British protection. This second evacuation of Sulaimaniyah, with its second betrayal of the people into Sheikh Mahmud's hands, has completely destroyed British prestige in Southern Kurdistan, and has only rendered much more difficult the solution of the thorny problem of the future of the Sulaimaniyah liwa. As with 'Iraq, there are no doubt many persons in high places who "wish we had never gone there."

During the early months of the year Mosul was the principal subject of conversation in Baghdad, and the possibilities of its return to the Turks were eagerly canvassed. When at the time of the final overthrow of the Greeks by the Turks, and the threat of the Turkish forces to the British forces at Chanak, the Baghdad garrison was moved up to Mosul, the wildest stories became current, and it soon became obvious that one of the methods employed by Turkish agents to win the Mosulawis and other 'Iraqis over to their side was the spreading of false reports of fierce battles almost within sight of Mosul, resulting in severe casualties among the British troops. These stories were countered by reports of the arrival of enormous numbers of British reinforcements at Basra, and of trains full of Turkish prisoners from Mosul. This was followed by a violent newspaper campaign against the Turks in the local Arabic press, when, amid much abuse of the Turks, attempts were made to prove the connection of Mosul with 'Iraq on historical, ethnographical, and linguistic grounds. As, however, the Lausanne Conference dragged out its weary way, interest in this question flagged until it came to be regarded as a matter of more or less academic interest in which only a very few politicians were actively interested. The movement of the British troops to Mosul and the offensive against Rowanduz was regarded by most of the Arabs as a sure sign that the British Government had no intention of giving back Mosul to the Turks, and did much to allay apprehension and to suppress excitement. At the same time the people of Mosul, who have always maintained close touch with the Turks, and who had been inclined to view with favour

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a reversion of their town to its former master, decided that, for the time being at any rate, it would probably be wise to suppress any open indication of their feelings, and on the face of it became anxious for union with 'Iraq. Events have, however, occurred in such a way as to make many of them return to their former allegiance, and at the moment pro-Turkish feeling appears to be again making headway in the town, though the Kurdish districts appear to be more reconciled than hitherto to the prospect of Arab rule.

Religion plays an important part in formulating the political views of the people of Mosul. The Christian population, though considerable, does not possess political influence commensurate with its numerical importance, while the number of Jews in the town and Wilaiyat is negligible. Political power is therefore entirely in the hands of the Muhammadans, who are all Sunni and distinctly inclined to fanaticism. It is unfortunate, then, that this fanaticism has, partly avoidably and partly not, had fuel on which to grow. The Assyrian levies were raised in order to defend the northern frontier of 'Iraq from foreign aggression and to relieve British Imperial forces, and so enable a reduction to be made in the Imperial garrison. Previous to the enlistment of the Assyrians, the levies had been composed of Arabs and Kurds, but for various reasons, not the least of which was the institution of the 'Iraq army and the difficulty which was experienced in obtaining recruits for it owing to the fact that all would-be recruits preferred service under British officers to service under Arabs, it was decided to suspend almost entirely the recruitment of Arabs and Kurds for the levies and concentrate on Assyrians. It was hoped in this way to kill two birds with one stone, and, besides obtaining a reliable fighting force for frontier defence, to provide a solution of the difficult question of the future of the Assyrian nation. Being primarily intended for frontier defence, the headquarters of the levies was necessarily placed at Mosul, and there has usually been a considerable number of Assyrians in the town. From time to time minor quarrels have occurred between the levies and the Arab army and between the levies and the townpeople, with the result that the levies have become exceedingly unpopular among the Muhammadans, and a general anti-Christian feeling has gradually arisen, which showed itself very clearly during August, when, as the result of a minor quarrel between a levy private and a soldier of the Arab army, the town became very excited and full of rumours of serious trouble between the Muhammadans and the Christians. It is unfortunate that this ill-feeling should have been allowed to grow up, the more so as to a large extent it might have been prevented. The levies, being paid for by the British Government and officered by British officers, have been encouraged by their officers to regard themselves as much superior to the Arab army—as, indeed, they un-

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doubtedly are—and so have come to look down on and despise them, referring to them in a sneering way as "Faisal's men," and to themselves as "George's men." This, while no doubt useful in inculcating *esprit de corps* among the levies, has sown dangerous seeds, which are now beginning to sprout and produce very bitter fruit.

Shiah *v.* Sunni feeling has also played a part in forming the opinions of the people of Mosul. Being Sunni, they have viewed with disapproval the manner in which Faisal has coquetted with the Shiah religious leaders in order to obtain from them *fatwahs* designed to further his political ideas. The action of the 'Iraq Government, however, in banishing from the country Sheikh Mahdi al Khalisi, one of the leading Shiah *ulama*, who had issued a *fatwah* denouncing participation by the Shiahs in the elections to the National Assembly, pleased well the people of Mosul, and bid fair to wean some of them from their Turkish sympathies. Fear is now felt in some quarters that if it be true that an attempt is now being made to persuade the Shiah *ulama*, who left the country for Persia at the time of the banishment of Sheikh Mahdi al Khalisi, to return again, the effect on Mosul will be disastrous, and may be sufficient to alienate entirely and irrevocably any sympathy with the 'Iraq Government, and make the people vote solidly for reinclusion in Turkey. If it be true that pro-Turkish feeling is growing in Mosul, it is to the religious question, coupled to an irresolute handling of the situation by Government, that this movement can be traced.

Internal politics have centred entirely round the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty and its protocol and the elections to the National Assembly, whose business it will be to ratify or reject the treaty and the protocol and to pass the organic law of the country. On both questions, the treaty and the elections, the country is divided on almost identically the same lines—on the one side those who have a stake in the country, and on the other those who have not. The first class contains most of the big landlords and merchants and the majority of tribal Sheikhs; the latter class is composed principally of actual and would-be Government officials and professional politicians. The landlords, the merchants, and most of the Sheikhs, have now experienced a period of security, have seen efforts made to repair and maintain the river-bunds which protect their lands and crops from annual inundation, and have seen a slow but gradual movement towards a proper execution of the existing land laws; and they are now loath to return to a system such as that obtaining under the Turks, where no flood-protection works were maintained and no one was sure of reaping what he had sown, and when security was at so low an ebb that no merchant could be sure that his merchandise would not be looted on the road. As is the case in all countries, however, these classes who have everything to lose as a result of

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weak government have no idea of organizing into a compact political party; most of them are apathetic towards politics, believing that it is the work of the professional politician and not a thing for them to meddle with, and as a result their views are rarely put forward and the body as a whole is almost completely inarticulate. The other party, on the other hand, has some organization, though, as a rule, the conflicting interests of the individuals composing it render almost impossible the formulation and pursuance of a party policy. It is also very articulate, and more than makes up in volume of sound for what it lacks in numbers.

This latter party, disappointed at the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty, with its provision for British assistance and advice for twenty years, hailed with joy the publication of the protocol with its shorter period of advice and the possibility of the complete evacuation of the country within a very short period if 'Iraq could gain admission to membership of the League of Nations. This party is now bent on securing the election of the National Assembly, and there is reason to believe that the treaty and the protocol will meet with little or no opposition, while most of this party will vote for the continuance of the monarchy, with Faisal as King. The landlord party, on the other hand, is fearful of what will happen in the country when the British troops move out, and are therefore anxious that they shall remain here as long as possible. They do not regard the protocol with approval, and there are many of them who are strongly opposed to Faisal as King. Their opposition is not likely, however, to find verbal expression, owing to their belief that the British Government has determined that Faisal shall remain King, and that the High Commissioner will banish from the country anyone who raises his voice in opposition to him. Partly as a result of this, they are taking practically no interest in the elections, and, though not abstaining from participation in them, are performing their duties in that connection in a purely perfunctory manner.

In general there exists in the country a conspicuous failure to realize the responsibilities which complete independence will involve, and little serious attempt is being made to place the country or the administration in a position to stand alone when the evacuation by the British forces actually takes place. The Arab army is quite unable to take over by itself the duties of national defence or the task of coercing recalcitrant tribes which elect openly to defy Government, a task which is now being performed as a rule by the Royal Air Force. It is noticeable, too, that it is frequently those officials who are loudest in their demand for complete independence and for the removal of the British forces and advisers who are also the first to cry out for the assistance of British aeroplanes if things do not go as well as they would desire.

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Meanwhile there appears to be a growing opposition from the local officials to the British advisory staff. On the surface, relations between the Arab officials and their advisers appear to be cordial and eminently satisfactory; but beneath the surface there exists a spirit of sullen opposition to any measures proposed by or supported by the advisers, an opposition which is making many of the advisers lose heart and interest in their work. Many of the best of them have already gone, and should many more go the question of recruiting others to take their place will arise. As Government has not yet given contracts to or even produced terms of service for those who are now here, it is improbable that a call for recruits would meet with a very hearty response, or that the type of person so obtained, probably knowing little Arabic and with no knowledge of the country and the people, would be much value as an adviser.

Meanwhile internal order and security have remained surprisingly good. At one time it was feared that there might be some trouble on the Euphrates near Ramadi and Falluja, but the bursting of the Sirriyah Bund and the flooding of the country between Falluja and Baghdad appeared to damp the ardour of those who were fomenting the trouble, and nothing came of it. Otherwise even the troublous districts of the Middle Euphrates have remained quiet and orderly, so much so that, Shiahs though the tribes are to a man, they took no notice of the action of Government in banishing their religious leaders. This was perhaps one of the most encouraging signs of the year, as showing that to a certain extent the power of Government is making headway against the theocratic power of the Shiah *ulama*, which has hitherto threatened to render the position of the civil Government almost impossible.

Strenuous efforts are being made to place the finances of the country on a sounder basis, and as a necessary preliminary an attempt is being made to balance the budget. The published budget for this financial year shows revenue and expenditure as balancing, but little reliance is placed on these figures, as it is not known when the figures were actually prepared or on what basis they were worked out. The serious floods on both the Tigris and the Euphrates in the spring of this year did much damage to bridges, bunds, and crops, which has seriously reduced the revenue from the winter grain crops, and has made it necessary for Government to incur very heavy expenses in repairing the damage done. In addition, the low price of grain and the almost complete stagnation of trade has seriously reduced the amounts which might have been expected to accrue to the exchequer from land revenue and customs duties. If, therefore, the budget was made out before these events occurred and the full weight of these adverse factors became evident, it is obvious that the figures

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on the revenue side are of little value and apt only to be misleading. On the expenditure side the amount devoted to pay of officials is still excessive. Despite the efforts of the advisers to reduce staff, it is difficult to get the Arab officials to make any move in this direction. They are still far too much inclined to create appointments for individuals rather than to appoint individuals to existing posts; and as long as this goes on the tendency will be for the number of officials to increase rather than to decrease. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Finance, which has issued repeated circulars emphasizing the extreme necessity of effecting all possible economies, has not set such an example as would encourage other ministries to answer the call. Especially in the revenue-collecting departments the tendency to increase the number of petty officials has been very marked, and there would appear to be some ground for the accusations made by other Ministries that the Ministry of Finance is failing to practise what it preaches.

The country is on the eve of the elections, and a good deal will depend on the result of them and on the amount of influence the Assembly can obtain for itself over the King and the Cabinet. A strong Assembly will be able to make both King and Cabinet bend to its will. It seems probable, however, that difference of opinion producing dissension between towns and tribes and between Sunnis and Shiahs will seriously weaken the influence of the Assembly and leave the King and the Cabinet in a fairly strong position, and that in practice government after the elections will be not unlike the form of government obtaining at the present time. What is required more than anything else is a period of tranquillity, both within the country and without, and a greater willingness on the part of the Arabs of every class to get down to honest hard work and devote less attention and energy to underhand intrigue, which merely consumes their energies without producing any benefit.

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THE COMING OF THE ARABS TO THE SUDAN

THE two facts concerning the Sudan most likely to cause some surprise to those who have not travelled through it are perhaps its great extent—about a million square miles, stretching from the Sahara to the Congo—and the variety of its population. The northernmost districts, the valley of the Nile excepted, are little more than an arid waste. The southern provinces, on the other hand, are a vast expanse of forest and swamp, deluged by torrential rains. The intermediate districts, from French Equatorial Africa to the frontiers of Abyssinia and Eritrea, are for the most part sandy and fertile, with a moderate rainfall, well suited to agriculture and pasturage.

With the southern provinces we are not for the moment concerned, for the people inhabiting them are not Arabs, but negroes. Almost the whole of the country to the north is Mohammedan in religion, and claims to be Arab in race—a claim for which there is a certain justification in some parts and practically none in others.

The object of this paper is to attempt some general account of the causes which brought the Mohammedan Arab element to the Sudan, the times and ways in which they came, and their present general distribution there.

It is important, in the first place, to bear in mind the great resemblance which the Northern Sudan bears to Arabia itself. Pages of Doughty and Palgrave descriptive of the general prospect, the climatic conditions, the stony surfaces scored by the dry beds of small watercourses, the sparse scrub and desert grasses, might have been written of the country between the Red Sea and the Nile or of the Dongola hinterland and the steppes of Northern Kordofan. This is easily understandable, for the Red Sea is but an accident of Nature, and the countries flanking it on either side are essentially the same. It is a truism to say that, when a people are led by one cause or another to migrate from their own country and settle in another, they tend to choose one which resembles their old home—one to which their naturally acquired methods of livelihood and their customs are easily adaptable. Once arrived, too, it is only to be expected that they should gradually push farther afield into districts which, though their climatic and vegetative conditions are less similar to those they have left, are equally suitable for their existing needs, suggest fresh desiderata, and hold out prospects of greater wealth and fields for new

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enterprise. A naturally concomitant development is the partial assimilation of many of the social and professional habits of the indigenous peoples among whom the newcomers settle and with whom they intermarry. Such as take to agriculture and industry adopt the local methods; such as marry into local families often find it necessary for the peace of the home, and, in fact, a condition of acceptance, to follow at least some of the local rites and ceremonies. Methods of dress, forms of sport, dances, and all the thousand and one amenities of social intercourse, all present points of attraction which are borrowed bit by bit and so become absorbed into the social system.

The case of the Arabs was no exception; and when causes which are to be mentioned had led them to Africa, a number of them found their way, not only to the Mediterranean hinterland and the outlying districts of Egypt, but also to the Northern Sudan, and thence to the more fertile districts inland, where in some cases they amalgamated with, and became almost indistinguishable from, the local population, though in others, particularly in that of the nomadic tribes, they retained much of their original tribal integrity and physical characteristics, merely adopting a certain number of customs and superstitions.

Though the Arab armies conquered Egypt in the seventh century, it was not until the thirteenth and fourteenth, when the barrier of the Christian Kingdom of Dongola had finally collapsed, that the main flood of their immigration broke into the Sudan.

Before we say more of this, however, it is as well to make clear the fact that there had been some contact and immigration for centuries before. There is evidence dating from very early times of a trade in gold, ivory, and aromatic gums, and probably ostrich feathers, conducted across the Red Sea by Arabian merchants, though one can only guess for what commodities these were exchanged. As trade developed, small settlements were formed on the Egyptian and Sudan coasts, and the more adventurous spirits even found their way along the valleys to the Nile; and, having reached it, we may assume they moved north and south along its banks to whatever extent the local rulers permitted them. At the same time, as early as the second millennium B.C. that is, we know that the Himyarites of the Yemen were beginning to colonize the Abyssinian highlands, and cross-currents of migration across the narrow straits of Bab el Mandeb periodically took place during the following centuries. It is a probable inference that a certain number of these Arabs during this period found their way in search of trade down the valley of the Blue Nile.

By the time of the Ptolemies, there is no question, commerce with the Sudan was flourishing, for all along the coast were trading-stations; and early Nubian traditions point to the settlement on the Nile of a certain number of Himyarites.

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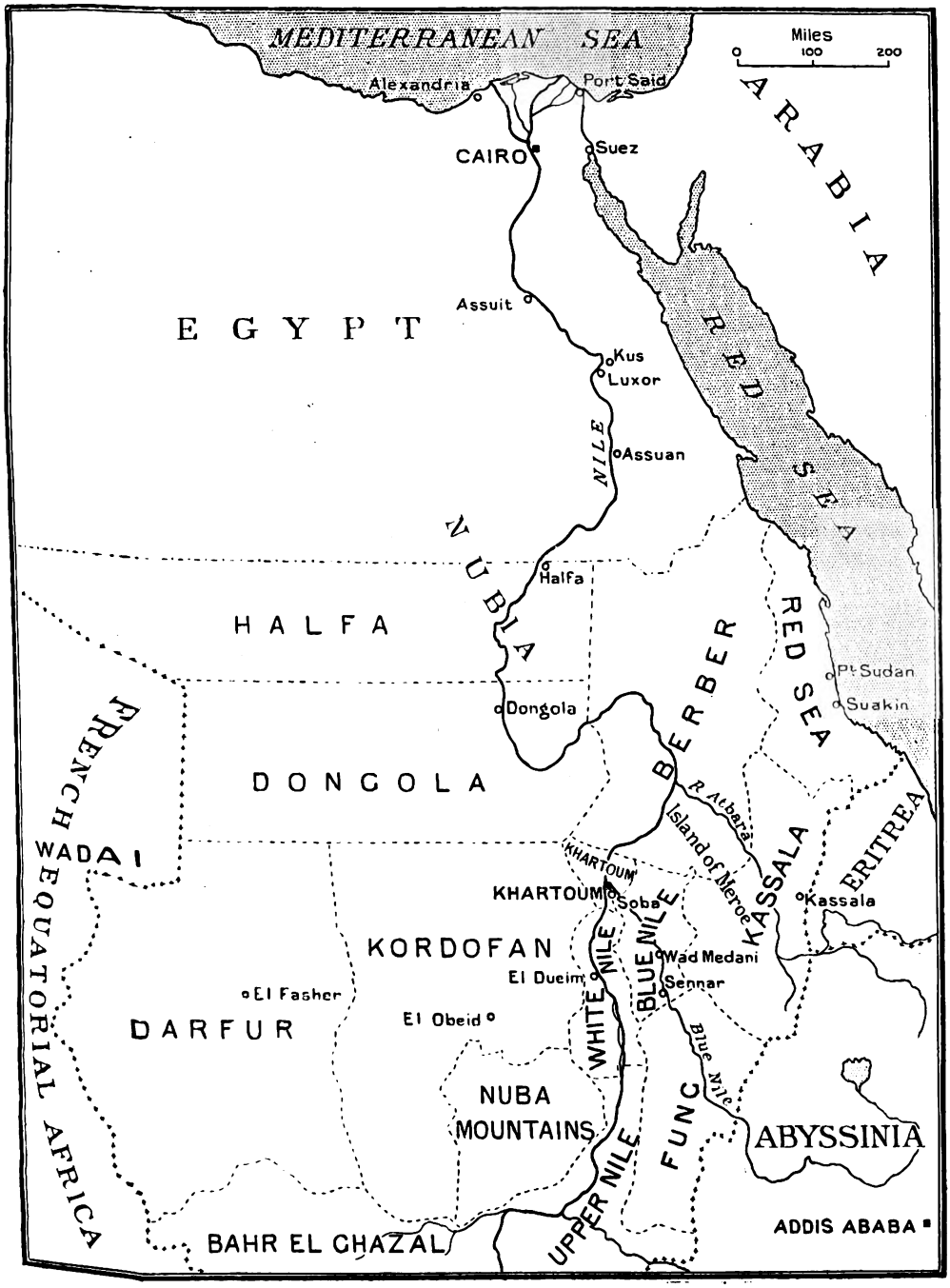

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The earliest suggestion of Arab penetration into the Sudan for other than such peaceful purposes is the story of an incursion by the Himyarite King Dhu el Manar about 100 B.C. This is so vague that it is perhaps hardly worth recording; but there is stronger evidence for the fact that, a century later, a successor, Abu Malik, made an expedition in quest of emeralds into the deserts of the Beja—the Berber and Red Sea Provinces of to-day—and there perished with most of his army.

By the fourth century A.D. the volume of trade between the Himyarites and Axumites of Abyssinia, both now converts to Christianity, was very considerable; but about A.D. 500 the Yemen adopted Judaism, and relations between the two parties became hostile. A century later we hear of another Himyarite King, Seif ibn Dhu Yazan, who, after enslaving or expelling from his dominions some 600 Abyssinians, was murdered by others. The most interesting point about this monarch, however, is that he is fabled to have founded the ruling dynasty of Kanem in Central Africa. Literally taken, this is, of course, ridiculous; but the story is so preposterously unlikely that there is the greater need to devise some explanation for it. The most reasonable theory seems to be that by this period parties of Arabs had succeeded in pushing their way far afield to the west, and had settled there. It would be only characteristic of the Arab if some of these sought to impress the ignorant savages by claiming kinship with the "great king" of Southern Arabia, and equally characteristic of the savage if the allegation were swallowed. If this happened, it is easy to surmise that the particular group to which the Arab colonists allied themselves by intermarriage would, as happened in Wadai and Darfur and elsewhere, soon obtain the control of affairs, and so become founders of a dynasty.

In the year 641 Egypt passed under the rule of the Arabs, lately converted to the faith of Islam and fairly embarked upon that wonderful invasion which in a short space of time was to subject half of Asia and Africa and the fringes of Europe to their creed and domination. It was not long before the northern districts of the Sudan felt the effect. No sooner had Egypt been subdued than an expedition was dispatched under Abdulla Saad to invade Nubia and exact a tribute. Ten years later, in 651, Abdulla, now Governor of Egypt, made a second incursion and penetrated as far upstream as Dongola, the capital, and bombarded it with catapults and destroyed the Christian church. The Nubians then sued for peace. The terms of the treaty which was imposed upon them were by no means oppressive; and since it continued in force for more than six centuries, during which the tribute was, with interludes, paid yearly—presents of an almost equivalent value being repaid to the Nubians—the main provisions may be quoted:

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"In the name of God, etc. . . . This is the treaty granted by the Amir Abdulla ibn Saad ibn Abu Sarh to the chief of the Nubians and to all the people of his dominions . . . from the frontier of Aswan to the frontier of Aloa.* Abdulla ibn Saad ordains security and peace between them and the Muslims. . . . Ye people of Nubia, ye shall dwell in safety under the safeguard of God and his apostle. . . . We will not attack you, nor wage war on you, nor make incursions against you, so long as ye abide by the terms settled between us and you. When ye enter our country, it shall be but as travellers, not as settlers, and when we enter your country it shall be but as travellers, not settlers. Ye shall protect those Muslims or their allies who come into your land and travel there, until they quit it. Ye shall give us the slaves of Muslims who seek refuge among you, and send them back to the country of Islam; and likewise the Muslim fugitive who is at war with the Muslims, him ye shall expel from your country to the realm of Islam; ye shall not espouse his cause nor prevent his capture. Ye shall put no obstacle in the way of a Muslim, but render him aid until he quit your territory. Ye shall take care of the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirts of your city, and hinder none from praying there; ye shall clean it, and light it, and honour it. Every year ye shall pay 360 head of slaves to the leader of the Muslims, of the middle class of slaves of your country, without bodily defects, males and females, but no old men nor old women nor young children. . . . No Muslim shall be bound to repulse an enemy from you or to attack him, or hinder him, from Aloa to Aswan."

In the event of any breach of these conditions it was laid down that war would be renewed.

For many years, no doubt, relations between the Arabs and the Nubians were confined to minor trade, occasional quarrels, and a certain amount of intermarriage in the border districts. In Egypt, though Arab immigration continued on a large scale, the Copts were for the first 200 years after the conquest still numerically preponderant, and many thousands of the Arab tribesmen pushed west along the north coast of Africa into the Berber country, while others retired to Upper Egypt.

In A.D. 750 occurred one of those cataclysms to which Islam has periodically been subject, and the Abbasid dynasty supplanted the Ommeyyad. A period of civil war and ruthless extermination supervened. Whole tribes were compelled to migrate from Arabia and seek a home in distant lands. It was in direct connection with these movements that certain parties of Ommeyyads, numerically insignificant but historically noteworthy, appear to have found their way across the Red Sea into the Sudan. One band is said to have entered by way of Abyssinia and found its way thence to the Blue Nile, where

* That is, Soba, just above the junction of the Blue Nile with the White.

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its leader married the daughter of the King of the Fung negroids, who were to attain a position of local pre-eminence at the end of the fourteenth century. A second band, led by Abdulla and Obeidulla, the sons of Marwan, last of the Ommeyyad caliphs, accompanied by their families and dependants, entered the Sudan via Aswan, and took temporary refuge on the Red Sea coast; and though most of them sailed thence after losing a proportion of their numbers, tombs found near Akik prove that others settled there.

By A.D. 832 the Mohammedans outnumbered the Christians in Egypt, and from this year, too, may be dated the beginning of the wholesale settlement of Arabs in the villages and on the land, instead of in the great cities only. At the same period, too, trouble was experienced from the Beja tribes living between Aswan and the coast north-eastwards. These people may in the dim mists of antiquity have crossed over from Arabia: they were not, however, Arabs in the same sense as were the Semitic people known to history by the name, but rather "Hamitic" in descent and, of course, entirely pagan. Their modern representatives are the Ababda Bisharin and Hadendoa —the "Fuzzy-Wuzzies" of more modern days. They were speedily repressed, and accepted a treaty of the same type as that in force between the Arabs and the riverain Nubians. About twenty years later they rebelled and raided Upper Egypt in the days of Anbasa, the last and best of the Arab Governors. Forces sent eastward from Kus, and westward from the Red Sea, again subjugated them, and peace was renewed, this time with stress laid on the facilities to be granted to the Arabs to work the ancient mines of the Red Sea littoral.

With the recall of Anbasa and his replacement by a series of Turkish Governors, the status of the Arabs in Egypt naturally altered for the worse. Finding themselves in disfavour and oppressed, they began to migrate elsewhere, to the south and west. Large bodies of Guhayna and Rabia decamped to the Beja country; others settled round Aswan and in Northern Nubia, where they bought land and allied themselves to the local inhabitants by marriage. How far these latter may have pushed their way southwards during the next 300 years we do not know; but matters certainly did not remain stationary, and by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, after the fall of the Fatimite and the rise of the Ayyubite dynasty in Egypt, there appear to have been strong independent colonies of Arabs of mixed blood in power from Aswan for some distance to the south, and expeditions had to be sent from time to time against them and the Nubians.

In 1250 the Ayyubites were succeeded by the Bahrite Mamlukes, and the lot of the Arabs in Egypt became even more hard than before, and their unavailing revolts more frequent. The kingdom of Nubia was now beginning to disintegrate, and each expedition sent from Egypt in the thirteenth century and the early years of the fourteenth

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penetrated farther south than the last, dealt a heavier blow at the tottering fabric of negro organization, and was followed by more and more Arab settlers.

In 1316 a Mohammedan succeeded to the kingship of Nubia, and the payment of tribute consequently ceased. It was now that the floodgates were finally opened to the full. Hordes of Guhayna, Fezara, and other tribes, poured southwards and spread out like a fan to east and west. The camel- and sheep-owning nomads extended over Northern Kordofan to Darfur, and even to Wadai, and into the ancient Island of Meroë, and up the Atbara and the Blue Nile to the borders of Abyssinia. Other Arabs, probably those whose herds were smaller, and who were therefore drawn towards agriculture or trade, settled on the Nile banks; and among these were a proportion from the towns of Egypt or Arabia, who had a smattering of learning and therefore a reputation for sanctity. These latter took to proselytizing the Christian and pagan tribes, opened small schools, and exercised an ever-increasing influence at the courts of the local rulers. They almost invariably represented themselves as Ashraf, members of the Prophet's own tribe, or as Ansar, fellow-tribesmen of the "Helpers" of the Prophet, or as descendants of Zubeir ibn el Awwam, Abu Bukr, or some other famous "Companion" of the Prophet. All were Sunnis, and practically all followed the tenets of Malik ibn Anas, which still hold the field in the Mohammedan Sudan.

The Arab immigrants probably owned few, if any, cattle to begin with; but in time branches of the nomadic tribes, chiefly Guhayna it appears, finding that the broad belt of country to the north of latitude 10° was eminently suitable for the purpose, took to acquiring cattle from the negroes. The rainfall here is fairly heavy, the ground is muddy rather than sandy, and vegetation is thicker. Camels cannot live because of "fly" and poisonous creepers, but cattle thrive. The Arabs who settled here committed themselves to a definite change of life and became the forefathers of the populous and warlike Baggara Arabs—Beni Selim, Awlad Hammayd, Kenana, Hawazma, Messiria, Humr, Rizeigat, Habbania, Taaïsha, Beni Helba, Beni Khuzam, Beni Rashid, Ziud, Salamat, etc., of the present. As a result of admixture with the negroes they are darker than the camel-owning Arabs, but they have, generally speaking, preserved the Arab cast of countenance and build. In the dry weather they take their cattle south to the great western tributary of the Nile, called after them the Bahr el Arab, and there come into contact with the Nilotic Dinka and the "Fertit" group of negroes. In the rains they move northwards to the fringes of the sandy agricultural country of the villagers. They are all horsemen, and carry the long broad-bladed spear.

The rest of the Arabs had also adjusted themselves similarly to local conditions. It is especially important to remember that the

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matrilinear system in force on the main Nile at the beginning of the fourteenth century was all to their advantage. In the words of Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406): " Then the tribes of the Guhayna Arabs spread over their country and settled in it and ruled it and filled it with rapine and disorder. At first the kings of the Nuba attempted to repulse them, but they failed: then they won them over by giving them their daughters in marriage. Thus was their kingdom disintegrated, and it passed to certain of the sons of Guhayna on account of their mothers, according to the custom of the infidels as to the succession of the sister or the sister's son. So their kingdom fell to pieces, and the A'arab of Guhayna took possession of it. But their rule showed none of the marks of statesmanship because of the inherent weakness of a system which is opposed to discipline and the subordination of one to another. Consequently they are still divided up into parties, and there is no vestige of authority in their land, but they remain nomads, following the rainfall like the A'arab of Arabia. . . ."

In the course of time some of these Arabs, who, though mainly Guhayna, included families drawn from half the tribes of Arabia, took to agriculture and village life. These by intermarriage and concubinage tended naturally to become more and more closely assimilated to the Nubian and negroid types, and are represented at the present day in the Central Provinces of the Sudan and on the river by many so-called Arab tribes—Gaaliin, Shaigia, sedentary Rufaa, Gawamaa Bederia, Hamar, and the like, who, though Mohammedans and claiming to be Arabs, are often in reality of a more distinctively negroid type. Their claim to noble Arab descent is generally in inverse ratio to the purity of their origin.

A considerable number of the Arabs, however, have retained a great measure of their racial characteristics, their ancient customs, and even some of the old-fashioned phraseology of their mother-country. These, as would be expected, are the great pastoral tribes, Kababish, Kawahla, Lahawiin, Shukria, Batahin, nomad Hasania, etc., who avoid unnecessary contact with the settled villagers and spend all or most of the year with their flocks in the more distant and cleaner grazing-grounds.

But no clearly defined line of racial cleavage can be drawn between all these various categories. Generally speaking, the different clans and families of immigrant Guhayna and Fezara tended to regroup themselves in the Sudan into nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes, whether Baggara or breeders of camels and sheep; and the sections of the Sudanese-Arab tribes thus formed have since been continually reshuffling themselves into fresh combinations on account of such causes as feuds, dissatisfaction with a sheikh, the need for fresh pasturage, etc. The Kuraysh, Kays Aylan, " Ansar " group, and the

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thousand and one others who had perhaps been less nomadic in habit and more used to a sedentary life, inclined to settle into villages and disintegrate into innumerable small and indeterminate clans, or else entirely to lose any form of corporate cohesion but that of the village, which they shared with others of similar tastes. It would probably be true of every "Arab" community in the Sudan to say, firstly, that it contains elements drawn from many different Arabian tribes; secondly, that groups of other similarly mixed communities have been incorporated with it; thirdly, that, in the case of all, these elements have been modified, though in very different degrees, by centuries of intermarriage with other tribes of debased origin and the older inhabitants of the country.

Nothing has yet been said of any immigration of Arabs to the Sudan later than the early years of the fourteenth century; and while there is no reason to suppose that the influx which then took place came to a sudden stop, since the same attractions existed in the Sudan in subsequent centuries, and the same lack of attraction in Egypt for many years at least, it must not be forgotten that the cessation of migration to Egypt from Arabia must have made a great difference. Thus, even when such opportunities occurred as the coalition of the Gawasma Arabs with the local Fung and the foundation of a kingdom at Sennar on the Blue Nile in 1504, or the fusion of the ruling Kungara Fur of Darfur with one family of Arabs and of the local negroes in Wadai with another at a slightly later date, there is no reason to suppose that any fresh bodies of Arabs were induced thereby to immigrate from outside the Sudan, though undoubtedly individuals with their families came in pursuit of trade or of the emoluments pertaining to a smattering of learning and a reputation for piety. There has been nothing in the nature of wholesale tribal immigration from Egypt or Arabia since the fifteenth century, except for the small but persistent stream of Arabs, chiefly Rashaida and Zebedia, that has been trickling across the narrow waters of the Red Sea to the Eastern Sudan and Eritrea, there to continue their normal life of pasturage with a greater sense of security.

The tribes of Arabia are proverbially wild and restless of control, given to feuds that last from one generation to another and flame periodically into internecine warfare. Pillaging fat convoys and even pilgrim caravans bound for the Holy Places seems to savour to them of gallantry and sport. The same propensities, *mutatis mutandis*, characterized the nomadic Arabs of the Sudan in the days of the Fung dynasty and in the periods of Turkish and Dervish rule. In the first case the rulers of the land were a sedentary negroid people with no sympathy to spare for Arabs and no understanding of their ways. They regarded them much as the Mamluks of Egypt or the late Sultan of Darfur did—as a tiresome and somewhat dangerous

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element, only useful in so far as they could be fleeced. The Turko-Egyptian attitude towards them was much the same; and in both cases there was no inducement to the Arab to cease living as the children of Ishmael had always lived. In the next period the "Arabs" were themselves Dervishes, and the whole country was given over to an orgy of rapine and feud.

That a complete change has now taken place; that tribal fights on a large scale practically never occur; that raids, even against the pagan negroes of the south, are almost a thing of the past; that merchant caravans, so far from being plundered, are in fact always convoyed in perfect safety over great distances inland by the Arabs themselves, is due entirely to the Pax Britannica, which has induced a realization that the old ways did not and cannot pay, and that the new order brings greater content and prosperity.

There is no appreciable tendency on the part of the nomads to forsake the life of pasturage and break away from the tribal system and settle into villages. On the contrary, as flocks and herds increase, a number of the richer villagers are wont to spend more and more of their time driving them in search of the best grazing-grounds, leaving the folk in whom the ancient instincts have become more submerged in the life agricultural to till the fields.

In consequence the Arabs of the Sudan are richer and more contented than they have ever been, trust the Government, are prepared to accept its rulings, and probably give less trouble to the authorities than any other class of the population. They have effectively disproved the theory that the Arab is incapable of peaceful development.

H. A. MacMichael.

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THE ASSYRIANS

In writing about the Assyrians, I would like to explain that they are a people distinct from the Syrians, and that both these peoples have from earliest times inhabited entirely different countries.

Assyria—that is, ancient Assyria—lay to the east of Mesopotamia. On its northern border lay Armenia, to the south was Babylonia, modern Kurdistan limited its eastern frontier, and to the west it embraced a certain part of the country on the west bank of the Tigris. Thus it will be realized that Mesopotamia proper lay between it and Syria, whose eastern boundary was the Euphrates. It was during the eighth century B.C. that the Assyrians overran Syria.

Assyrian history dates back to some 700 years before Shalmeneser I., who lived and reigned about 1320 B.C. The earliest known capital of this race was Assur, now called Kalaat Shergat, but about the time of Shalmeneser I. they appear to have transferred to the better known city of Nineveh. This latter town fell before the Medes early in the seventh century B.C., and with its collapse the Assyrian empire ceased to exist.

From this race of old antiquity the present Assyrian claims descent, and certainly when compared with ancient archæological discoveries their features in some cases bear testimony to the truth of their contention.

The Assyrian of to-day, or rather of the period before the war, occupied the mountainous country to the north and north-east of Mosul, and from around Julamerk they stretched or, so to speak, scattered themselves as far as Lake Van to the north and Urmia to the north-east. Like the Kurd, their villages were to be found in Mesopotamia, Turkey, and Persia.

The old Assyrian religion differed only slightly from the Babylonian, but, if tradition be true, they deserted their ancient idolatry for the teaching of Christ towards the end of the first century, and Mar Adai is regarded as the founder of their Church. The Assyrians now are Nestorians, though a certain number owe allegiance to the Patriarch of Antioch, and even a greater number regard the Pope of Rome as their spiritual head. Thus among the Assyrians we find Nestorians, Jacobites, and Chaldæans. The Nestorians follow the doctrine of one Nestorius, who was Patriarch of Constantinople in A.D. 428. They hold that there are two natures as well as two

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persons in Jesus Christ, and recognize only their own patriarch, who is known as the Mar Shimun. The Jacobites, on the contrary, are Monophysites, following the heresy of Jacob, a monk of Phasilta, who denied the existence of two natures in Christ. They are subject to the Patriarch of Antioch. Lastly, the Chaldæans are those who were converted from Nestorianism to the Roman or Latin Church.

Thus it will be seen that the Assyrians, while claiming to belong to a race which dates back some 4,000 years, rightly assert that their nation was among the first to accept Christianity. They have clung to this faith for nearly 2,000 years, in spite of the fact that their overlords have successively been followers of Zoroaster and Mahomed, and notwithstanding the fact that their neighbours, the Yezidis, even now worship his Satanic majesty!

In past history the Assyrians not only derived their religion but apparently their language also from the Babylonians. To-day, however, though still speaking a Semitic tongue, they have acquired a language called Syriac, which is more like the Aramaic, as spoken by our Lord, than any other language of the present time. Arabic, on the other hand, is the language of the Syrian.

The reader must forgive this rather lengthy prologue, but I have tried to compare in an accurate and clear manner the present Assyrians with those of the past, and also to emphasize the fact that the Assyrian is distinct in race, religion, language, and history from the Syrian.

It is, then, of the present Nestorian Assyrian that I am anxious to write a short account. Many, I fear, hardly realize his existence, and to the majority the part he played in the war and after it is totally unknown. So at a time when the future of this people is under consideration, it is perhaps not out of place to remind members of the Central Asian Society of their past history, and more especially of their recent achievements.

Briefly, then, this small Christian nation in 1915 threw in their lot with the Allies, and not unnaturally made an effort to shake off the yoke of a Moslem Power. Situated as they were in the Kurdish hills, their villages lying side by side with those of the Kurds and, as it were, straddling Northern Mesopotamia, South-East Turkey and North-West Persia, their position was anything but an enviable one.

It has, I believe, been suggested that the Assyrians were disloyal to the Turks in that they took up arms against them. To quote Dr. Wigram: "When [in November] . . . Turkey entered the lists as a combatant, that event was signalized by the pillaging of all the Christian villages near Bashkala* with the practically open approval of the local Ottoman authority." Urmia was among the

* Bashkala lies about thirty-five miles to the north-east of Julamerk.

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first to reap the calamity of war, for after the Russian evacuation some hundreds of Christians were massacred. Is it surprising, then, that in 1915 the Assyrian mountaineers accepted the Russian invitation to side with them?

During the following years of the war the Assyrians had their full share of fighting. Space forbids me to follow their history too closely, and I will merely summarize the events which bring them up to the present day. Dr. Wigram, in his book, "The Cradle of Mankind," has done them full justice, and has given an account of all they went through from 1915 to the end of the war.

And so these mountaineers, led by their Mar Shimun—Benyamin—held their own against Kurdish attacks until the autumn of 1915, when the want of food as much as their desire to join hands with the Russians, who had advanced south again, compelled them to fight their way through with their families and their flocks to Urmia in North-West Persia. Here a juncture with the Russians was made, and from this district until the spring of 1918 a successful guerrilla warfare was carried on against the Kurds and Turks.

It was about this time that the Assyrians lost their leader, Benyamin Mar Shimun, through the treachery of Simco Agha of the Shekak Kurds. Polus, his brother, stepped into his place. The position of the Assyrians now became desperate, for, with the collapse of Russia, they were left alone at Urmia to face the hostile Turk, Kurd, and Persian. Once more necessity compelled them to break through, and this time south, to join the small British column in North-West Persia. Once more there was an exodus of this people with their families, and once more they achieved their object, but at terrible cost, for their casualties probably amounted to some 15,000 men, women, and children. The remnants found shelter with the British, and travelling south by way of Hamadan and Kermanshah, they were finally encamped near Baghdad.

From this period until the present day the question of the repatriation of the Assyrians has been a perplexing one. An effort was made in the autumn of 1920 to resettle them in their native hills, but the result was not successful.

In 1921 an Assyrian force was raised and commanded by British officers. It formed the nucleus of the Levy Force which exists to-day, and numbered some 3,000 men. At the same time another and more fortunate effort was made to re-establish some of the tribesmen in their native homes.

The position of the Assyrians, then, in 1922 was that a certain number were back in their mountain districts within the 'Iraq frontier, others were settled on the Mosul plain, which is, unfortunately, unhealthy, and those who drifted here suffered a good deal from malaria. A portion were enlisted in the Levy Force, and lived in

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military camps with their families, while a few sought employment in Baghdad, and some, facing all difficulties, tried to find their way back through Persia to Urmia. This, briefly, is their position to-day. The country which was theirs to the north and beyond the 'Iraq frontier lies in Turkey, and is it to be wondered at that from the low-lying plain of Mosul they still look away to the distant snow-capped mountains and long for the day when they can return to the land of their fathers?

It was in the winter of 1922-1923 that the Assyrians, as a Levy battalion, held the northern frontier of 'Iraq and withstood the threatened Kemalist thrust for Mosul. It may be of interest here to refer to Sir Percy Cox's recent report on 'Iraq. On p. 110 he writes: "In justice to the Assyrians it must be added that during the first three months of this year, when a Turkish attack was always a possibility, they have proved their strategic value on the 'Iraq frontier. In March, over 2,000 enlisted in the Levies within three weeks. It is far from improbable that this instant response on the part of a people whose qualities as fighting men are renowned was the main reason which induced the Kemalists to abandon their projected attack. Led by British officers, they are a native force second to none. Their quickness in picking up discipline and their mettle in battle has surprised and delighted all who have been concerned with them."

If during the first three months of this year they proved their strategic value, they more than justified their existence during the next three months. As an Assyrian brigade they marched via Erbil to Rowanduz, which latter town, lying about forty miles within the 'Iraq frontier, had been held by the Turks for the last three years. Rowanduz was occupied with hardly a shot being fired. It was not without interest that the explanation, given by the Kurds of the district, for this hasty and somewhat undignified evacuation of Rowanduz was the fact that the vengeance of the Assyrians was feared. Such is the prestige of the Assyrian as a fighter among his neighbours.

Having spent some twelve months with the Assyrian Levies, I can testify to their efficiency as soldiers, and, in my opinion, it is not too much to say that they compare more than favourably with our best native troops, which is saying a good deal. A healthy mountain race, they can face and endure hardship and resist the worst weather conditions, and a winter in Northern Kurdistan can be as cruel as any English one. I can see these men now, at the end of a weary march, which had led over mountains and through icy torrents, undaunted even by the streaming rain, with linked arms, enlivening the bivouac with song and dance.

Already, I am afraid, I have occupied more space in the *Journal*

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than was my original intention, yet, even so, much has been left unsaid.

I feel I can only close my remarks on this interesting and virile race by expressing the hope that "our smallest Ally" may eventually reap the fruits of victory and enjoy again the mountain districts that once were theirs. Here, then, let us leave the Assyrians looking with eager eyes towards their homes, which still lie very far off.

A. D. W. Bentinck.

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REVIEWS

TALES OF TRAVEL. By the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, K.G. Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. 28s. net.

It is a serious thing to undertake to review the work of a distinguished scholar, statesman, and traveller, when he seeks "literary distraction" in reviewing "memories of the past," and in placing on record the result of observation and study brought to bear upon scenes and incidents in diverse portions of the globe. The professional reviewer usually shelters himself behind anonymity, but the Society of which the author is the President does not encourage "protection" on those lines. From the standpoint of review, the Society is essentially a free-trader. What a member writes, he acknowledges. Working on these terms the reviewer may well find a pleasure in visiting scenes and considering subjects with some of which travel and study have made him more or less familiar. The striking Introduction is to the reader—especially if he or she too be a traveller—a direct incentive to the resuscitation of those "mind-pictures" which, as Lord Curzon says, are the "spiritual possession" of each of us. And I venture to add that there are few Societies which share that "spiritual possession" more fully than does the Central Asian.

"The Dreams of Kairwan" touch on the fringe of a meteoric career—that of General Boulanger. The mere name awakens memories. When the author first met the General, in 1885, he was commanding the French army of occupation in Tunis, and the "alert and springy figure and the blonde hair of the youthful General," as whose son the author posed for a day or two, are vividly set before us. To that temporary adoption Mr. Curzon (as he then was) was indebted for his introduction to that weird scene in the "sanctuary of Aissa" which he has so clearly and vividly described. When I try myself to recall somewhat similar scenes in Constantinople and Cairo, my mind-picture is lamentably obscure. In vain do I call upon the mind's eye to revive the scene in clear outline. These orgies of fanaticism have again and again been described in books, periodicals, and journals. The *dénouement* in this case links itself alike with comedy and tragedy. This escapade as *le fils du Général Boulanger* reached the ears of the Southport electors, and furnished the Radical newspapers of that constituency with a mischief-making *pabulum* of which they made unscrupulous use. The tragic side

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of the picture is the " middle-aged civilian " of increasing bulk and grizzled beard whom the author met at a private house in London some five or six years later, " a little while before the melancholy catastrophe " (in the cemetery at Brussels) " which ended his life."

The Amir Abdur Rahman Khan is a figure in history which I have learnt to regard with marked respect. Sir West Ridgeway had as good an opportunity as any Briton of taking his measure, and his opinion, put in black and white, was that he was one of the greatest monarchs and rulers of his age. It is understood that Sir West is now writing his Memoirs, and, if that is so, we may hope to see the portrait of the Amir Abdur Rahman from his pen. For existing portraits we may turn, if we can lay our hands upon the books, to Angus Hamilton's " Afghanistan," to the " Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.," by Sultan Mahomed Khan, published by Mr. John Murray in 1900, or to " Under the Absolute Amir," by Mr. Frank Martin; but for a description and estimate of the man we can look to no higher authority than the statesman who visited him in Kabul as the Amir's guest in 1894, and who subsequently, as Viceroy of India, had to deal with him as a Moslem potentate who, in a very guarded fashion, had placed himself under British protection. The Amir is set before us by Lord Curzon under various aspects, but we here will confine ourselves to one only. On p. 61 we find mentioned his " calculated rudeness," and that in response to the invitation of our Queen Victoria. Not a few of us can remember the visit to Great Britain in 1895 of Sardar Nasrullah Khan, the second son of Abdur Rahman, and his equally " calculated rudeness." Speaking from memory, I think that I am right in saying that Nasrullah's first appearance in public in London was on the occasion of Her Majesty's Birthday Parade. I was present among the spectators, and awaiting the arrival of the Afghan Sardar were the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of Edinburgh, Connaught, and Cambridge. Nasrullah was forty minutes late. It is supposed that this breach of etiquette and manners was in obedience to a calculated policy impressed upon him by his father before he left Kabul. His conduct alienated from him all British sympathy and completely vetoed the Amir's ambition, which was to establish an Afghan Legation in London. I came more or less into touch again with Nasrullah at Glasgow. A friend of mine, a municipal functionary of that city, gave me a little sketch of his experiences of Li Hung Chang and Nasrullah, who visited Glasgow within a few days of each other. The Chinese statesman was described as " somewhat irrepressible " (and so Lord Curzon found him: *vide* " Humours of Travel " vi., pp. 243-247), but for Nasrullah there was only one epithet—" impossible."

It is interesting to compare the photograph of the Amir Abdur

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Rahman taken in 1894 and reproduced by Lord Curzon, and that taken between 1870-80 and used as a frontispiece to Sultan Mahomed Khan's Life. The latter presents the man in his full health and vigour, whereas the former shows only too clearly the havoc that a lapse of twenty years can work in an originally magnificent physique and constitution.

The Amir died in 1901, seven years after Lord Curzon's visit to him.

Apropos of his exile in Russian Turkistan, the Amir mentioned to his visitor that "the greater part of his Russian pension was systematically filched from him by peculation." It has been not unfrequently contended that, had the Government of India shown more liberality to the Amir Dost Mahommed, the first Afghan War need never have taken place. I have in my possession some very interesting private letters written by Sir Alexander Burnes from Kabul to his great friend, George Le Grand Jacob, in which it is specifically stated that a few lakhs accorded at the outset of the negotiations between the Governor-General and the Amir Dost Mahommed might have obviated what in the long run cost many crores. It has been in my mind to publish these letters, the last of which was written very shortly before Burnes was murdered in Kabul, but, being very much occupied, I have found no time. When I was at Mashhad in the spring of 1885 I met Sardar Mahommed Hashim Khan, a son-in-law of the Amir Sher Ali, who had himself in 1880 had some pretensions to the throne of Kabul. However, as soon as he knew that Sardar Abdur Rahman was the favoured aspirant, he left Kabul quietly and expeditiously and took refuge in Persia. There I met him soon after the battle of Pandjeh, and a very interesting talk I had with him (*vide* "The Afghan Boundary Commission," pp. 373-377). Later I again met him at Karachi, when he settled there, having accepted an invitation from the Government of India to reside within their territory.

"The Voice of Memnon" is a scholarly study of a natural phenomenon on which, as it seems to me, no one who has not visited Thebes and at least seen the Vocal Columns is entitled to make any comment, and still less to offer criticism. The solution of the problem, if indeed it is to be solved, seems to lie within the province of the scholar and the scientist.

The two next sections, or chapters, with their admirable photographic illustrations, set before the reader a graphic description of the great waterfalls of the world. What other writer has thus summarized this topic within a score of pages? If we turn to an encyclopædia, mere statistics meet the eye. The great Victoria Falls still attract the adventurous traveller. It is but a few weeks ago that, before the Royal Geographical Society, Colonel J. C. B.

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Statham told the thrilling story, well illustrated on the screen, of his and his wife's perilous progress by land and water from Mossamedes on the coast of Portuguese Angola to the great falls on the Zambesi, a distance of at least 1,500 miles. As the audience sat and listened, it realized the dangers through which that devoted couple had passed, and the cause there was for sincere thankfulness that no fatal accident had marred the ultimate success of the venture.

The sections of Lord Curzon's "Tales of Travel" entitled "Lest we Forget," "The Palæstra of Japan," "Pages of a Diary," and "Humours of Travel," are not ones upon which the reviewer can justifiably linger. He will merely remark that he trusts that that Amir, of whose merciless spirit the author gives us only too clear a conception, had also some little sense of humour, and spared that "Havildar of Sarhad" for his cool self-possession and ingenuity. The saving sense of humour might well have had a look-in there, and we can detect that thought underlying the author's narrative.

The final section, on "The Singing Sands," is a remarkable *échantillon* of that thoroughness of research for which Lord Curzon as an author is famous. I remember, years ago, listening to his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society on "The Sources of the River Oxus," and being struck by the completeness with which the evidence on that disputed subject had been collected and martialled. It is the same with "The Singing Sands," and one cannot but read this treatise with absorbed interest from start to finish. It is interesting to note that the chief authority on the "Rig-i-Rawán" (the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names will, I trust, accept this transliteration) at Kalah-i-Kah, in Seistan, is Major-General Beresford Lovett, who, after a long life and distinguished career in Persia, has since 1918 been a member of the Central Asian Society. I myself passed close to the Singing Sand-drift of Imam Zaid in November, 1884, and as I passed a Kizilbash guide who was riding with me told me its legend. I have embodied what he told me in my "Afghan Boundary Commission," pp. 112-113. Just about ten years ago, Mr. Cecil Carus Wilson gave an address to children in the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society on "The Secrets of Sand," and illustrated the vocal and musical powers of sand by a series of experiments. The interest aroused by this remarkable lecture was reflected in letters and articles which appeared in the Press from January to April, 1913. It will be noted that Lord Curzon refers to him as "the principal British student of the phenomenon of singing sand." As far as I remember, Mr. Vaughan-Cornish has confined his studies to the formation of sand.

"The Singing Sand" is a genuinely fascinating subject with which to conclude a volume which will be valued in the Library of the Central Asian Society both for its author's and donor's sake, and

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for its own merit and interest. We shall look forward to the "successor" volume, of which the Introduction (p. 9) throws out a hint.

A. C. YATE.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST, FROM THE FOUNDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE. By William Stearns Davis, Ph.D. Macmillan.

Dr. Davis is an American, and his father was formerly a professor in the American college at Constantinople. He writes, therefore, with inherited sympathy and knowledge, and at the same time with historical detachment. Almost all European nations and all Balkan nations have been so long involved in the destinies of the Near East that writers on this side of the Atlantic are seldom free from a certain amount of political prejudice, from which American writers are more easily immune, as the United States have kept aloof from the long-drawn entanglements of the Eastern question, and the activities of its citizens have been mainly educational and humanitarian. Dr. Davis has produced within the compass of one moderate-sized volume a singularly lucid picture of what he calls "the agelong debate betwixt East and West, whereof perhaps the first real non-legendary argument was held at the battle of Marathon." He divides his subject into three main sections: (1) The Byzantine Empire; (2) The Birth of Islam and the Saracenic Caliphates; (3) The Growth and Decline of the Turkish Empire, down to the Greek Crisis of 1922. The same ugly thread runs through each of these periods, and we see the Near East torn by racial and religious passions, which Western Europe exploits for its own ambitious purposes, and often to its own undoing. The "New Rome" founded by Constantine the Great soon becomes a cockpit of fierce rivalry between its own Hellenistic civilization and that of the old Rome. Whilst this rivalry, invading the domain of religion, led to the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, and Byzantium was, on the other hand, hard pressed by the incoming Slavonic tide, a still greater danger arose to threaten both Eastern and Western Christendom with the birth of the new militant creed of Islam in Arabia, whose followers swept within less than a century, the Koran in one hand the sword in the other, through North Africa to Spain and Southern France, and through Persia and Asia Minor to the Black Sea. Constantinople withstood the Saracenic onslaught, but when the Turanian Turks were emerging from Central Asia on their own career of Mohamedan conquest, the enfeebled forces of Byzantine resistance were recklessly undermined by the ambitions of the West, which suddenly deflected the Twelfth Crusade from its religious purpose in order to found a short-lived Latin Empire at Constantinople.

It was as allies and mercenaries in turn of the warring Greeks

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and Serbs and Bulgars that the Turks first crossed the Bosporus into South-Eastern Europe, and, after they had conquered Constantinople and poured like a devastating flood over a large part of Eastern Europe, it was only in rare instances, such as at Lepanto and under the walls of Vienna, that Western Christendom could momentarily unite for common action against them. It was the long duel between France and the House of Hapsburg, and later on the Austrian dread of Russian ambitions, that repeatedly saved the Ottoman Empire in the first stages of its rapid decline, whilst in the nineteenth century England herself was chiefly instrumental in bolstering up Turkey as a so-called bulwark against Russian expansion in Asia towards the gates of India. When Lord Salisbury came to the belated conclusion that in backing Turkey we had been backing the wrong horse, the German Empire took up the running in our stead, and William II. threw his mantle over Abdul Hamid. Even when the Great War seemed to have sealed the doom of Turkey, old jealousies broke out afresh between the Western allies, and the perhaps unduly harsh Treaty of Sèvres was whittled down to the illusory Treaty of Lausanne, in which the Turks successfully turned the tables upon the victors of 1918. It is a story which from beginning to end reflects little credit upon Western nations in general, or upon ourselves in particular, and our American author tells it well and only too truly.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

"AU CARREFOUR DES ROUTES DE PERSE." By A. Poidebard. (Georges Criés et Cie, Paris.)

It is unfortunate that this book, which has just been published in Paris, should not be more readily obtainable in England, as it contains an interesting account of recent happenings in N.W. Persia and the Caucasus, and a lucid statement of the political factors which so vitally affect British interests in the Middle East.

The author, who had travelled extensively in Armenia before the war, was sent in 1917 on a French Mission to Persia and the Caucasus to support the resistance which the Armenians were putting up against the Turks.

The book is divided into three parts, the first giving an account of the author's own experiences when attached to "Dunsterforce," and later when, after the Armistice, he was in Armenia superintending the evacuation of the Turkish forces.

Next follows a geographical survey of the Iranian plateau which sets forth in a very clear manner the great strategic importance of the main routes to the East.

In the last part M. Poidebard gives a carefully compiled summary

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of events in the Caucasus since the Armistice, and describes in some detail the efforts of the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijan Republics to establish themselves and their subsequent destruction at the hands of the Bolsheviks and Turks.

British policy in this part of the world comes in for a good deal of criticism, but the author is always moderate in his observations, and realizes the difficulties the British experienced in keeping large garrisons abroad during the period of demobilization.

In the final section of the book the coming antagonism between Turks and Russians in the Middle East is foreshadowed, and the conflicting aims of Pan-Turanianism and Bolshevik expansion are demonstrated.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in his book "Kings of Arabia" Colonel Jacob recalls how, in a conversation he had with Ali Said Pasha at Aden, the latter advocated the promotion of the Turanian movement by England on the grounds that a solid block of Turkish peoples stretching from Anatolia to Central Asia would form a complete barrier between Russia and Britain's Asiatic interests. M. Poidebard does not go so far as to say this, but his argument suggests a similar policy.

The book contains many good photographs, and is furnished with excellent maps.

J. A. de C. H.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR. BASED ON OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS: THE CAMPAIGN IN MESOPOTAMIA. Compiled by Brig.-Gen. F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O. Price 15s. (complete with maps).

The campaign in Mesopotamia has an appeal peculiar to itself. It was fought amidst historic surroundings by a combination of all our Services—a war of movement by land, river, lake, and eventually by air. The forces engaged were not too bulky to envisage, and the opposing commanders were faced by strategic and tactical problems of great interest.

We have awaited the official story, and it is good to find the true and vivid account which General Moberly now gives us of its earlier phases—up to the first battle of Kut El Amara. His outlook is broad; he throws light on the larger strategic and tactical problems whilst going into detail where detail is required.

The maps, which are included in the cost of the volume, are convenient and clear, but it is a pity that more photographs are not produced to illustrate the nature of the country and the heterogeneous description of improvised river transport, etc.

This first volume tells of risks boldly faced, of difficulties overcome, of hardships bravely borne—a proud tale of victory; but it

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faces facts and recognizes incipient causes of the dark chapters to come when instead of success we must hear of lost opportunity, of neglect, vacillation, and reverse, prior to the great but costly effort which finally brought us victory in this secondary theatre of the war.

The four introductory chapters, seventy-four pages in all, should certainly be studied. They are pleasantly written and in a brief, pithy manner present to us the country and its people, its Turkish rulers, the Baghdad Railway and the Persian Gulf, the policies of India and the functions of our Indian Army. We hear of 10 per cent. of the British officers with Indian units being taken for duty with British battalions on the Western Front, of an Indian Army Reserve of only forty odd British officers, of the impossibility of replacing casualties or raising new units with officers who did not know the language of the men they were now called on to lead.

The fifth chapter relates the inception of these operations, how and why we came to make this detachment in Mesopotamia; it tells us of oil and of other interests. It quotes in full Mr. Winston Churchill's note of September 1, 1914: "There is little hope of any troops being available for the purpose [defending oil interests]. Indian forces must be used at the decisive point. We shall have to buy our oil elsewhere. The Turk also can be dealt with better at the centre. I have told Lord Crewe that Europe and Egypt have greater claims than we [the Admiralty] have on the Indian Army." It is instructive to hear of the attitude of India and the India Office towards the East African Expedition, to see how the idea of despatching a small force to "demonstrate at the head of the Persian Gulf" grows from a mixed Brigade to a Division and then to a Corps, prevents the despatch to the Western Front of the 6th Indian Division, and eventually leads to the recall of the two Divisions already there. In these campaigns, as in that of the Dardanelles, we suffered from our own indecision and lack of purpose.

We are told how our policy was influenced by suggestions official and "private." We may hope that the lesson has been learnt.

But these greater considerations do not detract from the thrilling story to which we now come, of battle and of venture in this land of rivers and floods, of desert, dust-storms, and dancing mirage with its many tricks which may "make a row of duck appear to be a battalion of infantry."

The operations leading up to the occupation of Basra and the considerations affecting further advance are described excellently. Once more we meet the bane of a "private" telegram "ventilating" the question of an advance on Baghdad. We learn of delay in provision of river transport, but the explanation will fail to satisfy those who have seen the river flotillas of the Irrawaddy and of the Brahmaputra. Nor is there mention of the fact that our first acquaintance

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with hand grenades was made when the Turks used them in their night raid against Mazaire on January 29-30, 1915.

The next phase commences with General Nixon's arrival, and is full of energetic action, the gallant Melliss' defeat of the great Turkish offensive against our flank and rear through Shaiba, where his detachment fought, whilst other troops watched them across the intervening flood, a soldiers' battle, a fire fight with practically every rifle in line, where 5,300 British and Indian troops worsted 7,000 Turkish Regulars and 18,000 Arabs.

We follow Gorringe in his pursuit of the Turks and Arabs threatening Ahwaz, his operations towards Amara; Townshend's meteoric appearance, his attack across the Qurna floods, his regatta to Amara; Gorringe again in his move at the hottest time of year across the Hamar Lake in every variety of craft and his capture of Nasiriyeh.

Then comes Townshend's return from sick-leave and his victory at the first battle of Kut, which completed the occupation of the Basra Vilayet and ended this season of great heat during which our British and Indian soldiers had displayed much stamina, endurance, and gallantry. Their moral was high and they had realized the value of their peace training. They had defeated the enemy wherever met and were prepared to answer any call that might be made on them. General Moberly is to be congratulated on the good use to which he has put the material at his disposal in this first volume and we shall look forward to those that are to follow.

E. W. C.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MESOPOTAMIA, PALESTINE, AND SYRIA. By J. de V. Loder. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

Mr. Loder is to be congratulated on having produced an excellent little book, which everyone interested in the Middle East, even every student of contemporary foreign politics, should possess. It is, in fact, a handbook of the Arab question, written in a style eminently lucid and impartial, and supplemented by appendices containing all the important treaties and conventions bearing on the subject, from the mischievous Sykes-Picot Agreement to the texts of the various mandates and the treaty of 1922 between Great Britain and 'Iraq.

The sketches of the history of the Arab movement in Syria and 'Iraq are models of condensation, without the dryness to which condensation is so prone to lead; but perhaps the most interesting portion of Mr. Loder's book will be found in the chapter on "British, Arabs, and Jews in Palestine." One gathers that, while presenting the case for both sides with commendable fairness, the sympathies of the author are with the Arabs rather than with the Zionists

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in the question of providing a National Home for Jews in an Arab country; and, with due deference to the contrary opinion expressed by Lord Robert Cecil in his Foreword, it is probable that most impartial persons not led away by sentiment will agree with him. The extracts from the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Jaffa riots of May, 1921, are very illuminating in respect to Zionist aims and Arab apprehensions.

The story of British relations with the Arab race since the war affords rather depressing reading. Animated by the best intentions and the most respectable motives, we seem to have succeeded only in transforming regard into dislike and confidence into mistrust. It is but a meagre consolation to know that the French have made an even worse hash of matters than ourselves.

In these days of expensive literature it is refreshing to note that Mr. Loder's book is sold for the modest price of seven shillings and sixpence.

A. C. W.

THE SEMITIC RELIGIONS. By D. M. Kay, D.S.O., D.D., Regius Professor of Semitic Languages at St. Andrews University. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

Professor Kay's book on the Semitic Religions consists of six lectures delivered in St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, in the spring of the year. The headings he gives to them indicate their scope—(*a*) Hebrew Religion, Primitive and Prophetic; (*b*) Hebrew Religion from Cyrus to Vespasian, 530 B.C. to A.D. 70; (*c*) Judaism; (*d*) Christianity; (*e*) the Muslim Religion; and (*f*) The Heritage and Obligation of the Semitic Religions. In these six lectures he describes briefly but with much lucidity the gradual evolution of Semitic religion (originally the offspring of the desert and born in sandy Arabia) from its first origins to its three great developments, Judaism, Christianity and Muhammadanism. As regards the origins, he accepts the position of the modern Biblical critic as to the respective historical authority of the various books of the Old Testament and the periods in which they were written. Perhaps he does not give sufficient importance to the Assyrian conquests of the eighth century B.C., which destroyed small principalities one after another and substituted a universal monarchy, thus suggesting a universal and a severe God in the place of the numerous Baalims of the earlier epoch, but otherwise the account given by him, though brief, is comprehensive and eminently fair.

To many of his readers the most interesting of the lectures will be the one on the Muslim religion, in which is to be found mention of his personal experience. Five years' residence in Constantinople, with its various races and creeds, and four years with the army

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fighting against the Turks and their allies, supplied the writer with the means of judging the Muslim religion by its fruits, and his experience during these years is the chief determinant of his conclusions. These conclusions are exceedingly favourable; the contented labour of the sober working-man, his unassuming prayers—either in mosque or on the hillside—his kindness to animals, his cleanliness, and his toleration, all appeal strongly to the Professor. Of the other side—particularly of his fanaticism when it is roused—he says nothing. The Professor's personal experience seems to be confined to the Turk in Constantinople; a broader experience would probably bring considerable modification; for after all, in determining character, race as well as religion plays a considerable part.

One important point in weighing Islam he does not consider—the binding authority of the dead hand. The Koran lays down rules, the New Testament does not, only inculcates principles. Hence the difficulty in Muhammadan countries in making the conditions of modern life tally with the Koran.

P. K.

ARAB ASIA: SYRIA, PALESTINE, IRAK, AND ARABIA. By Lamie Paton Dana.

As the author tells us in the Preface, this book is intended to meet the need of a simple geography for study in such of the secondary schools in Arab Asia as use English in their curriculum.

It is well got up and clearly printed, but lacks co-ordination and is likely to confuse the youth of these countries, as it contains many inaccuracies and contradictions, besides Americanisms in spelling and in grammar which will play havoc with other portions of the curriculum, in which accuracy should be the first essential.

Those who have experienced the winter rains and mud of Mesopotamia will not agree in considering the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates as "practically rainless." It is distinctly confusing to find three different levels given for the Dead Sea in three different places, and it gives a wrong impression to be informed that "Arabic is spoken by one-fifteenth of the world's population," or that "each of the maritime plains of Syria is watered by one of the various perennial streams that flow into the sea."

It is distinctly incorrect and objectionable to state, as an accepted fact, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is "well within the limits of the city walls of Christ's time which have been traced by several archæologists," whereas the bulk of expert opinion considers that the traces of old wall found between the church and the old city are the remains of the original walls beyond which Calvary lay.

The author attempts to provide a real want, but gives the impres-

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sion of insufficient acquaintance with the subject, and of material which has not been thoroughly digested. In its present form it is not suitable for use in the schools for which it is intended.

E. W. C.

THE ARAB CONQUESTS OF CENTRAL ASIA. By H. A. R. Gibb, M.A. Royal Asiatic Society. 8s. 6d.

This forms the second volume of the James G. Forlong Series, published by the Royal Asiatic Society. It is based on a revised and enlarged thesis offered for the London M.A. degree in 1922, and one may assume, therefore, that its author is a young Orientalist. It has suffered somewhat, perhaps inevitably, from its change of form —mostly in such clerical matters as, *e.g.*, too vague references to encyclopædias.

The book is interesting both by its matter and its manner. It does not claim to tell the full story of the Arabs in Central Asia; its intention is solely to make mention of authorities hitherto examined in less detail. As it omits much that is easily accessible in existing writings, it needs that its readers should bring over from those earlier works the framework for its summary. But short though it is, it shows a great deal of work done in its compilation. Some scholars may demur that Ubaydullah and not his chief, Jazid, is made "the murderer of Husayn" (p. 17); there is also a clerical error (p. 20) by which Sa'id and not the hostages is murdered. It might too fairly be said that Hajjaj was admired in spite of his great severity.

The manner of the writing is in refreshing contrast to that of many summaries, for to many is denied what makes Mr. Gibb's attractive—namely, a spontaneity of diction that bespeaks the author's strong interest in his subject and good grip of memory on his details, all arresting a reader's attention and sympathy, and all of good augury for future work.

H. B. AND A. S. B.

PALESTINE, THE LAND OF THREE FAITHS. By Philip Graves. Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d. net.

The aim of Mr. Graves has been to give an account of the recent history and present situation in Palestine. He is well qualified for the task, and his book is a valuable contribution towards an understanding of the Palestine problem. He makes his own position clear. He does not believe in political Zionism, and he does not believe that Arabs without Jewish brains and money can develop the country. He holds that we should unquestionably carry out our Mandate, in the interests of both Britain and Palestine.

Although unrest continues, and obstacles—which need never have arisen—have to be faced, there seems hardly ground for "official

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pessimism." British genius has solved far greater problems in the past. It cannot be denied that local troubles are mainly due to the unfortunate "Balfour Declaration," which promised that Palestine should become a National Home for the Jews. This certainly implied that the Jews should become the dominant element in the population, which numbers some 757,200 persons. The "Zionist Organization," the strongest body in Jewry, so interpreted it. Jews were to come to a "land without a people," which was to become as Jewish as England is English, and—as extremists said—Jewish would gradually supersede British administration. In proportion as Zionists were encouraged in their aspirations, so the Arabs, as well as many Christians and some Jews, feared for the future. They would be swamped by alien immigration, if not ejected from the country, while a Jewish flag would fly over the mosque of El-Aksa. The Moslem-Christian League which was soon formed naturally assumed that we acquiesced in the Zionist interpretation, since the British Government waited for four years—till 1922—before "explaining" what they really did mean. The Duke of Devonshire has spoken of encouragement given in England to the Arab view; but such support as has been given is no sign of unpatriotism, but a recognition of what is just in Arab claims and grievances, and is due to desire for fair play all round.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, when commenting on the lecture given by Sir Wyndham Deedes to the Society, explained the position of the British Government and the cause of the strained relations. In 1918 Lord Allenby issued a proclamation on behalf of the British and French Governments, which stated that the Allies were far from wishing to impose a form of government on the people against their will. This (to say nothing of our pledge to King Hussein) was incompatible with the Balfour Declaration, which blocks the way. We have not kept our word. Mr. Graves holds that the British Government was not to blame for adopting a vague and chaotic formula at a moment when the future was far from clear. He also contends that a letter of Sir H. McMahon refutes the general view that the Declaration conflicts with our previous pledges to King Hussein of the Hedjaz. Mr. Hogarth, whose judicious Introduction to the volume should be borne in mind throughout, rightly remarks that "if the letter of the promises made through King Hussein to the Arabs can be forced into agreement with that of the Balfour Declaration, the spirit in which we preached Nationalism to the Arabs cannot." As it is, we have disappointed both Jews and Arabs. Ninety-three per cent. of the Palestinian people are opposed to our administration. Support of the Arab Delegation is said to be diminishing, but the "National Party" actively pushes its programme. It aims at the recognition of Palestine as part of the

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Arab Confederation, and at Pan-Arab unity. It opposes all claims of the Zionists as foreigners, and desires the establishment of a truly national Government—to replace the present Constitution—as alone compatible with British pledges.

Those who require instruction regarding Jewish communities, the Zionist organization, and its offshoots, will find copious information, and the volume is supplemented by four useful appendices. An interesting chapter deals with "Frontiers and Neighbours." In Trans-Jordania, which is not a bed of roses, the rule of our good friend the Emir Abdullah is not yet very firmly established, though he maintains good relations with many Bedouin tribes. His task is not an easy one. Mr. Graves mentions a suggestion that we might do worse than make him ruler of Palestine; but his ambitions by no means lie in that direction. It is most desirable that his Defence Force should remain under British officers.

The British Administration is doing admirable work. Sir Herbert Samuel, of whose ability, zeal, tact, and driving power there is no question, is ably supported in all departments, which, without exception, call for reorganization.

Most readers will turn with particular interest to the chapter which deals with our present and future policy. When all is said, Britain's course is clear, and it is one to which Mr. Graves points. Our interests coincide with the real interests of the people. It is our duty to hold on and carry out the Mandate given by the Allies and their associates. To begin with the interests of Palestine. Were we to abandon it, as some desire, it would inevitably become a prey to anarchy, and would be promptly occupied by another Power. The material advantages which British rule will bring are certain. If "we have already accomplished more in five years than the Turks did in 500," the country is bound to recover its lost prosperity—for example, by increased irrigation through hydro-electric power, chiefly from the Jordan, in now arid areas where few or no springs exist. The declared intention of the British Government is to foster the establishment of a full measure of self-government; though recent experience indicates that larger control in administration, and in the Legislative Council, can hardly be given until the people have gained more experience in the art of government. It is reasonable to expect that animosities will die down when it is realized more fully that we have a firm as well as impartial policy. Moslems and Jews have lived amicably together, here as well as elsewhere, in the past. The Balfour Declaration must be carried out in the modified and limited interpretation which Zionists now accept. While encouragement must be given to Jews to establish educational and social institutions, they cannot be allowed to prejudice other communities, or to aim at predominance. Scattered as they are all over the world,

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they may look to a new Palestine as their spiritual home, and a certain number may with advantage migrate there, though the volume of immigration will, of course, be determined by the economic capacity of the country to absorb newcomers; and at present this is very limited. As Sir Herbert Samuel has explained to Arab notables, Britain will never allow Jews to dominate a non-Jewish majority. We have to encourage the moderate element, who may indulge in the dream that they may some day "play the part of intermediary and perhaps mediator between East and West."

With regard to British interests, it has been our destiny to obtain, and we must retain in Palestine a better hinterland for our forces on the Suez Canal zone—"the spinal cord of the Empire." As long as this vital point in our communications is likely to be threatened, we must see to it that our influence is not endangered. It is essential that we should guard this "bridgehead" of the Canal, which, as a French paper has put it, is one of the key-points on the line of communication between East and West. Moreover, it is one of the principal stations of our air line to the East.

Mr. Graves sees clearly that these strategic considerations alone are sufficient to indicate the policy which we must firmly pursue. The peaceful development of the country can alone bring prosperity and increased population. Whatever the present difficulties, if we hold the balance fairly between the different races, there seems no reason why our administration of the Mandate should not stand the test.

R. L. N. M.

AWAKENING PALESTINE. By various Authors. Edited by Leon Simon and Leonard Stein. London: John Murray. 7s. 6d. net.

This is a handy compilation of articles describing Palestine and the present Return of the Jews from a Zionist standpoint, expressed by Zionists or others who see them as they would wish to be seen.

Unpleasant subjects are glossed over, we have nothing of friction between orthodox and other Jews, unemployment amongst Jews, failures, of whether the old Jewish colonies are really self-supporting, or money forthcoming for the Rutenberg schemes, of when we may expect completion of his larger schemes.

Dr. Eder refers to some of the Jewish societies formed, but his allusion to their "abstention from class war" is significant, and it is poor comfort to be told that "the real trend of the Labour parties in Palestine can be judged . . . not from their theoretical programmes, but from their practical activities." This is equivalent to asserting that a live shell is not dangerous unless it is exploded. The reader at once asks whether these "theoretical programmes" have come from Russia.

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All these are points on which the British taxpayer and voter wishes to be informed whilst carrying out his mandatory control of the immigration tap—the flow from which will, as shown in this book, eventually be greater than the present Palestinian population, and will enable the newcomers to fashion the State at will. The immediate establishment of the Jewish State has failed; the British taxpayer now has it in his power to establish it gradually, without ousting present citizens from their private holdings. There is spare room, and he is fully entitled to dispose of his conquest in this way, but he wants to know what he is doing, and this book would be of more value to him if it faced facts fully, which is a pity, as it is otherwise a readable and excellent handbook.

A note of optimism pervades the articles. They commence with an assertion by Sir A. Mond of Jewish tenacity of purpose in rebuilding Palestine, which conservative estimates show "as capable of supporting 3,000,000, if not considerably more," and where "the Jewish National Home is not a question of whether there are more Jews or Arabs . . . at a given moment." It is doubtful, however, whether the present 700,000 Arabs can be expected to regard the prospect with like equanimity!

The glamour of pioneering has appealed to some of the writers, but it remains to be proved that the Jews can produce a real peasant agriculturist type as distinct from the horticulturist of garden cities; pious hopes for this are many, but real achievements are few.

The chapters on Hebrew Education, Physical Features, Immigration, Labour, Economics, Industrial Development, Land Settlement, and Self-Government, are of great interest. The embodiment of the text of the Mandate and of the Rutenberg Concession enables us to refresh our memory regarding our responsibilities "for safeguarding the Civil-Religious rights of all the inhabitants," as well as regarding the extent of the concession to a company to be formed by September 21, 1923.

E. W. C.

To the Alps of Chinese Tibet. By J. W. Gregory, D.Sc., F.R.S., and C. J. Gregory, B.Sc. Seeley, Service and Co. 25s. net.

The record of Professor Gregory as a traveller, an author, and an authority on geology, ensures the book under review being both interesting and instructive. The authors and publishers are alike to be congratulated on a notable addition to the bibliography of Yünnan.

The book is well arranged, clearly printed and annotated, and is furnished with a good general map of the country traversed and the route followed by the authors. There are, besides, several clear diagrams to illustrate geological and ethnological arguments, and a

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number of photographs (of unequal merit) of people and places. The æsthetic merit of the work is enhanced by appropriate poetical headings to the chapters. Eight of these headings are translations from Chinese poetry, in some cases of great antiquity. The style of the narrative is simple and direct and, here and there, not devoid of humour; and the writers have the knack, by skilful word-painting, of presenting a very clear mental picture of the scenes and incidents they describe. To those, especially, who have travelled in Yünnan, a perusal of these pages will evoke many pleasant memories of that fascinating region. They will see again the great parallel ranges and the snow patches peeping out through rifts in the swirling mists; rushing rivers; blue lakes nestling amid the hills; sunlit plains; the stupendous turbans of the ladies of Shan-land; the wild Lisu with his cross-bow, reminiscent of William Tell; the uncouth, unwashed Tibetan and his fierce mastiffs; the industrious Minchia husbandman flailing his grain. They will see, once more, the crowded markets with their chaffering throngs of diverse races; and the patient buffaloes ploughing the flooded rice fields, knee-deep in mud and water. They will hear again the gongs that guide the gaily-decorated mule caravans; the soughing of the wind in the fir tops; the " thump, thump " of the rice huskers, wielded by sturdy feminine arms, or automatically worked by water power; the droning chant of monk and acolyte in dimly-lighted, incense-scented Buddhist temples; and the din that announces the presence of a school where all the little scholars are learning their lessons, each, independently, at the top of his voice. Above all they will recall to mind the unspeakable difficulties of the road; here a sea of slippery, parallel, clay ridges between which the plodding pack-beasts flounder, at every step, into troughs of tenacious mud and water; there a toilsome ascent up a steeply-graded roadway paved with great blocks of stone set at all sorts of angles; a kind of road that, as the Chinese proverb says, is " good for ten years, bad for ten thousand." Much more might be said, but time and space forbid. There is hardly any aspect of the local life that the authors do not touch on. Civil administration, education, religion, Chinese etiquette, agriculture, mining, village life and industries, geographical, geological, and ethnological questions all find a place in these pages. A tribute is paid to the work of the Christian missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic (somewhat qualified, perhaps, as regards the former). The travellers were evidently impressed with the vitality of the Chinese character and the influence thereon of the Chinese system of education. They came across but little evidence of poppy cultivation. Formerly opium was one of the main products of Yünnan.

The absence, in a work so largely devoted to geological considerations, of mention of coal is remarkable. Coal is found cropping out

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on the surface in many parts of Yünnan, more especially in Eastern Yünnan.

The object of the journey, as stated in the Preface, was to compare the physical history of parts of East Africa with that of South-Eastern Asia. The book, therefore, is, first and foremost, a contribution to scientific knowledge and, more especially, geological knowledge. The opening chapter deals with various problems and theories relating to the successive earth-convulsions which have brought about the existing arrangement of the mountain masses and river valleys, and the remote origins of the fauna and flora of the region; and the last sets forth the geographical (or rather geological) conclusions arrived at by the authors, as the result of their investigations. The penultimate chapter deals with the people of Chinese Tibet and its borderlands, and the remainder of the book is occupied with the story of the authors' journey through North-Western Yünnan and back. Starting from Bhamo the travellers proceeded by the well-trodden main Burma-Yünnan-fu trade route as far as Pan-Chiao (a little beyond Yung Chang). Here they struck off north by a side-track, crossed the Mekong by the Fei-lung bridge and travelled *via* Yun-lung and Chien Chuan to Li-Chiang. After a brief halt there they moved on to Wei-hsi and A-tun-tzu, making a détour in the mountains to the west of the Mekong valley, from Tsedrong to Pe-ha-lo (near the Salween) and back to the Mekong at Yang-tsa. In the neighbourhood of A-tun-tzu a few days were spent in excursions to neighbouring high mountains and passes. Here they were among snowclad peaks and glaciers. Bad weather interfered with climbing. The return journey was by a mountain route on the Mekong-Yangtze divide, as far as Chi-tsung, and thence down the right bank of the latter river to Lan Shui Ko and so back *via* Li-Chiang, Ho-ching and Ta-li to Hsia Kuan, whence they returned to Bhamo by the main well-known trade route. It will thus be seen that the travellers covered but little new ground. The value of the journey lies rather in their scientific investigations. The journey was carried out, for the most part, in the rainy season, and the narrative is a record of most arduous and sustained exertion, often under circumstances of extreme discomfort. The travellers were, assuredly, somewhat exacting taskmasters to their muleteers, porters, and escorts.

Where there is so much to commend in this book, it seems almost hypercritical to draw attention to certain minor slips and inaccuracies.

On page 30 Sir John Jordan is described as then (*i.e.*, 1922) "British ambassador" at Peking. The British (and other) diplomatic missions in China have only the status of legations (not embassies); Sir John Jordan, moreover, retired from the service in

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August, 1920. The British Minister in Peking, in 1922 (up to September of that year), was Sir Beilby Alston.

In describing a visit from a Chinese (p. 43) it is remarked that the chief "instinctively *doffed his topee*, whereupon the newcomer untied the ribbons beneath his chin which secured the great straw hat, slipped it off and lifted the close-fitting cap underneath." According to the old-fashioned Chinese etiquette it was a mark of discourtesy to take off one's hat during a formal visit, unless specially invited to do so by one's host.

The Commissioner of Customs at Teng-Yüeh is (p. 45) styled the "Chief Commissioner of Customs." The former is the correct title. The road to the north from Yun-lung, up the Lo-ma-ho (p. 77), understood by the authors to be previously unvisited by Europeans, had, in fact, been travelled over by the present writer in the spring of 1914.

The remark of the Yun-lung school teacher (p. 89) that "since the Revolution the people had become more peaceable and law-abiding" is a surprising one, and hardly borne out by facts.

The mountain shown in the frontispiece should be spelt "*pai* ma shan" (white horse mountain) not "*pei* ma shan" (north horse mountain), and Shih-ku (p. 134) means "stone drum," not the "place of the stone drum." "Lung wang miao" (p. 116) means "Dragon Prince temple" (not Black Dragon temple).

The remarks (p. 119) on the handicap imposed on the Protestant missions by their late entry into the field, two and a half centuries after the Jesuits began their work in China, seem rather to imply that the entry of the Jesuits into Macao in 1552 marked the very beginning of Christian missionary effort in Cathay. That is, however, by no means the case. The Nestorian Church commenced operations in China in the seventh century A.D. In the middle of the thirteenth century some Franciscan monks made their way to Mongolia, and a few decades later Friar John of Monte Corvino was duly recognized by the Pope and appointed Archbishop of Cambaluc (Peking), and missionary work, under the favour of the reigning Mongol emperor, took root in widely separated regions of China, viz., Chih-li, Kiang-Su and Fu-Kien.

The origin of the strong anti-foreign feeling which culminated in the Boxer rising of 1900 is laid (p. 123) at the door of the early Protestant missionaries, who, on p. 122, are accused of "fanaticism and ignorant intolerance." Without disputing this allegation, it is at least arguable that political causes, such as the competitive land-grabbing tendencies of the Western Powers, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, had a large share in arousing anti-foreign sentiment.

Referring to the mention on p. 233 of alluvial gold-mining, it

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may be remarked that in many places in this auriferous region of the Upper Yangtze and its tributaries, there is a considerable amount of gold washing by individuals content to make infinitesimal profit, compared with the effort expended. The writer remembers two such gold washers intruding, one winter's evening in 1904, into his room at the inn at Li-Chiang and offering for sale two small leather bags of gold dust obtained from the Yangtze valley near by.

The charge of inaccuracy in describing the big native Burmese cheroots as white in colour (p. 287) is ill-founded. The outer covering is fine husk and very nearly white.

The authors' prognostication of the ultimate Sinesization (a somewhat cumbrous term) of Upper Burma is probably unlikely to be realized. The process was certainly taking place by "peaceful penetration" so long as the great northern triangle of Upper Burma remained "unadministered territory." It was mainly to guard against this danger that the Government of India eventually decided, in 1913, to bring this territory, now the district of Putao, under direct administration and control.

The statement on p. 312 that the Mekong "flows across Tonkin" is a curious slip. It does not, of course, pass within a hundred miles of the Tonkin border (as the present writer has good cause to remember from his journey by "pirogue," in the spring of 1900, from Dien Bien Phu, near the western edge of Tonkin, to Pak-U and Luang Prabang, on the Mekong). After leaving Yünnan the Mekong, for about 100 miles, forms the march between French and British territory, viz., between the Laos Province of French Indo-China and the Southern Shan States of Burma. It then flows down between French and Siamese territory (save where it passes through the "kingdom" of Luang Prabang, now wholly under France) till it reaches Cambodia, through which, and Cochin China, it passes to the South China Sea.

Many other points might be commented on, but sufficient has perhaps been said to indicate that this book ranges over a wide variety of subjects, and that besides the purely technical questions, over which savants may argue, there is abundant matter to interest the general reader.

M. E. W.

PERSIAN WOMEN AND THEIR WAYS. By Mrs. Colliver Rice.

This book, written by a woman and chiefly about women, is a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with Persia. Travellers in the Land of the Lion and the Sun have usually been men, and, as such, could not come into contact with the women of the country. Mrs. Colliver Rice, with unusual powers of observation and sympathy and a gift of expression, takes her readers into the recesses of the Anderûn, and shows how the tenets of Mohammedanism

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bar all progress to the mothers and wives of Persia. "The veil, seclusion, ignorance, and all that results from these, are the heritage of womanhood from Islam" is her dictum, and she explains how polygamy, irregularities, child marriage, and the prevalence of divorce, make a healthy home life impossible.

A wife may be cast adrift by her husband without any warning. He may have tired of her and wished to wed a younger woman, or she may have incurred his anger by presenting him with a daughter instead of the desired son. Her position is clearly indicated in the saying, "Woman is a calamity, but no house can be without her!"

Education is denied her, and it is an unusual accomplishment for a woman to read or write. The saying goes: "A woman who is taught to write is like a serpent that is given poison to drink!"

Though not forbidden to go to the Mosques, where they sit behind a screen, yet the women are told that it is better to pray at home, and thus get little religious teaching. There is no social intercourse of any kind between the sexes, wives being looked upon as inferior beings, born to submit themselves to their husbands in all things, and often not being allowed to leave the house without permission.

Mrs. Rice gives one case in which a man did to death his luckless child-wife and escaped scot-free because, as the Persians said, "she was his property, and he could use her as he pleased."

The infant mortality in Persia is very great, owing chiefly to the ignorance of the mothers, and illness of all kinds is rife owing to lack of medical knowledge.

But the British and American hospitals do fine work, and the mission schools are becoming more and more largely attended by Persian girls. As the civilization of a nation depends upon the status of its mothers and wives, Persia will never be able to rise until the women are emancipated.

Mrs. Rice gives vivid descriptions of both town and country life, and an immense amount of information concerning the religious beliefs, the manners and customs and superstitions of Iran. She ends her book with an attempt to convey to her readers something of the fascination that the Land of the Lion and the Sun has for those who have drunk its lifegiving air, have traversed its great plains, and have seen the glory of the dawn and sunset on its mountain ranges.

E. S.

INDIA OF TO-DAY. Vol. II.: The Defence of India. By "Arthur Vincent." Published by Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Pp. v+95, with map. 3s. net.

The educative value of this volume to the new rulers of India must at once strike the reader, and one can but hope that it may be carefully studied by those who now aspire to succeed in governing

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by what they call democratic methods, where, as they allege, an Imperial administration has failed.

To the military student also the work will be of value as furnishing several starting-points for the prosecution of detailed study on more particular lines.

The question of the Defence of India is divided into two main parts—Maritime and Land Frontiers, the latter being subdivided into what may be called Eastern and Western for the sake of brevity.

As regards Maritime Defence, Mr. Vincent seeks to stimulate the creation of an Indian Navy, which at first would protect only the ports and coasts of India, but gradually developing so as to undertake the protection of the trade routes which serve India in particular by branching off at various points from the main lines of seaborne traffic of the world; and finally he visualizes a "fleet unit," maintained and manned by India, which could share in the responsibilities of the Imperial Navy. Several, probably many, generations must pass away before this vision can be fulfilled. Its realization will impose upon India a far heavier burden in men, money, and materials than was ever contemplated by the Imperial Government, and it is probable that those to whom its attainment is suggested will rather shrink from the burden.

As regards the Defence of Land Frontiers, the greater portion (some two-thirds) of the whole book is devoted to the North-West Frontier and the menace of Russia. The problems are clearly stated, and the writer plumps for a "forward" policy which would place troops on the Durand Line in several places, so as to dominate the intermediate tribal territory and to deny the entrances of the western routes to any possible invader. This, again, is a solution from which the rulers of India in the past have shrunk, chiefly on the grounds of expense.

The book ends with a very pertinent protest against the inaccuracy of criticizing the cost of defence by stating it as a percentage of the Central Budget, without reckoning in the large Provincial Budgets, by the inclusion of which the rate is reduced from 59 to 30 per cent.

The sketch-map deals with the Western and North-Western Frontier only, and might have been clearer.

The volume is dedicated to the present Chief of the General Staff in India, whose initials are incorrectly printed. Among minor errors it may be mentioned that the headquarters of the Punjab Frontier Force were never at Kohat, but at Abbottabad; Peshawar was never a "Piffer" station, though it for a short time was included in the P.F. District, which was constituted in 1900; and it was on the abolition of the Force in 1903 that its units became available for service everywhere.

R. G. E.

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DATES AND DATE CULTIVATION IN THE 'IRAQ. By V. H. W. Dowson, B.A., Agricultural Directorate of 'Iraq.

With the completion of Part III. of this Memoir, Mr. Dowson has placed within the reach of all interested in the date-palm what really amounts to a textbook on the cultivation of this veritable tree of life, and one that no one who is interested in the cultivation of dates can afford to be without. Part III. deals with the several varieties of date-palms growing on the Shatt Al Arab, and is provided with the same excellent series of maps and photographs that characterize the earlier Memoirs, and add so tremendously to their value.

Though I have owned date-gardens for many years, I have never before been able to obtain the great bulk of the information to be obtained in a convenient form in these Memoirs, and from a practical date-growing point of view I would especially commend Part II., which deals more especially with the cultivation of the palm.

When all is said and done, however, the difficulties of a cultivator of dates is by no means ended when he has mastered their cultivation. As in this country, so in 'Iraq, agriculture is mixed up with law and politics, which through the ages have, in conjunction with natural peculiarities, combined to produce a state of things calculated to knock all the romance out of the cultivation of this wonderful tree, and most of the profit, even if it leave the owner with his reason. Think of properties whose boundaries can in many cases never be clearly or permanently defined; of a water-supply dependent upon canals that may silt up, or widen out till more water passes through them, almost, than through the old drained river-bed; of taxes, that may have been fixed at a definite figure years back when the water-supply was plentiful and a garden in full bearing, having to be paid after the water-supply has dwindled to nothing and the trees are all old or dead. The bringing of land into cultivation again is a long and very expensive process, and a system known as Taba is best generally employed, but this means getting no return at all for a great number of years; and where, through the action of the old Turkish land laws, there are several different owners of one property, each entitled to an undivided share, not always of the same amount, the situation can be more easily imagined than dealt with. Added to all this, native labour and native supervision are essential, and I very much doubt if the latter could be dispensed with even by a resident proprietor.

Most suitable positions are liable to flooding and drought, and young trees recently planted are delicate things, easily killed by drought, and, until their roots are well established, easily destroyed by flood. From what I hear it would have been well if some of the very optimistic cotton enthusiasts had realized some of these facts;

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and in their case the labour question will, I believe, prove to be a difficult nut to crack, and my own experience compels me to utter a word of warning to cultivators of all land in 'Iraq—namely, that Arab mentality and morality is based upon sentiment and emotion, and to the Occidental mind, bound to its ideas of justice and law, if not understood, will appear in many instances to spell injustice and partiality, and in such cases no assistance must be expected, and I think, on the whole, rightly, from our own authorities, at any rate in time to save a critical situation. Date cultivation is a fascinating but not too profitable experiment in my experience—at least, for a non-resident proprietor—but the information obtained in Mr. Dowson's Memoirs will be of valuable assistance to anyone contemplating such experiment.

S. F. B. L.

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OBITUARY

COLONEL ALGERNON DURAND, C.B.

Colonel Algernon George Arnold Durand, C.B., C.I.E., was the third distinguished son of a distinguished father, General Sir Henry Marion Durand, R.E., whose death from an accident on the Indian frontier in 1871 is, even now, one of the best-remembered tales of Indian frontier tragedy. Algernon Durand's two brothers, Sir Edward and Sir Mortimer, have both taken an active interest in Central Asian affairs, so that the family name has long been famous not only in India but in countries far beyond the Indus. Algernon (better known among his friends as Algy) was ever a keen soldier, although much of his service was spent on staff duty. He was military secretary to the Viceroy, Lord Elgin, and it was then that he married Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. T. C. Bruce and niece of Lord Elgin. It will be remembered that the private secretary, Babington Smith, married Lady Elizabeth the Viceroy's daughter about the same time, and it is a curious coincidence that we should have to deplore the death of Algernon Durand so soon after that of Sir Henry Babington Smith.

Algernon Durand found his *métier* as soldier when he was appointed to command the troops in the brilliant little Hunza Nagar campaign in 1891, when he was wounded. He was then district agent at Gilgit. His name is perhaps best known to the public as the author of a much read book, "The Making of a Frontier," which is just a thrilling tale of happenings in that remote corner of the Empire at that time. He possessed the family gift of writing a clear and graphic account of his experiences, and it may be doubted whether any book written since is of greater value in describing the singularly wild nature of the country and people with whom he had to deal. His military bearing and fine presence well fitted him for the position he held at Court as Gentleman-at-Arms.

Colonel Durand was one of the earliest members of the Central Asian Society, and was one of the members of the first Council, and though he had later to give this up, he never ceased to take an interest in the welfare of the Society.

T. H. H.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. C. BAILWARD

On November 1, 1923, General Bailward was seen in perfect health at the meeting of the Society's Dinner Club. When *The Times* of 12th November announced that he had passed away on the 9th, few

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if any of the members of the Society were prepared for such intelligence. An intimate friend wrote to me afterwards and said that the first symptoms of illness were evinced on Sunday, 4th November, and that from the first there was little hope of recovery. Bearing in mind his activities as traveller and sportsman, it may well be felt that an end which involved no lingering was the one which he himself would welcome. The very large attendance at his Memorial Service was in itself a tribute to the value set on his friendship. A brother-officer of the Royal Artillery, writing, characterized him as "a fine fellow and a great favourite."

General Bailward entered the Royal Artillery in 1874, and retired in 1905. Away here in the Midlands, records of War Services are not at my command, and *Who's Who* found no favour in the sight of one for whom "I" was, if not a dead, at least a very dormant letter. He served in the South African War, and did some work in France during the Great War. Very soon after his retirement (in 1906) he joined the C.A.S., and between that year and 1923, I take it, most of his travelling was done. He talked little and wrote less about his travels, and it is only because of casual allusions that I, during a friendship of the last twenty-two or twenty-three years, have learnt that his travels took him to Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia. When he returned last April from "somewhere" in the East, he just mentioned that he had travelled by motor-car from Baghdad to Aleppo. I at once said: "We must have that for the C.A.S. *Journal*." It is almost the only time that I can remember seeing General Bailward in print. I have one other specimen before me, and that was drawn from him by his very keen interest in certain successful operations carried out last spring in Kurdistan. Both he and I received letters from friends who took part in these operations, and we could not but feel regret that for political reasons our Government suppressed all notice of them. What little is known to the public may be read in the *Morning Post* of June 23, 1923.

General Bailward was for eighteen years a member of this Society, and for several years served on the Council. He took a thorough interest in all the Society's works. I am certain that all those who knew him and enjoyed his friendship will look back upon his memory with a very high sense of regard for him, and whether at our Council table, our lectures, or our dinners, we shall miss him.

A. C. YATE.

BECKBURY HALL,
SHIFNAL,
November 30, 1923.

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NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Lord Curzon for an autograph copy of "Tales of Travel"; Sir Thomas Holdich for "India" and "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making"; Mr. Baddeley for "The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus" and "Russia in the Eighties"; Mr. Skrine for "The Expansion of Russia"; Major Wilberforce Bell for "The History of Khatiawad"; Mr. Simpson Carson for "The World as Seen by Me"; Colonel Yate for "Travel Memories"; Major Bentinck for "The Assyrian Settlement," by Dr. W. A. Wigram, D.D., Mr. Michell for his Egyptian and Coptic Calendars, and Mr. Hamilton for "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse," by A. Poidebard.

The following books have been received for review:

"Mystery Rivers of Tibet," by Captain F. Kingdon Ward, F.R.G.S. (Seeley, Service and Co. 21s.)

"To the Alps of Chinese Tibet," by J. W. Gregory and C. J. Gregory. (Seeley, Service and Co. 25s.)

"Arab Conquests in Central Asia," by H. R. Gibb. (Royal Asiatic Society. 8s. 6d.)

"Persian Literature," by R. Levy. (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.)

"Persian Women and their Ways," by Mrs. P. Colliver Rice. (Seeley, Service and Co. 21s.)

"The Cradle of Mankind," by W. A. and E. T. A. Wigram. (A. and C. Black, Ltd. Second Edition. 15s.)

"The Truth about Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria," by J. de V. Loder. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

"Arab Asia: A Geography of Syria, Palestine, 'Iraq, and Arabia," by L. Paton Dana. (Beyrout: American University Press. 3s. 6d.)

"Dates and Date Cultivation of the 'Iraq" (Part III.), by H. V. V. Dowson. (Heffer and Sons. 10s.)

"History of the Campaign in Mesopotamia," Vol. I., by Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I. (H.M. Stationery Office. 15s.)

"A Short History of the Near East," by W. Stears Davis, Ph.D. (New York: Macmillan, Ltd. 14s.)

"The Defence of India," by "Arthur Vincent." (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 3s.)

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"Islam at the Cross Roads," by De L. O'Leary, D.D. (T. and T. Clark. 6s. 6d.)

"Unconquered Abyssinia," by Charles F. Rey, F.R.G.S. (Seeley, Service and Co. 21s.)

"Awakening Palestine," by L. Simon and L. Stein. (John Murray. 7s. 6d.)

By purchase:

Doughty's "Arabia" (2nd edition). "Arabia Infelix," "Pan-Islam," and the "Land of Uz," by G. Wyman Bury.

Report on the 'Iraq Administration, 1920-22.

"The Heart of Asia." Skrine and Ross.

To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise. By E. B. Soane. John Murray, 1912.

The above book is now out of print, and practically unobtainable. If sufficient support is forthcoming, the publishers are prepared to bring out a new edition, with a short Life of Major Soane and new illustrations. The price of the book would be 18s. Members of this Society who are prepared to purchase a copy are requested to send in their names to the Joint Hon. Sec., G. Stephenson, Esq., 74, Grosvenor Street, W.

Members are asked to communicate changes of address as soon as possible; if cards and *Journals* are not received, the Secretary would be grateful if notice could be sent to the Society's office, 74, Grosvenor Street, W.

Members only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal*.

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LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED IN OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1923

Brockman, Brigadier-General H. Drake, C.M.G.
Carson, T. Simpson.
Clegg, S.
Crane, Charles R.
Cust, Captain L. G. A., R.A.
Davidson, Miss F. M.
Davidson, N. G.
Davies, Miss E. B.
Durnford, Lieut.-Commander John, R.N.
Faber, G.
Graham, Captain A. Crosland.
Grover, General Sir Malcolm, K.C.B.
Hamdi Bey Babin.
Headley, Lord.
Heath, Miss I. V.
Holt, Mrs.
Knight, G. E. O., F.R.G.S.
Lammie, George, Royal Scots Fusiliers.
Luke, H. C.
Mather, N. F. H., Malay Civil Service.
McCallum, Major Duncan.
McCann, Captain A. G. H., I.A.
McGovern, W. M., Ph.D.
Mackenzie, K.
Medlicott, J. H.
Mohammed Emin, H.H. Sherif.
Monckton, Captain A. W.
Muir, Mrs.
Nairn, Norman.
Ormond, Charles.
Owen, Captain Fenwick.
Palmer, C. E. S., D.S.C.
Postance, Captain J. F. A.
Rae, Major M. E., I.A.
Raynor, M. R.
Read, A., M.B.E.
St. Lawrence, Captain C. Gaisford, Scots Greys.

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Sutton, Eric.
Vincent, Sir William, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
Wells, Lieut.-Colonel R. P. Collings, O.B.E., D.S.O.
Whitwell, Mrs.
Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel the Right Hon. Leslie, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Wimshurst, C. R.
Wood, Lieut.-Colonel H.
Woodman, G. S., F.R.C.S. (Edin.)
Wratislaw, A. C., C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E.

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OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1923-24

Hon. President:

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JOURNAL

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NOTICES

FATHER POIDEBARD, whose book "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse" was reviewed in the January *Journal* and is the subject of an article in this number, will lecture to the Society on Tuesday, April 8, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W.

Library.—The Council wish to thank the following members for their valuable gifts of books to the Library: Sir Edward Penton for Yule's "Marco Polo"; Mr. W. R. Ward for "Six Months in Mecca" and "My Journey to Medina," by F. T. Keane; Mr. Moon for Mill's "History of British India," Orme's "History of the Indostan," Du Halde's "China," Walton's "China and the Present Crisis," Sir W. Lee-Warner's "Protected Princes of India," the "Life of Abdur Rahman," edited by Mir Munshi, Chang Chih-Tung's "China's Only Hope," A. J. Little's "Through the Yang-Tse Gorges"; Father Poidebard for "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse"; and Mr. D. S. Margoulieth for his papers "The Sense of the Word Khalifa" and "The Khalifate Historically Reviewed."

The following books have been sent in for review:

"Turkey, the Great Powers and the Baghdad Railway," by E. M. Earle, Ph.D. Macmillan and Co., New York. 10s. 6d. net.

"Survey of the Iraq Fauna," made by members of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, 1915-1919. Bombay Natural History Society. Rs. 7.5.

"Servant of Sahibs," by Rassul Gulwan, with an introduction by Sir F. Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.; Heffer and Sons, Ltd. 9s. net.

"The Powers and the Turk," by Sir George Greenwood. Messrs. Cecil Palmer, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

"The Three Dervishes and Other Persian Tales," by R. Levy, M.A., Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Cloth 2s., leather 3s. 6d.

Journal.—Cases can be made to hold eight numbers of the *Journal*, in cloth with cord to hold each part, by the bookbinding department of Mudie's Library, 30-34, New Oxford Street, W.C. 1, price 4s. 7d. They can also be ordered through the Secretary, 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

Journals can be bound in buckram by the same firm at a cost of 5s. 6d. (eight parts), or in standard red buckram binding by Messrs. A. G. Crockett and Sons, 119, Gipsy Road, West Norwood, S.E., at a slightly higher price.

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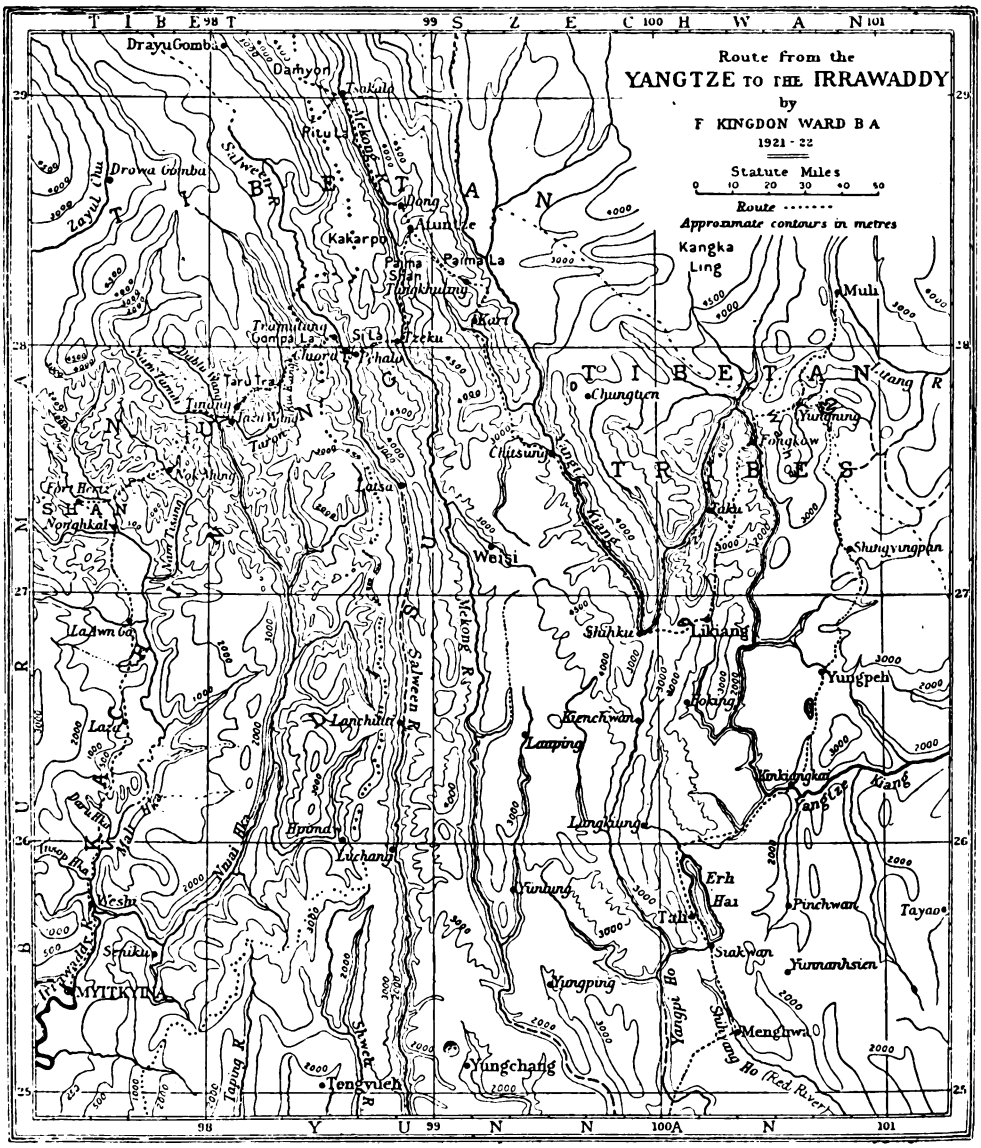

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YUNNAN AND EASTERN TIBET

By Captain F. Kingdon Ward, F.R.G.S.

A meeting of the Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on December 13, 1923. In the absence of Sir Maurice de Bunsen, the chair was taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very much pleasure in introducing to you Captain F. Kingdon Ward. He is a gentleman who, whenever you meet him, is either just coming back from Eastern Tibet or just going there. In the present case he is both; he has just come back and is just going out again. The passion of his life is the collection of new plants; he is a trained botanist, and has spent much of his life on the borders of Western Tibet, Burma, and Eastern Tibet. It is a remarkably interesting country from a great many points of view—botanical, geographical, and ethnographical amongst others. He has therefore always something of particular interest to tell us, and I guarantee to you that he will give us a remarkably interesting address this evening. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We all of us love flowers. That may perhaps seem a rather inadequate reason for anyone spending the best years of his life looking for them in the back-streets of Asia; but at the same time it will bear examination. We have grown so accustomed to having trees and flowers all round us that we regard them very much as part of the established order of things—in fact, we regard them as part of England. Very common plants like the chrysanthemum, fuchsia, tropæolum, and rhododendron, or trees like the larch, plane, and horse-chestnut, seem to us to be peculiarly English; but they are all foreigners, having been introduced from various parts of the world. I need not say anything about plants of economic as opposed to those of æsthetic interest, because wheat itself is an alien, and, of course, so are the potato, tomato, and many other extremely common plants. In fact, it is difficult to imagine what this country would look like if we had had no foreign plant introductions. Having more or less, I hope, justified my profession, I will now pass on to the subject of my lecture, which I see on the card is really Yunnan and Tibet. Yunnan has been called the link between India and China. I am afraid we shall find it is rather a missing link, but nevertheless it is from that point of view, as a link between Eastern

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China and India, that we shall regard it. (*Showing slides.*) The map shows the relative positions of India, Burma, China, and Tibet. The red square is approximately 140 miles along each side; it is therefore roughly the size of England and Wales. The right-hand half of that square is in Yunnan, the bottom left-hand corner is in Burma, and the top left-hand corner is in Eastern Tibet. So that the red square is situated where three empires meet; in that respect it is one up on a very familiar place—Leicester Square. The Yangtze is the great river of China. Anybody going into the heart of China would follow up that river; but if you follow it up as far as you possibly can it will not take you to India, because, as you see, when you get far enough west it turns up to the north. Instead of getting to India, if you follow up that Yangtze River you come up against a great crumpled belt of the earth's crust, so monstrous and so deformed that it has trapped inside itself four of the great rivers of Asia—namely, the Yangtze, Mekong, Salween, and Irrawaddy. Those rivers rise many hundreds of miles apart, and flow to different oceans—in one case to the Pacific, in another to the South China Sea, and two of them to the Bay of Bengal. Hence, except at this one point, these rivers have nothing to do with each other. They got caught in this trap in the earth's crust, and for one brief glorious hour they come down jammed up against one another between two of the mightiest uplifts in the world. (*Slide.*) The second map shows the red square enlarged somewhat, and the red line shows the route. The problem is to cross direct overland from China to India, and, as you will see from the map, you cannot do that except by crossing this belt. The great difficulties, perhaps, are the Irrawaddy jungle on the left of the map, and a matter to which I shall refer presently on the right of the map. What I would particularly draw your attention to on this map is the great contrast between the very broken country on the Irrawaddy, as compared with the more continuous high plateau country to the right. This high plateau country is, of course, more lofty than the Irrawaddy jungle, but it is very much easier to traverse. I will first take you on a very brief journey from Burma across Yunnan, so as to get right away to the east of this river belt, and examine its possibilities. (*Slide.*) Travel in South-Eastern Asia is familiar to all of you; we travel by mule transport, crossing the various rivers either by wading them, by bridges, or by ferries. (*Various slides.*) The bridges are sometimes good chain suspension bridges, but sometimes of a different kind and quite unsuitable for crossing by mules. Sometimes in getting an animal across a river by means of the rope bridge he gets stuck halfway, and it is a difficult and dangerous task for someone to go out and release him. At night one either pitches a camp or stops in a school, temple, or village inn. One finds the schools equipped in every way, but deserted because there is no

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schoolmaster; and the temples are in a dilapidated condition and with no priests. Open-air markets are frequent. A European creates a great sensation when he appears at one of these, and if he understands the language it is amusing to listen to the remarks made on his personal appearance. "Look at his beard," I heard someone say; "he must be at least sixty." (Laughter.) Cities in China are all very much alike; you just find a huddled maze of grey roofs, with here and there a temple or pagoda standing up. They are very bright in spring, when you get the pear-trees in full bloom. The streets are very fine. They have these splendid old gateways which are somewhat dilapidated. The Tibetan villages are very much less picturesque; generally they have flat mud roofs like this, and the people thresh their corn with flails, and winnow it on those roofs, and spread things out to dry there. The houses often leak badly in wet weather. The monasteries in Eastern Tibet are extremely picturesque; you sometimes get a monastery perched on a rocky island in the middle of a sacred lake. After five or six weeks' marching we came to the first monastery. This was in a state independent both of China and Lhasa, and I sent word ahead to the king and asked permission to reside six months at the monastery to do my plant collecting. The caravan passed over the hill, and we saw the town below us, with this great fortress palace belonging to the king. We came down and found the walls and roofs of the monastery lined with monks. They made no noise at all, and it was rather an ordeal riding through these narrow streets and courtyards with all these monks staring at you in gloomy silence. However, they were not hostile. The king's prime minister came to see me with a retinue. He made a little speech, and said he was very pleased for me to come, and they would do everything they could to help me. But he warned me they were a very poor people and it was a very poor country; so I must not expect very much. What they could do they would. This is the prime minister. (*Showing slide.*) He told me the king was ill, would I go and see him and try to cure him? I said I would do so on the following day, and I collected some presents—some electric torches, alarm clocks, and so on—and sent them along in return for those that had been given to me. In the evening the prime minister called on me, this time without his retinue; he suggested certain fiscal reforms. I gave him ten rupees, and he went away happy. The next day I called on the king. I was taken up inside the monastery, through the palace, and along very gloomy corridors. Then I was fortified with buttered tea, and taken in to see the king. I found him sitting on a daïs, supported by several monks. The prime minister asked me what was the matter with him. I looked at him, tapped him, felt his pulse, and tapped him again. After a little waiting they got impatient, and the prime

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minister said: "Do you know what is the matter with him? I said: "Yes, I know what is the matter with him." They said: "What is it called?" "Well," I said, "we do not have that disease in our country, but I will send him some medicine and he will recover." It was rather a gamble, but I sent him a very safe and harmless medicine, and strange to say he did recover. Thenceforward my position in the monastery was assured, and I spent a pleasant six months botanizing. At this time there was a certain amount of disturbance in the country. As I have said, it was a country more or less independent alike of Lhasa and of China. There are certain warlike tribes, the Mantzu tribes, in the highlands always giving trouble. They are fine, stalwart men. While I was there a messenger came with a brief note to the king saying: "We are coming to burn your monastery." There was great excitement, and mobilization began. The mobilization was rather a paltry affair. For a few days the blacksmiths' forges were working away, and people were taking down their guns, hammering spears, and generally messing things up. I was surprised to find how well armed some of these head lamas were; at almost all the monasteries they had magazine pistols and breechloading rifles. But they never clean these things, so when they are wanted they invariably jam. They used to bring them to me, and I amused myself by taking them to pieces and saying I could not put them together again—which was generally true. I will show you the map once more. (*Slide.*) At present we are up *here* on the extreme east, as far up the Yangtze as we can get from the east, and we want to go across to India. You cannot turn that river belt. If you go to the north you will still have to cross the rivers just the same—the Yangtze, the Mekong, and the Salween; not the Irrawaddy—you can travel north of its sources, but if you do that it will not take you to India. All you will do is to leave between you and India the great Himalayan ranges. If, on the other hand, you turn south, you still have to cross these rivers. All you do in that case is to go down into Burma, and then you have the Bay of Bengal between you and India. Your only route then is straight across, and the question is, Is it worth while? Centuries ago there used to be a great deal of caravan traffic through Asia; that has been almost stifled by, I think, three causes. The first is the desiccation of Central Asia; that has been going on for a very long time, and is now a very formidable obstacle. The second was the fall of Constantinople, which stopped all trade between Europe and Asia overland; and the third was the extraordinary development of ocean transport. So that if we are going to try any short-cut from China to India it seems that we must take the shortest possible route, and I do not say it cannot be done; but I think you will agree that Yunnan, far from being the link between India and China, is only a

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missing link. In the journey itself from China to India you have two obstacles; you have the country I was speaking of, where you have all these tribes engaged in continual guerilla warfare—these hostile Mantzu tribes with no principles at all, unless it is a principle to rob every traveller who passes through the country. The second obstacle is that presented by the Irrawaddy jungle. There are certain corridors through the country; there is such a corridor running through from Chinese Szechwan to Yunnan, but it is useless for military purposes. On the other hand, we can examine the possibilities of a corridor from north to south through the strip. First of all there is the Yangtze River itself. The Yangtze is certainly a corridor. It is perfectly easy to build roads there, and, in fact, the Tibetan roads are extraordinarily good. But there are a great many Tibetan tribes living on the Yangtze, and it does not take you very much further. The Yangtze is usually crossed by ferry. As I say, it is not, by itself, much of a corridor, because it passes through too near these Mantzu tribes on both flanks of you. (*Slides.*) These are various inhabitants of the Yangtze. I will ask you to note the gentleman on the right. He has a Roman nose and very curly hair. He has the slit eye and high cheek-bone of the Mongol, but certainly he has the hair and nose, I should say, of the Aryan. If the Yangtze cannot by itself be considered a corridor from north to south, let us try the Mekong. The Mekong is very much smaller than the Yangtze, and the roads in it, to a certain extent, are extremely good for this type of country. The great difficulty is that you have to be continually crossing the river from one bank to the other. You cross by rope bridges. You waste a powerful lot of time, because, instead of being able to march straight up the Mekong gorges, you have to be continually crossing from one side to the other to avoid an impassable cliff. So we must wash out the Mekong also as a corridor. Then we come to the third river, the Salween, and we may say at once that it is quite impassable. Like the other rivers, it is unnavigable. It also passes through jungle country which is inhabited by unfriendly tribes. The scenery is the finest in this part of the world. However, if you go a little further north, right up into more Tibetan country, the Salween suddenly changes its character and roadmaking becomes very much easier; but you cannot say it is a through corridor. Once you have got through the gorges up into the higher regions, you can canoe to a certain extent, the canoes being either paddled or hauled by a rope. Finally, you get up into the Tibetan gorges. As I say, you cannot regard any of these rivers by themselves as a corridor. We have, in political phraseology, explored every avenue, and all we can say is that the three rivers themselves offer a corridor from north to south; so we have a corridor in the extreme east and another in the extreme west, where

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the three rivers come in, and between these is the lofty plateau inhabited by warring tribes. The Chinese have been campaigning off and on against the Tibetans ever since 1905. They got to Lhasa, and occupied it and the Mantzu country for some years. Then came the revolution in China, and the Tibetans seized the opportunity and drove the Chinese out of Tibet. They were also driven out of the Mantzu country. But the question is, What is going to happen in the future? The obvious thing is a federation of the various States. Somebody, apparently a friend of China, has suggested that they should go back to the position of 1904, which would leave a great deal of Tibetan territory in the hands of the Chinese. But the Chinese have been driven out of country which they occupied long before 1904, and they have made no effort to get back. One reason why, perhaps, is because the roads are potentially just so many Thermopylæs. The Tibetans, armed, could hold all these roads. On the other hand, the Mantzu tribes are not friendly to the Lhasa government. They acknowledge its spiritual authority, and caravans of Mantzus go to Lhasa every year; but as regards the temporal authority of Lhasa, they are not prepared to accept it. I think, myself, that what will happen is a federation of all the Tibetan states under the hegemony of Lhasa, but these corridors will have to be left open to Chinese traders to pass through unmolested. I do not see any other solution, for it seems impossible for the Chinese permanently to occupy this great highland plateau of Tibet. We will carry on our journey east and west. (*Slides.*) That is a road in the highland valley, and these are some of the tribes of the Salween. To continue the thread of the story, as I say, we cannot turn this great river belt either in the north or in the south. We can get through the rivers; working generally from one river to the other, we can get from north to south, but we cannot conveniently turn it if we want a direct road to India. East of the Yangtze country travelling is simple. The passes are not blocked in winter, and although the passes are lofty there is cultivation in the valleys, and you can get food and transport; but travel gets harder and harder as you go westward. The nearer you approach the Irrawaddy the wetter becomes the climate, and the worse the jungle. If you are going to travel straight from China to India you have two choices. You can cross at the narrowest point and travel a little north, or you can go practically straight through across the Irrawaddy. If you go a little north you can turn most of the Irrawaddy jungle, and then go straight down to the Brahmaputra. That was the way Bailey followed in 1911, while the road straight across the Irrawaddy was followed by Prince Henry of Orleans and Mr. E. C. Young. At the narrowest point those three rivers flow within seventy-five miles of each other. The distance across the Irrawaddy jungle is another

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seventy-five miles, and from the Western Irrawaddy to the Brahmaputra is another fifty, making in all two hundred miles. That is as the crow flies, but in this case you do not fly, you walk, and that makes it very much longer. Bailey first demonstrated the possibility of this China to India road through a corner of Eastern Tibet, missing out all that difficult part of the Irrawaddy jungle, but coming straight down into the equally difficult Brahmaputra jungle. He did not have to cross the Himalayas, but found a way through. Prince Henry had very great difficulties in the Irrawaddy jungle. We are still in Eastern Tibet, and the country, although broken and lofty, is not covered with dense jungle. It is therefore easy to traverse. As I told you at the beginning, my job is plant-collecting, and the six years I have spent in that region, travelling here, there, and all over the place, has been spent in collecting plants. I will show you three or four slides of the flora. This is one of the giant sorrels that you find at fourteen thousand feet. It is a great country for primroses, and this is the common primrose. It is still more the country of rhododendrons. It is a fairyland of rhododendrons in April and May. There are hundreds of species, and all colours. Besides the great tree rhododendrons, you have the ground more or less covered with small species, just as you have the hills covered with heather in Scotland; but instead of a sea of purple, it is a sea of all colours, and you can march for days and days ankle-deep through this foam of rhododendron blossoms. This is one of the poppies. Its flowers are sky blue, with centres of gold. It only occurs in the harshest and rockiest places, and that particular one was taken at sixteen thousand feet. Now we will come to the rest of the journey. We have crossed the three rivers, and there remains in front of us the Irrawaddy jungle. There are a great many snow mountains here, and you find these enormous glaciers—enormous, that is, for that part of the world—charging over the cliffs. In nearly every case you find the glacier jolting over these big cliffs, so that its back seems to be broken in the middle and you get this immense icefall. Of course, road-making becomes exceedingly difficult. That particular mountain is one of the sacred mountains of Tibet, and every year hundreds of pilgrims march round it. Here is a Tibetan pilgrim and his small boy making the circuit of the mountain. This takes about ten days. The passes to the Irrawaddy get snowed up rather early in the year, certainly by November, and it is necessary to get over before the worst snowstorms come. After Christmas they are generally impassable, although not very high—perhaps twelve or thrirteen thousand feet—but you get a tremendous lot of snow in the winter, and the Salween valley is absolutely blocked up. We crossed not later than November, and dropped straight down into the Irrawaddy jungle. Here the scenery changes.

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We have to jettison all our mules, and take only porters. It is difficult to get food, and one has generally to take food, not only for one's self, but for the porters as well. I crossed the Taron on a monkey bridge. A little north of the spot where I struck this river, an Englishman, Captain Pritchard, was drowned. He was trying to explore the unknown stretch of the Taron, which has never been done, and the natives took down the rope bridge. Captain Pritchard tried to swim across and was drowned, and I do not think anybody can ever look upon this, which is one of the most savage and beautiful rivers in that part of Asia, without thinking of the brave life that was sacrificed. The people are dwarfs, and wear very little clothing. They carry these big knives, not for the purpose of doing any damage to anybody, but because in that country you so frequently have to cut your way through the jungle. The Tibetans sometimes come down and take these people for slaves. The status of this country is very uncertain. China has claimed the Taron, the Tibetans have claimed it, and the British have claimed it. The Chinese claim it on the ground that they were the first to go there and collect taxes. The Tibetans contest this; and the only grounds of Britain for wanting to take it is that the people themselves wish it. These are some of the people dressed up in Tibetan garb. They are slaves of the Tibetans, but they probably have a much better time with the Tibetans than in their own jungles, for they are well fed and well clothed. The bridges in this part of the world are of various types. Most of the rivers are crossed by cane suspension bridges. The forest at about ten thousand feet is not unlike English forest, except for the bamboo which one finds everywhere. This is one of the cane bridges, made of strands of rattan canes. The rattan cane is a climbing palm, and sometimes you find stems six hundred feet long. It is a simple matter to throw a couple of these canes across, and make a bridge. The jungle gets thicker and thicker the further we go west. We are descending the plateau, and are only three thousand or four thousand feet above sea-level. The rivers are quieter but numerous, and the whole country is streaming with water and covered with dense jungle. It is extremely difficult to make roads through it. After travelling another seventy-five miles you get to the western branch of the Irrawaddy and find the open plain of Hkamti Long, which Prince Henry discovered thirty-five years ago. When he made his journey from China to India he came out on this great open plain. I came down to this plain last Christmas, and from here it is another fifty, or perhaps seventy-five, miles to the Brahmaputra through the same sort of jungle. I had the choice of doing that or turning south by a good mule-road to Burma itself. I did not cross over into Assam, but turned down the Irrawaddy, those two hundred miles to rail head. This is a view of the western Irrawaddy at Hkamti Long.

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It is a great, placid, lake-like stream, flowing with a comparatively gentle current. Now this is the point of my lecture, Is it worth while to make a road across that strip of country from China to India? If it is, Which is the best route from China to India? I personally think it is probably impracticable and will not be done. On the other hand, if we like to look at these river valleys as corridors, it is probably much easier to find a direct route from Burma up into Tibet than from China across the river belt into India. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Well, I think the lecturer has given us quite up to expectation. He has introduced us to a peculiarly interesting country, and illustrated his lecture with remarkably fine photographs. He is a plant collector, and I think the most fascinating of these pictures was the picture of the rhododendrons. I do not know whether he meant it literally when he said that there are hundreds of species of rhododendrons there, but evidently there are an enormous number.

The LECTURER: It is literally so.

The CHAIRMAN: It is quite astounding that there should be hundreds of species of rhododendrons. I have often had in my imagination that what I would like to do would be to get hold of a little baby aeroplane, which did not go too fast, and then glide along the whole of the Himalayas in April or May, and see that wonderful rhododendron belt which stretches along the mountains at a height of eight, nine, up to eleven thousand feet, and see these rhododendrons on the Himalayas from near Kashmir right down to Burma, and on into Western China, of every colour—crimson, white, yellow, golden, plum-coloured, magenta. To see them stretching as a coloured band right across the mountains, I should think, was just as fine a sight as you could find in the world; and perhaps, when these aeroplanes are still further developed, it may be possible to do that.

Apart from the botanical interest of this lecture, it suggests some very interesting political problems, and we in this Society are at liberty to discuss political questions. There is the question to which he referred of the extension of the Chinese control over Eastern Tibet, where, as in so many parts of Central Asia, you get a sort of semi-independent or even quite independent country in between two great empires or two great countries. Now Tibet undoubtedly is a big country. Not only is the country big in size, but I always maintain that the Tibetans are a big people. Sir Charles Bell reminded us that in ancient days they extended their invasions right into China itself. They are big people, and they had then certain martial instincts. At the present time they are making a fight for their complete independence, and for the moment they have succeeded. But the Chinese also are a big people, and, of course, a greater people

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than the Tibetans. For instance, the lecturer referred to a remarkable feat of the Chinese in sending an army across those mountains—across passes of sixteen to seventeen thousand feet—to Lhasa itself. It was commanded by the great General Chao-erh-Fung, who was afterwards murdered in China. This was one of the greatest military feats that have been accomplished in Asia, for the Tibetans are a stiff people to oppose, and the Chinese were not very much better armed than they were, and, as I say, they had to cross this succession of ranges to reach Lhasa itself. The Chinese don't think in weeks or single years, they think in centuries; and what they did in one century they may repeat in the following century, and Chao-erh-Fung's feat may be repeated. But all the time one has one's sympathy with the Tibetans, and one would like to see some kind of *modus vivendi* reached by which the Tibetans could maintain their independence, but yet also have the benefit of that civilizing and cultural influence which the Chinese undoubtedly do produce. The Chinese are a people of great culture, and one would like to see that border gradually settled up between the Tibetans and the Chinese; so that between them they may preserve order among the wild tribes, and the culture of the Chinese spread not only to the wild tribes but into Tibet itself. These are only stray and random thoughts. I have not actually visited Eastern Tibet or Western China, and there may be some here who can give very much more interesting and valuable observations than I have been able to make myself. (Applause.)

Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. YATE: I would not have risen to speak if anyone more conversant with the immediate neighbourhood of the district with which the lecturer has dealt had done so. It fell to my lot some thirty-seven years ago to accompany as Intelligence Officer the first expedition from Mandalay across the Shan plateau to the Kunlon ferry on the Salween. This route, which to-day is traversed by rail as far as Lashio, lies some three hundred miles to the south of the area described by Mr. Kingdon Ward, but in my capacity as Intelligence Officer, I gathered information of regions and routes, people and places at a very considerable distance from the scenes which we visited. A very inadequate account of the work of this expedition, commanded by Major H. S. T. Yates, R.A., is given in Sir Charles Crosthwaite's "Pacification of Burma," an account which gives great prominence to a young Political Officer, Lieutenant Hugh Daly, and mentions no one else. As far as I am aware, a considerable portion of the route that we followed had been previously visited by no European. The expedition, ably commanded by Major Yates, marched practically without any fighting via Maymyo, Thibaw, Lashio and Theinni, to the Kunlon ferry on the Salween, and annexed to her Majesty's Dominions what are now known as the Northern

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Shan States.* The left bank of the Salween at Kunlon is in the Chinese province of Yunnan, and I accompanied Major Yates when he crossed the river to call on the Chinese official residing there. Our expedition returned to Mandalay in March of 1888. At that time, I think, the idea was entertained in India that it might be possible to construct a railway connecting Burma with the valley of the Yangtze-Kiang in China, and, as chance would have it, the Assistant Transport Officer with our column was a young lieutenant of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, named H. R. Davies, whose subsequent travels in the region of the Yangtze-Kiang and other parts of China won for him eventually one of the gold medals of the Royal Geographical Society. Travel is not his only claim to distinction. His war record is a fine one, culminating as it does in the command of a Division in the late War, during which he was mentioned six times in despatches. In or about 1900 Major H. R. Davies, during the course of his travels in China, tried to cross the Mekong at Yen-ching, where Captain F. M. Bailey in 1911 was successful in crossing it. The Tibetans effectually stopped Major Davies. I recollect very well that at the Anniversary Dinner of the Royal Geographical Society in 1912 a very distinguished traveller, in congratulating Captain Bailey on penetrating from China into Assam and India by that route, referred to his achievements as one of the cases where "luck backs pluck." The speaker asserted that the Abor expedition had operated in Captain Bailey's favour, but he was mistaken; and Captain Bailey's father, Colonel F. Bailey, R.E., for many years Secretary to the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, promptly wrote to *The Times* and showed that the speaker was under a misapprehension.†

I may add, I think, just a word about the navigability respectively of the Salween and the Irrawaddy, a subject to which the lecturer has referred. Naturally when I was at Kunlon, which is situated as far as I remember about three thousand feet above sea-level, I made enquiries about the navigation of the Salween. A native told me that light boats could be navigated downstream from Kunlon to Ta-meungnong, a journey of four days. The boats had to be lowered down the rapids with ropes held by men on the bank, any other method being too dangerous. I find that from Kunlon to Moulmein, where the Salween debouches into the sea, the distance as the crow flies is just about five hundred miles. The lower part of the river is

* For further information about these states see Dautremer's "Burma under British Rule," chap. x., and the Report of the Intelligence Officer, Northern Shan Column, 1887-1888, printed at Rangoon, July, 1888.

† See JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, Vol. I., Part I. (1914) pp. 14-19, and *The Times* of May 25, June 5, and (about) June 9, 1912, in which letters respectively by myself, Colonel F. Bailey, and Mr. Angus Hamilton appear.

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navigable, the upper part impossible. In his journey from the Salween to the Irrawaddy, the lecturer described himself as continually descending as he moved westward. As is well known, the Irrawaddy is navigable by steamboat certainly up to Bhamo, and possibly further, but under what conditions I am unable to say. It gives me pleasure to conclude these few remarks by saying how much I have enjoyed this lecture. The pictures were admirable. I find in my Northern Shan Column Report descriptions of chain bridges over the Salween as taken down from the accounts given to me by natives, and I find that the descriptions tally well with the pictures put on the screen.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel inclined to agree with Captain Bailey's father in what Colonel Yate said just now. I think the success of Captain Bailey was due to nothing else but to Captain Bailey himself. (Applause.) It was really a very wonderful journey that he made from China into Assam. He went through very wild tribes, but whether it will make a practicable route from China to India or not it is difficult to say. I know, ladies and gentlemen, that you would like me to express on your behalf our thanks to the lecturer for this remarkably vivid and interesting lecture. (Applause.)

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Wednesday, January 23, 1924, Sir Maurice de Bunsen presiding. A lecture on the North-West Frontier of India was given by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, K.C.I.E., preceded by a presentation to Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate, formerly Honorary Secretary of the Society.

The CHAIRMAN made the presentation. He said: Ladies and gentlemen, — Before the lecture begins, a very agreeable task has been confided to me; this is to ask Colonel Yate, who has so long acted as Honorary Secretary to this Society, to accept from the Society a small token of their gratitude. You all know Colonel Yate's great services to the Society, and I will only say this, that if the Society has now got into an assured position, if it can hold up its head among the other kindred societies of a scientific character in London, if it now has a membership which is considerable, if it is able to produce a Journal which is more and more resorted to, I believe, by people who wish for late information about the countries of Central Asia—if all this has come about, I think we all feel that it is in very great measure due to the efforts of Colonel Yate. (Applause.) He has been unceasing in the interest he has taken in the Society, in telling people about it, in bringing excellent members within the fold of the Society, and, in fact, has had it in his thoughts night and day. So, Colonel Yate, it is my very pleasant duty to ask you to accept as a small token from the Society this bowl, which we hope will abide among your household gods, and remind you of the Society which you have done so much to bring into a position of prosperity. I may say it is a bowl known as a Mazar bowl. I do not in the least know what that means, but on it are written these words: "The gift of the Central Asian Society to Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur C. Yate, to mark their appreciation of the great services rendered by him to the Society as Honorary Secretary from 1918 to 1923." Colonel Yate, allow me to give you this little gift on behalf of the Society.

The Chairman then presented the bowl to Colonel Yate amid applause.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. YATE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gen-

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tlemen,—When I was tempted up into this chair by my successor as Honorary Secretary I had not, as you may suppose, the faintest idea why I was invited to come here. This comes to me as a surprise, and I need hardly say a most gratifying surprise. There is no necessity for me to add any words whatever. The Chairman has told everyone in the room why this present has been made to me, and I can only say that I am most thankful it should be thought that I merit it. I can assure the Society that I shall keep it and value it. (Applause.)

The Chairman then introduced Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, saying that one who had devoted so much time and thought to the question of transport on the Indian Frontier, and who had had moreover a wide personal experience of Frontier roads and conditions, was a recognized authority on the subject on which he had so kindly undertaken to speak.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA

By Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.I.M.E., A.I.C.E., Memb. Inst. of Transport

To some people it might appear at first sight that a lecture on the North-West Frontier of India did not concern a Society specially devoted to the study of matters pertaining to Central Asia. So at the outset I desire to make it clear that, from a geographical point of view, India is left behind and Central Asia is entered when the Indus is crossed. Though the racial characteristics, the political institutions, and the rule of the Indian Empire, generally speaking, do not cease till the watersheds dividing the Indus from the Helmund and the Oxus are reached, all the North-West Frontier from Kashmir to Karachi has more to do with Central Asia than it has with India. Owing to geographical conditions, there has never been an invasion of India from the east. Nor has there been any attempt on the part of any Indian emperors or military potentates to make military expeditions to the westward. Invasions of India have always come from the west. Therefore Central Asia has influenced India and the history of India very largely ever since the earliest times, but India has had but little influence over Central Asia.

Afghanistan and Baluchistan are largely affected also by Turkestan and Persia respectively, and in the Pamirs, the region where China, Russia, and the British Empire meet, the interests of all these three great Powers are continually affected by the various turbulent peoples who live on the western slopes of the Himalayan ranges.

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Most continental nations have many land frontiers, but it is a curious fact that the British Empire, with a bigger area than any of them, comprising so much of the world, has only one land frontier on which it is necessary to keep a strong military force—namely, the North-West Frontier of India. Of the great British nations overseas, Canada, it is true, has a continental frontier, stretching from the Pacific to the Atlantic, some 3,000 miles in length as the plane flies. But this frontier along Latitude 49 is adjacent to a friendly non-military and highly civilized nation, and only a few custom-house posts exist on either side. The frontiers of the Dominion of the Cape and of the West and East African Colonies are merely concerned with primitive tribes, nowadays harmless, while Australia, New Zealand, the West Indies, and the smaller colonies, are large or small islands girded by the sea, and naval not military defence is their concern.

The North-West Frontier of India is also peculiar and interesting because upon it fighting has existed—as part of the local daily life—since prehistoric times, and so far as one can see sporadic warfare in its neighbourhood is never likely to cease altogether. There are always tribes or sections of tribes influenced by blood or property feuds, and from time to time combining together to attack our outposts or to make raids upon the neighbouring forces of law and order. Luckily, however, these tribes never combine for long, but they are at times formidable—more so lately—because they possess nowadays modern rifles, while they have also learned much of our methods in strategy and tactics from our own drill-books and military system. Many Trans-Border Pathans also served in the Great War in our armies, and have become extremely clever at taking cover, arranging ambushes, and attacking convoys of supplies. To thousands of the male population of the North-West Frontier fighting on a big or small scale is the normal occupation of their lives, and as a Frontier chief once said to me: "I only know one trade, a man's trade—war," and with gleaming eyes touched the hilt of his dagger.

The North-West Frontier of India extends from the Indian Ocean in the south some twenty miles west of Karachi to the point in the Pamirs where the three empires of India, China, and Russia meet. At the moment Russia is non-existent as an organized military power, but in regard to this I would sound a note of grave warning, and deprecate any weakening of our Frontier forces, for no one can tell when the small Bolshevist army now in Eastern Turkestan may be reinforced and reorganized, and make its appearance as a formidable force on some part of the North-West Frontier, with all the modern means of warfare, such as aircraft, tanks and gas. Out of the 1,200 miles of Frontier, nearly every mile is mountainous, but at the moment only about 500 miles can be said to be a constant source

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of danger. This part of the Frontier to which I refer starts from the south in the neighbourhood of Quetta, in Baluchistan, the headquarters of the 4th Division, and extends northwards each side of the Zhob River and on over the Gumal and Zam Rivers. Thence it crosses the Tochi River west of Datta Khel, and then follows the Kurram Valley to Kalachi Post and the Peiwar Kotal, the pass over the western end of the Safed Koh. Thence it turns sharply eastwards along the watershed of that range and crosses the Khyber Pass road between Dacca and Lundi Khana. Here it turns eastwards again and crosses the Kabul and Swat Rivers, and so on along the northern and western edges of the Peshawar Plain to the Malakand Pass, running eastwards thence and crossing the Indus some twenty miles north of Attock. From there the line trends northwards into the Black Mountain country north of Abbothabad, and eventually reaches a point where it joins the state of Kashmir near Garwhi Habibullah. North of this, if we follow the frontier of the state of Kashmir, which is under the protection of the Indian Government, we eventually come to Chitral and Gilgit, close to the slopes of Nunga Purbat, in the opinion of many the most beautiful mountain in the world and the third in height. Eventually the Frontier comes to the point in the Pamirs where the three empires meet to which I have already alluded. In this description of the Frontier, I have not attempted to follow accurately what is known as the Durand Line, the work of Colonel Sir Mortimer Durand, which is in many places many miles beyond our effective frontier. But I have taken the Frontier which we hold and administrate to-day by the exercise of civil or military jurisdiction.

It is from the Malakand Pass in the north to Quetta in the south, a distance of about 500 miles as the plane flies, and for probably about 650 miles as the Frontier runs, which is known as the Frontier in a military sense. Our position upon this section would at first sight seem untenable from a military point of view. The enemy forces number between 600,000 and 700,000 men, of whom about 250,000 are armed with modern rifles, while the rest are armed with inferior firearms or matchlocks, jezails and other quaint weapons. Against these numbers our local military strength is, numerically speaking, always remarkably inferior. And this Frontier presents one peculiar feature which is hardly found elsewhere in the world so far as I know. While our troops hold the main lines of road and rail communication, which naturally run along the valleys, most of them fairly well populated and fertile, the enemy occupies the hill-tops and the ridges between the valleys. Therefore, from a military point of view our strategical position is always dangerous and unsound, for these valleys, weakly defended salients, the longest of them 120 miles in length, are all of them commanded from higher ground, and

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until lately there have been no lateral roads which could be used for troops on a considerable scale or for mechanical transport, except between the bases of each salient. To take four instances. From Kohat the road runs up westwards for 120 miles through Thal to Parachinar. Again, from Bannu the road extends some sixty-five miles westwards up to the Tochi Valley to Dardoni, and another twenty miles on to the Datta Khel, while further south we have now pushed a road up the Zam River to Jandola and on to Sararogha, while there is also new road communication to Wano up the Gumal Valley, and to Fort Sandeman up the Zhob Valley. These valleys and ridges between these points are comparable to a man's hand outstretched with the fingers widely extended. Between the knuckles, that is, at the bases, there is close touch, but between the finger-joints, representing the road heads, empty spaces. The extension of roads, however, on the Frontier, begun in 1915, has proceeded with considerable energy during the last four or five years. This is due largely to Lord Rawlinson's persistence in keeping to the front a forward road policy. Though the present programme is nearly completed, eventually it is to be hoped that there will be a complete and continuous lateral frontier road from Quetta in the south right up to Thal by way of the Zhob Valley, Manzai, Jandola, Razmak, Edak, Spinwam, and thence by a bridge over the Kurram River to Thal. Already a portion of this line is complete, roads having now been made from Thal to Edak in the Tochi Valley, and from Edak by Razmak to Jandola, and thence to Kirghi and the Gumal River. Many of these roads—for instance, the section from Kirghi to Jandola and from Edak to Razmak—have been made despite constant opposition and sniping by local tribes, and in the face of many natural difficulties, involving much rock-blasting, the bridging of rivers where floods have been known to rise forty feet perpendicularly in twenty-four hours, and the provision of reasonable gradients along or over very steep hillsides. These lateral roads cross over the two older main roads which lead up the Kurram and Tochi valleys. Altogether, the road system on the North-West Frontier is far superior to that which existed when I first had the honour of taking up my duties in connection with roads and transport in 1915. I feel sure that the Government of India is now convinced of the value of roads on the Frontier, both in peace and war. Neither is the Frontier sound from a geographical point of view—that is, it is not a frontier defined by watersheds or big rivers. The only natural frontier to the westward is the waterless desert of Eastern Baluchistan, and the highest ridges of some of the Western Himalayas in the far north. From the racial and administrative point of view Frontier politics are a jumble of interests, which so long as they continue to exist make our task easier.

We see constantly in some of the Indian native press and, I am sorry

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to say, in the less well-informed press here, criticisms of the British forces, or British officered Indian forces, chiefly on the ground of their expense to the revenue of India. But the justification for maintaining large British forces in India, amounting in theory to about 75,000 British troops and 225,000 of Indian Army, 300,000 men in all, is that these 500 miles of North-West Frontier must be held strongly for the sake of all India. There must be adequate forces to repel anything in the nature of serious invasion from the west, whether Bolshevist, Afghan, or Tribal. In the rest of India, east say of Lahore, the military forces are really a superior police force for internal security, and to act as the ultimate power behind the civil administration. On the other hand, the divisions and brigades on the Frontier and in reserve for Frontier purposes—namely, the first, second, third and fourth divisions, and other forces in divisional or brigade frontier areas—have to be always in a state of preparedness for war, while the actual forces operating on the lines of communication along the Frontier itself are kept on active service conditions. Alone in the British Empire to-day these forces have to be kept year in and year out on a war footing, and only on the North-West Frontier, therefore, can the young and keen officers see and learn real warfare.

The Frontier from Quetta to the Malakand, too, is unique in other ways. Its extremes of heat and cold are unparalleled. I have myself suffered when the thermometer was 128 Fahr. in the shade at Dera Ismail Khan or Bannu in the month of June. I have experienced equally temperatures below zero at Parachinar in the month of January. Nowhere else in the world, so far as I know, are the extremes of heat and cold so wide apart. During the summer months it is difficult to keep in health, because the extreme heat brings with it liability to all kinds of fever, mostly water-borne diseases, to apoplexy and strained heart. In the winter it is difficult enough to keep warm in houses which are mainly designed for a hot climate. In the southern part of the area, on the borders of Baluchistan, the rainfall is under 8 inches in a year, while on the slopes of the Himalayas to the north 100 to 200 inches is quite common, and in big monsoon years these figures are exceeded. There are upon this frontier magnificent ranges such as the Safed Koh, of which one peak, Sikoram, at 16,500 feet is slightly higher than Mont Blanc, and the eastern ridges of the Hindoo Koosh, where altitudes over 20,000 feet are common. The small British force stationed at Gilgit do their work under the slopes of Nunga Purbat, whose exact height is said to be not very accurately determined, but is probably in excess of 28,500 feet.

On this Frontier are thousands of square miles of magnificent forest, where deodar, longifolia, and pine grow, thousands of square miles of thorn scrub, and yet more square miles of desert and drifting

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sand, mud hillocks and tumbled rock, mainly without a vestige of vegetation. Between Nushki and Quetta the scenes of weird desolation are unparalleled. One might almost think that parts of the Frontier were the world's ash-heap. But with all this variety of scenery and climate, with all its disagreeable characteristics, there is something fascinating about the life there, which once it has entered into the soul of a man never afterwards leaves him. Whether it is the spice of daily personal danger, or the fierce alternations of heat and cold, or the variety of scenery and sky, or the sense of being on the fringe between civilization and barbarism which attracts, I know not. The lure to the imagination of "the back of the ranges," as Kipling says, exists there too. You are face to face with the primeval forces of nature, with their power to cause a fifty-foot rise in your local river in twenty-four hours, with a flood which sweeps away, scours and annihilates, with a blinding snowstorm, or with the continuous cannonading of the monsoon thunder and lightning which makes night like day. The mornings and evenings by camp fires, with skies serene, sunsets of turquoise and opal, a clearness of atmosphere, unrealizable in foggy Britain, are some compensations; and who has smelt the smoke of burning deodar log or camel's dung in the evening, and of Mother Earth in the morning, will never forget the memories they bring.

Till recently the Frontier was the soundest school for military training, and the greatest of our British generals learned the art of war there. Till the great military upheaval of 1914-18 the frontier was certainly the only place in the British Empire in which active service was to be experienced several times a year, and in some cases continuously for several years.

In order to protect the North-West Frontier there is no doubt that easy transport and good roads are the first essentials. In 1886, Lord Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief in India, used the following words in a report to the Viceroy, every word of which is true to-day:

"Meanwhile I would push on our communications with all possible speed. We must have roads, and we must have railways; they cannot be made on short notice, and every rupee spent upon them now will repay us tenfold hereafter. Nothing will tend to secure the safety of the Frontier so much as the power of rapidly concentrating troops on any threatened point, and nothing will strengthen our military position more than to open out the country and improve our relations with the Frontier tribes. There are no better civilizers than roads and railways: and although some of those recommended to be made may never be required for military purposes, they will be of the greatest assistance to the civil power in the administration of the country."

These sentences might have been written yesterday, and they prove

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that Lord Roberts was not only a great soldier but a great prophet. Whatever slackness there may have been on the part of the Government of India in pushing forward the making of roads on the Frontier in past years, it is a pleasure to recall that since 1916 much has been done and work is still proceeding at the present moment on new lateral roads, and the improvement of the main lines of communication.

The problems of the Frontier group themselves mainly under three heads—financial, civilian, and military. All these three are branches of the same problem to a large extent, and they hang together, and our difficulties will be solved not at once but gradually, as I think, by the improvement of the means of communication. As I had the honour to point out in many reports when I was on the North-West Frontier, the road in the long run is mightier than arms, more powerful than the rupee, and a more enduring force for civilization than many magistrates, judges, and code law. By its nature the Frontier is infertile, and much of the tribal unrest is the natural result of the want of food or of work to supply the means to buy food. Thousands of tribesmen living a very hard semi-nomad life, often on the verge of starvation, look down all the time upon fertile valleys beneath, full of prosperous cultivators and on villages with rich bunnias. These conditions make the tribesmen raid as much for the means of life as for any real hostility to our rule. But if you make roads, commerce quickly develops: Balis and Chitai mats, skins and deodar logs, are exchanged for paraffin, agricultural implements, cotton clothing, and grain. And the money-grabbing Pathan begins to love hunting the rupee better than his fellow-men. To those who own anything and fear raids, the road means troops easily moved. Troops mean protection for property. Property means trading. Trading means civilization. Civilization means the turning of the sword into the ploughshare. These sequences are historic, natural, and inevitable, and the road is the basic cause. When I was in India I used to endeavour to impress upon Viceroys, Commanders-in-Chief, and Supreme Councils, as did Lord Roberts, that money spent on roads was not only valuable in a military but in a civil sense, that road-making was cheaper and better than war-making. Now the beginnings of a change are apparent, and with the completion of a system of frontier roads which was begun in 1915 will gradually die out, firstly, the bigger tribal wars, then the lesser raids, and eventually there will be a peace, not of our European brand—an absence of armed action, combined with intensive preparations for the next war—but such a peace as is possible when there exist still the traditions of centuries of war as a kind of sport. The quarrelsome and fanatical character of the tribes will always keep alive warlike feeling, and the necessity for keeping order and law with rifle, bayonet,

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plane, armoured car, and mountain battery, will exist for years to come.

I cannot deal faithfully with Frontier matters without paying a tribute to those devoted men, living and dead, who have upheld our prestige upon the Frontier, whether as civilians and soldiers. Nowhere in the Empire is the work harder and the apparent worldly rewards smaller. Nowhere has the daily task to be performed under greater drawbacks, sometimes of climate, often of loneliness, always of constant personal danger by day and night. And not infrequently the Government of India, by an alteration or cancellation of a declared policy, callously or carelessly places their representatives in the impossible position of having to break faith with the tribes to whom a pledge has been given, or with our own people. What seems so easy in the Council chambers at Delhi or Simla means too often red war or bloody midnight raids on the Frontier. And always, and above all, there is the babu, the product of official India, constantly obstructive, continually clogging the wheels of progress.

Now, in 1924, it is almost impossible to realize that up to 1915 there was no mechanical transport in India and few roads in use on the Frontier. The camel, horse and donkey were the only means that the Army had to carry its supplies. It is wonderful to reflect how well, in spite of this, the Frontier was held and governed then, and during its various periods of alteration and extension. Now the task is easier, and when all the roads projected are complete and the mobility of troops increased, the work should be easier still.

It is a curious fact that, while all the invasions of Europe have come from the east, the invasions of India and China have come from the west. It seems as if there was bubbling up somewhere in Central Asia from time to time a kind of nomadic energy which has its birthplace between the Helmund, the Oxus, the Caspian, and the headwaters of the Obi and Yenesei in Siberia. The people living on these Central Asian plains, mostly pastoral in character, have always displayed nomadic tendencies, and they seem from time to time to be impelled to congregate together and migrate in armed forces in search of new and suitable countries in which to live. Whether this migratory instinct is caused by a physical need, such as by lack of food, or by some mysterious desire in the mind and soul for adventure which leads them to wander, it is difficult to say. No one can explain the migration of that mysterious little animal the lemming, who at intervals migrates in tens of thousands to the west coast of Norway, where it plunges into the sea and is drowned. But it is a curious fact that from Central Asia have come practically all the great world migrations, the causes of great alterations in empires. To the dweller in a more or less barren country, such as Central Asia, India must

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naturally seem a land flowing with milk and honey. From time immemorial rumours have reached the Kurds, Turkomans, Bokhariots, and Northern Persians of untold riches in India, of lovely houris, of land so fertile that three crops a year could be grown upon it, and these tales told round the camp fires and in the bazaars in the evening have set the races on these Asian plains coveting the lot of their richer neighbours. And the weather conditions, harsh winds, hot sunshine, and cold winters, have tended to eliminate the physically unfit and breed brave leaders and a virile race. Contrast this with the hotter and more enervating climate of India, with the easier conditions of life there, and it is clear why through the centuries the strength of character, resistance to attack, and the physique of most of the Indian races have proved inferior in war to the invaders from the north-west. It is lucky for India that from Kashmir to the North-East Frontier of Burma, the Himalayan ranges act as insuperable barriers to any advancing foe. Thus it comes about that the North-West Frontier of India is the only part of the Indian Empire which has a frontier in a military, commercial and political sense.

In conclusion, I desire to protest against childlike faith in the undertakings of semi-barbaric peoples. Unpractical sentiment and a belief in the reasonableness of your adversary are out of place in dealing with those who believe in war as the greatest of professions. Equally we must always beware of unscrupulous enemies whose object it is to undermine, disintegrate, and overwhelm British influence because it stands for the security of law, life, and property. If ever the defence of the Frontier were to collapse as a result of political intrigue here or in India, or of an insufficiency of military forces on the spot, then the invasion and consequent ruin of Northern and Central India would follow inevitably. No amount of eloquence at Delhi or Simla, or of the local payment of blackmail, will deter for long or repel eventually the armed forces either of Bolshevists, Afghans, or of combinations of hostile Frontier tribesmen. In these regions force must be met by force. It is the only argument which carries weight. Moreover, a constant display of military power must be seen and appreciated daily by possible enemies if you wish for comparative peace. Diplomacy can do much at times, in certain directions, but there must always be the power of the sword behind it.

I believe, however, that gradually and eventually the civilizing influence of roads will make itself felt, and that as years go on the advantages of peace will be impressed on the warlike Frontier tribes. At any rate, the fortunes of India and of Central Asia will always be linked together, and given civilized rule again in Russia, our task of preserving peace will be lightened as years go on.

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The CHAIRMAN said he very much regretted that there was no time for a formal discussion, for the lecture had given much food for thought and had raised many points of great interest. He thanked Lord Montagu very heartily, in the name of the Society, for his clear and lucid address and for the beautiful slides with which it was illustrated.

The meeting closed with a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

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A SUMMARY OF THE RAISING AND TRAINING OF THE 1ST YEMEN INFANTRY

AND ITS POSSIBILITIES AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN SOUTH-WEST ARABIA

By G. A. Joy

1. How it was Raised.—Near the little village of Sheik Othman, in the south-west corner of Arabia, the 1st Yemen Infantry are quartered. Its name is almost unknown to the outside world, and the history of its birth and transition from incohesion to law, order and discipline, should be of interest to those military and political departments of the State who are too far removed from its centre of activity to fully realize its importance in South-West Arabia.

The regiment was partially raised in 1917, under the title of the Arab Legion, through the military and political sagacity of Major-General Sir J. M. Stewart, K.C.M.G., C.B., late G.O.C. and Political Resident in Aden, who with the assistance and support of General Sir Reginald Wingate, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.C.M.G., obtained the approval of the War Office for the formation of an Arab Corps. On Major M. C. Lake, 109th Infantry (now Lieutenant-Colonel Lake), assuming command of the regiment, it was officially designated the 1st Yemen Infantry.

At the time recruiting first took place there was in existence already an Arab Labour Corps, mainly composed of Arabs from the Hinterland who had had a sufficiency of the Turkish military occupation of their villages, and who came to Aden in the hopes of finding better conditions and more profitable work under the British flag. On the disbandment of this Labour Corps some of the best types of Arabs were selected for enrolment in the 1st Yemen Infantry. Two companies were recruited first; this was later increased to four, and finally reduced to three in 1922. After the cessation of Turkish hostilities in 1918, Colonel Lake was granted permission to proceed into the interior to obtain fresh recruits from the best fighting tribes. This expedition was a great political success, and Colonel Lake's unpublished record of his visits to unmapped and little known places in South-West Arabia, and especially his visits to Azzan and Balhof, are of particular interest and value. Some hundreds of very fine recruits accompanied the Colonel to Sheik Othman, mostly from

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the Azzani and Aulaqi tribes. A good many of them on arrival refused to enrol and went back to their country. However, most of them subsequently returned a few months later, after having thought the matter out, and were enrolled in the regiment; and to-day the 1st Yemen Infantry is entitled to take its place among the trained non-European regiments of the world. It has achieved in the space of a few years the *esprit de corps*, co-ordination of work, and mutual understanding between all ranks, which is that ideal of military efficiency only associated with regiments that have been in existence for generations.

2. Training, Composition, Racial Characteristics. — The present establishment of the 1st Yemen Infantry is 402 combatant Arab ranks. There are fourteen Arab officers and ten British officers. The three companies are approximately one hundred and twenty strong; there is also a headquarter company. The organisation is based on similar lines to that of Indian infantry. The terms of service and rates are exactly the same as for Indian regiments. Arabs from practically all the tribes of South-West Arabia to as far north as San'a are represented in the regiment; about one-third of them are Zeidis and the remainder Shafais. Where practicable and expedient sections and platoons are made up from men of the same tribe, with a sprinkling of N.C.O.'s from other tribes, which, from the disciplinary standpoint, is both desirable and beneficial. By this method of placing tribes together, *esprit de corps* and a healthy spirit of rivalry is automatically established.

The Arab of the Yemen is an amazingly good fellow. In temperament and disposition he as nearly approaches the British Tommy as the Gurkha of India. He is exceedingly amenable to discipline, and most exacting in carrying out orders by superior officers, provided such orders are carefully explained to him. Orientals more captivating it would be impossible to meet; they are ever ready to see the humorous side of a situation, and enjoy a joke thoroughly.

The Arabs of this part of Arabia are of small build, but sturdy and handsome. Their physique is excellent and develops to perfection under military training. They are capable of great powers of endurance. The majority of the men are exceedingly good at sports and games. Within the writer's experience they have never been beaten in long-distance running, although competing with men of other non-European regiments twice their size and of magnificent physique. The regiment has an excellent football team; matches with other units as well as inter-regimental games are played regularly. The Arab is exceedingly fond of the British system of physical training. All words of command on all parades are given in English, at which the Arab officers and N.C.O.'s are exceedingly good.

Education is an integral part of the system of training, and the

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men are amazingly swift to learn. Very few of them could read or write when they enrolled. Colonel Lake started a Regimental School, and made it compulsory for all N.C.O.'s to attend, but voluntary for the men. In an incredible short time they obtained first, second, and third class certifices of education. There is not now an N.C.O. in the regiment who cannot read and write and do simple arithmetic. A large percentage of the men have also obtained these certificates of education. The regimental signallers, too, are most extraordinarily good. Their efficiency at lamp, helio, buzzer, and flag is amazing. They all pass the annual standard signalling test laid down for first-class Army signallers. Entire credit for this wonderful performance is due to Colonel Lake, who raised and trained, and still trains, the signallers, in addition to his other arduous duties as Commandant. The regiment has no signalling officer on the establishment.

The men are equipped with the S.M.L.E. rifle, and during the musketry year 1923-1924 were not far short of averaging first-class shots—a very remarkable performance. In drill and manœvre they are as good as the average Indian unit, and it is unfortunate that garrison duty in the Red Sea has deprived them from attaining that highest standard of perfection which they could and would attain if only the authorities would give them the opportunity.

3. Political Significance.—The 1st Yemen Infantry is the finest political asset that the Government has in South-West Arabia to-day. The British administration of the Aden Protectorate is carried out from the Residency in Aden. There are no political officers in the Hinterland, and no organization adequate to deal with the obligations of a great nation which assumes the responsibilities of a protector. Since the expulsion of the Turks from Yemen, the moral responsibilities of the protectorate have increased still further. The 1st Yemen Infantry is representive of all parts of the protectorate and beyond. It is the "House of Commons" of South-West Arabia. Through the Arab officers and men of the 1st Yemen Infantry the Government can get the opinions, wishes and desires of the Arab people in that part of Arabia, as distinct from the opinions and wishes of the sheiks and potentates, who are too often inspired by selfish motives, rather than the interests of the tribes over whom they rule. Through the agency of the regiment, news of the justice and excellence of British administration is permeated throughout South-West Arabia. Men proceeding on leave—and the Arab is a great talker—convey to their tribes the advantages that are accrued from living under the British flag, and are able to show the practical benefits derived, in the shape of "reals" (Mexican dollars, the currency of the country) which they have accumulated under the "Daula" (Government). News travels swiftly in the East—in spite of the lack of modern communications—and whatever intrigue or unrest there is going on

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up-country is at once known in the regiment. There is no reason to doubt that the validity of such news is quite as good, and probably better, than that brought in by the accredited agents of the local administration. Not long ago the movements and possible designs of the armies of the Imam of San'a, near the protectorate border, caused a great deal of anxiety in Aden political circles. It would not be saying too much to state that the dispositions and strengths of the Imam's troops, and the probable intentions of his lieutenants, were just as accurately known in the 1st Yemen Infantry as in the Residency Office.

4. MILITARY POSSIBILITIES.—From the military standpoint the advantages of the regiment are many. Owing to the local knowledge of the country which the men possess, it could be used with great success on all kinds of intelligence, scouting, and reconnaissance work, in the event of any hostile designs on the La Hedj Oasis. With a little careful and systematic planning it could be used with certain success to frustrate *and* punish the raiders who on occasion—and not infrequently—hold up the camel routes within the protectorate. In spite of its small numbers, the regiment would give a very good account of itself against any enemy forces with whom it would be likely to come into contact, owing to its superior equipment, training, and leadership.

The idea prevalent in some quarters that Arabs will not fight Arabs is erroneous. Some of the tribes represented in the 1st Yemen Infantry are continually at war with one another up-country, though this makes no difference to their behaviour in the regiment. Colonel Lake, the Commanding Officer, is the only person whose opinion is worth consideration on a question of this nature, and he has no doubts at all as to exactly how his regiment would act if called upon.

Secondly, and of equal importance from the military standpoint, is the fact that should the necessity arise the 1st Yemen Infantry could be used as a nucleus for the raising and training of other Arab battalions for service in any part of the world where they might be required. There is not the slightest doubt about getting the men if they were wanted. The Arab of South-West Arabia is a soldier from birth, and he would flock to the British flag in thousands. He likes soldiering, especially under the British Government, where he draws good pay and rations.

It is to be hoped that the military authorities are not considering the probable disbandment of the 1st Yemen Infantry on economic grounds. The total cost of the regiment, including the pay of the British personnel, is approximately £30,000 per annum, or about a third of the cost of a British unit, and far cheaper than an Indian unit, on the present establishment. There is no doubt that the disbandment of the regiment might be the cause of a great deal of unrest

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in that part of Arabia, and might have political consequences of a far-reaching nature. The prestige of the British, which was not held in very high esteem by the Arabs during the operations of the Turks in the protectorate, would suffer very severely. It would not be an economy if the cost of the regiment had to be paid away in stipends to keep the tribes quiet, nor would it be an economy if the strength of the Aden garrison had to be increased because the tribes would not keep quiet. The position of the 1st Yemen Infantry is unique. No regiment of a similar nature has attained such a standard of military efficiency in so short a time, or been such a political success

It would not be fitting to conclude this summary of a great achievement without a further reference to Lieutenant-Colonel M. C. Lake, the Commanding Officer. There are two men in that vast corner of Arabia who by their untiring devotion to duty, and in the interests of their country, have earned the love, respect, gratitude and trust of the Arabs. They are Colonel H. F. Jacob, C.S.I., and Lieutenant-Colonel M. C. Lake. Their names are household words in the Yemen and beyond. They indeed deserve well of their country. Only those who have served with the regiment, or been intimately connected with it, can appreciate the vast amount of labour and patience that has been expended by Colonel Lake and his little band of enthusiastic British officers in making the regiment the success that it undoubtedly is. Let us hope and trust that this magnificent example of British mastery of an alien race be not cast aside and thrown away by those political and military advisors who, whilst striving their utmost to meet the needs of economy within the Empire, have not had the opportunity of sufficiently studying its possibilities to realize its military and political significance.

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SOME ALLIED MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1918–1920

"*Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse*"*

THIS book will interest many outside the limited circle of those who have served with the author, and thus learned to know and appreciate him. Besides a brief but vivid impression of the importance through the ages of the area in which Europe meets Asia between the Black Sea and Caspian, a well-told story is given of events between 1918 and 1922. The wider interest lies, however, in the statement and analysis of the aims and actions of all the parties concerned. While we must reject many of the assertions made by M. Poidebard as to British policy, its objects and its failures, it is of the greatest interest to read for the first time an exposition of French views on the Near East during and since the War.

The history of Europe and Asia centres so much round Transcaucasia and Northern Persia that M. Poidebard sees an embryo world movement in every incident in this ever seething cauldron. All the great conquerors passed that way; it would seem as though the author cannot get away from the idea that no body of troops can ever go there except to form the spear-head of an immense campaign.

Russian developments both southwards against Turkey and Persia and eastwards towards India during the past century have not been pacific in intention or effect. We cannot, however, accept it that Germany also planned an invasion of India via the Caucasus in 1918, and the statement that England wanted to retain the Caucasus after the Armistice must be flatly contradicted.

Germany knows something of the "Hammer blow" and how to administer it, the conquests of Belgium, Serbia and Roumania, also Caporetto, all showed their technique; in March, 1918, we ourselves had a taste of it on the Western Front. Yet Von Kress and his Bavarian Division reached Tiflis, M. Poidebard tells us, in April, 1918, and could have been there sooner. Nuri blundered into Baku only in September, not the best time of year for invading India from the north. He was delayed by Georgian objections to the use by his troops of the Georgian portion of the railway. The German garrison already in occupation in Tiflis upheld these objections and thus were

* By A. Poidebard. (Georges Criés et Cie, Paris. 4s. net.)

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a party to the delay in assembling their own side. The Turks in moving on Baku had to march from Alexandropol to Elisavetpol, a week at least over very bad mountainous roads instead of twenty-four hours in the train. No effort was made to reach, much less organize, the 100,000 Austrian prisoners in Transcaspia, who, the author states, were to have been an important ingredient in the expedition. It may be remarked in passing that the suggestion of thus using Austrian subject races, who had become prisoners of war chiefly because they had no heart in fighting in Europe for Germany, is very hard to accept. Under German and Turkish officers would they have been worth their rations in Central Asia?

The whole plan is very unlike the German. Ludendorff has said that he sent troops to the Caucasus to get the oil, and there is no reason why he should not be believed. Certainly Von Kress busied himself while in Tiflis more about manganese and tobacco than he did about invading India; clever propaganda was as far as he went in that direction. The incessant friction between him and Nuri Pasha, commanding the Turkish Caucasian Army, could not have been a preliminary to a joint offensive; our enemies had quarrelled far too deeply over the "Yilderim" Army and the campaign to recapture Baghdad in the previous autumn for them to co-operate anywhere in 1918.

The author also is very certain that General Dunsterville in Northern Persia in the summer of 1918 received less than his due of support from General Headquarters Baghdad, and that after the Armistice England needed the Caucasus for herself. In other words, while there was a danger to India the British did not realize it; when the danger was past the Caucasus must be seized and held to protect India. We have at times, as a nation, shut the stable-door somewhat late, but is there not in this instance a more reasonable explanation than just our habitual dilatoriness?

In considering German motives and actions we are, equally with M. Poidebard, dealing with matters to some extent of surmise; when, however, we now come to British policy the advantage is with us, just as we readily accept the author's authority to state the French view. General Dunsterville has stated his instructions. If he and his posse of instructors had reached Tiflis and had organized a defensive front, in replâcement of the crumbling Russian armies, against Turkish and German invasion in the spring of 1918, a most useful service to the Allied cause would have resulted. But he was forestalled.

Under these circumstances no useful purpose could be served by pushing British troops into famine-stricken Northern Persia; to remain in observation and make a metalled road, thus bringing the Caspian within four days by motor of Baghdad, was not an unwise course to

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adopt. In short, it was not the gallant little force with which M. Poidebard served on the Tehran-Tabriz road in the autumn of 1918 which saved the Persian capital from Turkish occupation, it was Allenby's destruction of the main Turkish army in Palestine; it was not the closing of any door in Asia which protected India, it was the defeat of our enemies in the main theatres of war.

In the very early days Kitchener in a famous message reminded the Government of India that India would be retained or lost on the battlefields of Europe; this cardinal principle remained and India sent a noble quota overseas to share in the great struggle. It is true that at times sideshows and ways round entranced the men of vision, but only in a nightmare could India be lost or won in Transcaucasia. After victory it would indeed be an astonishing performance to hold the Caucasus as a doorway to India against a defeated enemy; even if you add the Bolshevists to the latter, as M. Poidebard does, it only makes the idea the more astonishing, as the Orenburg-Tashkent Railway is then in their hands, a side entrance equally as valuable as the one you so carefully close in the Transcaucasian corridor.

At no time does Great Britain desire a land frontier in Europe, yet holding the Caucasus she would find herself sandwiched between two powers, Russia and Turkey, who both consider the Caucasus vital to them. Russia must have the oil for herself, while to Turkey, apart from the large Mussulman majority in the population, the Caucasus is a vital link in all schemes, whether pan-Islamic or Pan-Turanian in origin. Russia used to have two army corps always mobilized and at war strength, with their Headquarters at Tiflis. We should have two hostile frontiers instead of their one, each 600 miles long, in mountainous country, and unless we were to hold the Dardanelles and North Persia as well there would be the certainty, in war, of being cut off. How could the peace time British Army attempt such a commitment? It cannot be accepted for a moment that Great Britain sent troops to the Caucasus for any other purposes save to enforce the evacuation of the Turkish Army and await the decision of the Peace Conference. M. Poidebard must have thought his British colleagues doubly dyed with original perfidy when he recollects how they daily exhorted the three Republican Governments, from November, 1918, onwards, to put their house in order, as the British had a home of their own to which they would shortly return; he must also have thought the British commanders singularly stupid, for instead of making themselves indispensable they rid themselves at the earliest possible moment of such vital matters as food control, transportation, finance, and civil government generally in spite of the protests of the infant but already squabbling Republics. When the last Turk left Batoum, the British troops were ready to follow. Moreover the Italians promised to take over the Caucasus

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in May, 1919, but were prevented from doing so by events at home. The operations in Kars and Nakhitchevan provinces undertaken in April, 1919, were, in point of fact, a preliminary to British evacuation. M. Poidebard sees in them some sinister scheme for increasing our hold.

It is on such premises as these that the author builds up an edifice which is to us as surprising in its immensity as for the insecurity of its foundations.

It is declared that after the armistice England had a Pan-Islamic policy in which the King of the Hedjaz was to be Khalifa, dancing to the piping of London. To carry this out England must be alone in control in Constantinople and to rule Syria, Cilicia, Turkey in Asia and Mosul. Turkey must become a British dependency. All this at a time when we were loosening our hold both in India and in Egypt—under duress, so our critics do not fail to assert. In the name of common sense, would we be likely to simultaneously expand our control and responsibilities in countries in no way vital to us?

In the light of these statements it becomes clear that French and British policies in the past five years could not be otherwise than divergent. M. Poidebard concludes his book by forecasting that Russia and Turkey must resume their hostility in the Caucasus; that indeed seems most probable. Russia will never tolerate Turkey in possession of Kars, the great fortress of the southern approach; Turkey will never forget that Caucasia is predominantly Mussulman and the focus of Turki-speaking peoples. So far we agree. M. Poidebard says France and Turkey must in the future be friends. Again we agree. But when he asserts that the Pan-Islam movement, in alliance with the Bolshevists, is essentially directed against Great Britain, we cannot follow him. It takes two to make a quarrel, and what have we to fall out with Turkey or Persia or Afghanistan about? On the contrary, there is every reason why Islam should draw away from Russia and be friendly with Britain and with France at the same time. Surely it is not inevitable that we and our Allies should always be peeping mistrustfully through the opposite ends of the telescope.

A generation ago France and England worked against each other all over the African continent; rivalry in Egypt, the Nile valley, and Abyssinia culminated in the Fashoda crisis. No two men fought more strenuously for their countries at that time than the late M. Delcassé and Lord Cromer. Yet a few years later these same protagonists were the first to realize that Africa was big enough for us both and led the way to a rapprochement not only in African but in world affairs. Is it not possible that if the present misunderstandings in the Near and Middle East could be dissipated, history might repeat itself and statesmen be forthcoming to grasp the opportunity?

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KALÁT-I-NÁDIRI

On June 19, 1885, I left the Afghan Boundary Commission near Herat and started to return to India, travelling via Mashhad and the north of Persia, the Caspian, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea to Constantinople. During that journey I wrote and despatched one or two articles to the *Daily Telegraph* via India, and one or possibly two from Constantinople. I propose to reproduce here the one which described my visit to Kalát-i-Nádiri. I have never come across any properly prepared plan of that remarkable natural fortress, and all that I brought away in 1885 was a sort of bird's-eye view taken from some high point within the fortress, adding such names as the guide who was with me indicated. This little " sketch " I inserted in the corner of the map which accompanied my " Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission," which Messrs. Blackwood and Son edited and published for me. I myself, while engaged in preparing this book for the Press, was sent off from Simla to join my regiment in Burma (the Burmese War was then going on), and I at once packed off all my material to Edinburgh, where, in the able hands of Mr. Alexander Allardyce as editor, it appeared in book form. My description of Kalát-i-Nádiri was, however, omitted.

The most carefully drawn up description of this fortress that exists is, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, that given by the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston in vol. i., chap. vi. of his " Persia." Note 1 on p. 123 of that volume names the five Englishmen who had visited it prior to Mr. Curzon's own arrival in 1886. He arrived to find it closed to foreigners. It was not seemingly till 1905 that any other Englishman obtained permission to visit. Major P. M. Sykes was there in September, 1905, and published his account of it in the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal* for December, 1906. In May, 1919, Colonel J. K. Tod and Major L. V. S. Blacker, both of the Indian Army, visited it, and in the *Geographical Journal* of November, 1923, appears Colonel Tod's account, illustrated with photographs and drawings. Major Blacker in his lecture to the Central Asian Society on November 10, 1921, briefly pictures it as " a natural perimeter of some fifty miles of 1,000-foot cliffs, inaccessible even to goats. Four or five narrow gorges or rough tracks give access to the interior, which we were able to photograph." We would like to see those photographs. The Arghawán Shah gate is reproduced in Curzon's " Persia," as he and I found it in 1886 and 1885 respec-

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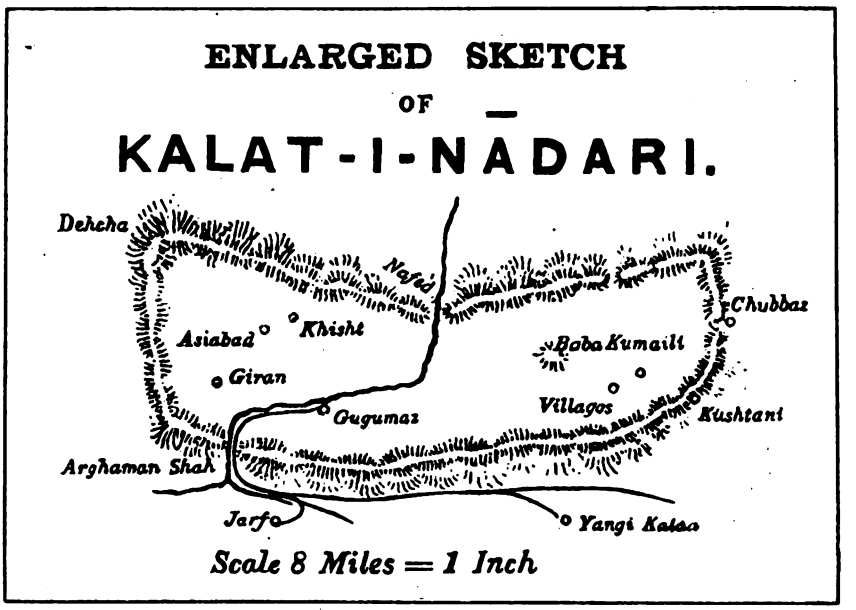

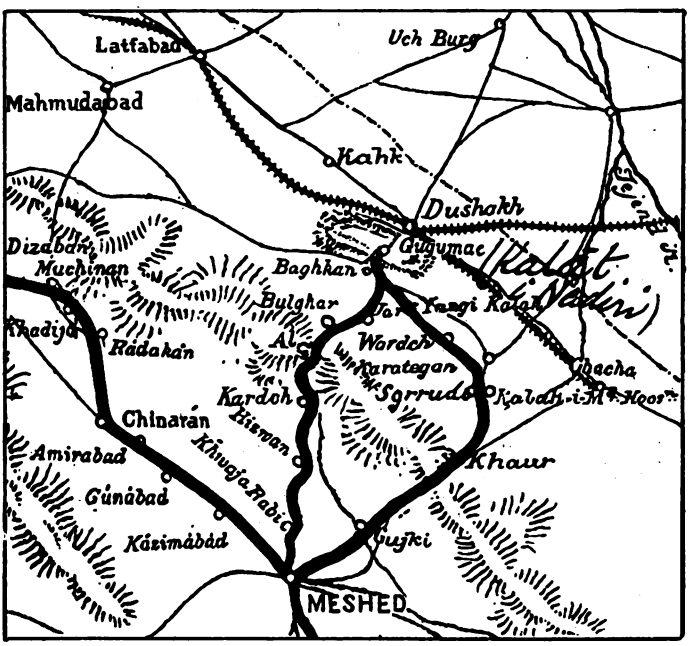

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tively, and as MacGregor found it in 1875. Colonel Tod states that the defences which we severally saw were all swept away in a flood, probably in the year 1905. The illustrations in MacGregor's "Khorasan" are useful, the more so as he gives the only known sketch of the Nafta entrance on the north side of the perimeter.

With these preliminary remarks I will pass on to my account of Kalát-i-Nádiri, which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of August 27, 1885.

The Fortress of Kalát

On the evening of June 29, I made an effort to start from Mashhad on my journey to Astrabad. My one and only servant, however, by getting disgustingly intoxicated, effectually defeated all my plans. Unfortunately for me, his intoxication did not assume the comatose form until after I had passed through the Naughan, or north gate, of Mashhad just at sunset when all the gates are closed for the night. Half an hour later I found myself standing in the dark on an unknown road, alone with two ponies, two pairs of saddle-bags, and a servant dead drunk. Shortly afterwards two villagers on their way home came up. With some persuasion, verbal and pecuniary, I induced them to take the drunkard with his pony and saddle-bags to their village, and look after them for the night. I then returned to the Naughan Gate, found it closed, and then for the first time ascertained that my mules, which I had sent on ahead, were still, for some inexplicable reason, within the city. On the roof of an adjacent dwelling outside the gate I passed a night that, what with mental irritation, bodily discomfort, and those parasites which infest all low-class Persian dwellings, proved an utterly sleepless one. At day-break the gate was opened. Having sent one muleteer to find and bring back my servant, and ordered the others to load up and bring back my baggage to Mr. Gray's house, I returned thither myself. A few hours later I received a note from Mr. Finn, the British Consul, just returned from a trip with Dr. Weir round by Sarakhs and Kalát, asking me to wait and march with him to Astrabad. Having seen him in the evening, I decided to visit Kalát and return thence to Mashhad. On July 1 I effected a successful start, and by evening found myself encamped at Rizwan, twenty miles north of the city. From the village of Andurugh, two or three miles beyond Rizwan, the Kalát road commences to assume that rough and rugged character which attains its climax in the Dahana-i-Zaupirzan (Old Woman's Gorge) and at the Dewa Boini (Camel's Neck) Kotal. The latter I trust never to see again. On its south side the narrow track, after winding for some two miles along the steep face of the Dewa Boini Range, arrives at the foot of an almost perpendicular mass of rock about 100 feet or 150 feet high. Along its face a steep winding

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path has been constructed. In ascending it half my mules fell down or dropped their loads, which had then to be carried to the top and there reloaded. However, all's well that ends well. It took my mules fully an hour to get to the top of that little 100-foot scarp. On the north side a long, very steep, and in places rocky track descends into the Wardeh Valley. The mules did not think much of it after their experiences on the south side. There is a certain grandeur in the wild scenery of this mountain region. The numerous passes with their cliffs towering overhead and the limpid waters of a rapid rivulet underfoot combine into a simple beauty. The vegetation—wild roses, honeysuckle, convolvulus, wild thyme, and, what is so rare in the East, luxuriant grass and clover—reminds the English traveller pleasingly of his own native country. At the higher elevations the steep slopes and scarps are overgrown with junipers of somewhat dwarf stature. Several striking views are obtained along this route; firstly, of the broad fertile plain of Mashhad from the hills overhanging Rizwan. Such a view, both over the valley of the Keshef Rud itself and over the neighbouring spurs and minor basins (which are all cultivated), gives one some conception of the fertility and productiveness of this district. Secondly, one gets a fine prospect from the Mirza Kashti range north of Baghkan down a wild precipitous gorge to the lofty natural walls of Kalát overhanging the Darwaza-i-Arghawan Shah.

The entire distance from Mashhad to Kalát is about eighty-three miles. Leaving the Naughan Gate, the road at the fourth mile passes the picturesque mosque, or tomb, of Khwaja Rabi, lying embosomed in magnificent chinar-trees. Thence to Rizwan (twenty miles) the only thing that attracts the attention is the great fertility of the country and the picturesque appearance of every village lying embedded in a large area of orchards and gardens. In the distance, to the north, loom the lofty mountains which have as yet proved a barrier to Russian acquisitiveness. Nearer to the east stands the striking rocky height of Izhdarkuh (Drachen-fels). From Rizwan the road passes through the Andurugh Pass to Kardeh (thirty-one miles), and thence through another defile to Al (thirty-six miles). Al is an uncommonly pretty village situated amid shady orchards and ripening cornfields, and overhung by stupendous cliffs. It boasts a couple of chinar-trees that might well vie with those that adorn the great avenue of Isfahan. On the summit of the cliffs overhead, I was informed, are the ruins of a town or fortress of the ancient Persians (*Gabr*, Anglicé *Guebres*), and in passing through the Dahana-i-Al (Al Pass) the remains of masonry are seen in several places on the sides of the cliff. These are said to be the relics of the road or roads by which the Gabr obtained access to their stronghold. I should doubt if such was the case, because I noticed there are other

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natural and easy means of access to the summit. A mile or two farther on may be seen on the right hand side of, and twenty or thirty feet above, the path a large boulder, the face of which, having been smoothed, bears an Arabic inscription. I was unable to ascertain the meaning of it. Opposite this boulder is a striking work of nature, called the Kuh-i-Panjmana, or the Five-Maund Mountain.* This little trifle consists of a great precipitous promontory of solid rock, a sheer drop of about 500 feet, more properly, perched on the top of, say, 1,000 feet of bare steep slope. Of course, it has a legend. Once upon a time there came hither a mighty monarch, attended by a numerous retinue. When the monarch saw this curious promontory of rock, he turned to one of his courtiers and directed him to go up and weigh it. "Certainly," said the courtier, "if your Majesty will be pleased to provide me with the scales." So it was called the "Five-Maund [about 35 pounds] Mountain," just as we talk of London as the "little village," or the 81-ton gun as the "Woolwich Infant." The next village beyond Al, on or near the direct road to Kalát (there are numbers of villages in the adjacent valleys) is Bulghar (forty-seven miles). Thence to Wardeh is the tug-of-war for the mules. First comes the Dahana-i-Zaupirzan (this too has its legend, but it is not quite suited to the pages of the Central Asian Society's *Journal*), four miles of rocky gorge. In some places the perpendicular walls of rock are only seven to eight feet apart; in others the channel of the stream, which often is the only possible road, is strewn with stones and boulders, or composed of water-worn slippery rock. The crowning task is the Dewa Boini Kotal, and that I have already described. Beyond it are passed the villages of Wardeh (sixty-one miles) and Baghkan (sixty-four miles). From Baghkan the road traverses two successive gorges—charming enough in their way, but not exactly as easy as a king's highroad should be—and at the seventy-ninth mile the entrance to Kalát, known as Darwaza-i-Arghawan Shah, is reached. From there to the village of Gugumaz, where the *Sartip*, or Commandant, resides within the fortress, is four miles. Total, eighty-three miles.

In passing through this country the traveller meets with every civility from the inhabitants, who are almost all of Turkish or Kurdish race, and speak those languages. Their manners are somewhat rough and familiar, but they are none the less obliging. In every village I obtained without any difficulty milk, eggs, mutton, chickens, etc., for self and servants, and barley and dry fodder for my horse and the mules. Now I have in India come across villages where the inhabitants, from sheer pig-headed ill-will, refused to sell any thing whatever. I was also pleased to find that these people were

* Colonel Tod in the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal* for November, 1923, gives a picture of it.

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not possessed of a large bump of curiosity. It is decidedly annoying, when you want to dress, bathe, dine, breakfast, read, write, or do anything else for which privacy is desirable, to find the door of your humble 80-pound tent besieged by a dirty crowd of all ages, but not sexes. Women hereabouts are supposed to wish neither to see nor to be seen. The Turk and Kurd peasantry of this mountain tract are by no means well to do, although they cultivate with most exemplary industry not only every square foot of their narrow valleys, but also the tops and slopes of every open hill blessed with soil fit for cultivation. The hill soil, being dependent on rain alone, is known as *daima*. Barley is generally grown on it. The yield naturally depends on the rainfall, but taken all round is poor. Land watered by natural streams is called in Persia *zamin-i-khálisa* or *Padshahi* (Crown lands). Land watered by *karez** (artificial subterraneous channel tapping a spring at the foot of a hill) is called *zamin-i-máliki* (private property). The former pays a higher tax than the latter. I believe that no tax at all is exacted on *daima*, the yield being poor, and rain being regarded as the gift of God, common to all. My guide, himself a small Kurd chief from Charam, near Kalát, said: "We are like sheep-dogs who guard a flock, and who for their pains get naught but a few bare bones. It is the shepherd or owner who reaps all the profits. But for us the Turcomans would long ago have laid waste Mashhad and its fertile neighbourhood. It is we who have held the Turcomans in check, while others have sat in peace and amassed wealth." My guide himself had been a prisoner at Bokhara, having been captured by Tekes and sold for fifty tomans (about £17). After nine months he escaped on foot from Bokhara, having first killed his master's son, who seemingly stood in the way of his escape, and found his way in the garb of a darwish to Karki on the Oxus, and then through Maimena and Balamurghab to Persia. Two of his brothers, he tells me, are still there. They were released from slavery by the Russians, but having married in Bokhara, elected to remain there. What struck me most in my guide's allusions to the good old days of the Alamán, or Turcoman raids, was that he evidently regarded it as a perfectly fair give-and-take sort of business. He said, "We used to raid on them and they used to raid on us. Prisoners were taken on both sides, and were exchanged in due course. For a man of wealth or position, two or three men of the lower classes would be given." He spoke with no expressions of bitterness against the Turcomans. He evidently considered that he had given as good as he took. The fear of the Turcoman that pervades the baser grades of Persians—than whom none are, perhaps, lower than the inferior classes in Mashhad, Teheran, etc.—evidently finds no echo in the hearts of these highlanders. Such Turks and

* Persicé *Kanát*.

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Kurds are the men in whom the Shah might find excellent material for an army, if he would but put down embezzlement with a strong hand and establish a competent system of supervision over all departments and grades of his army. He allows from 10,000 to 15,000 tomans per annum to the colonel of each regiment of infantry for its pay, uniform, etc. Half of that sum, perhaps, is embezzled. The paper strength of a regiment is 1,000 rank and file. The real strength is, perhaps, 500. If the colonel is threatened with an inspection of his regiment, he has previously arranged for temporarily placing the required number of men in the ranks. This is known and tolerated by the Shah and by his third son, Naib-us-Sultana, who is War Minister, with the title of Amir-i-Kabir; and so long as it lasts the Persian army will remain inefficient. The sons of men of rank in Persia are promoted while still in their infancy or boyhood to the grade of major or colonel. As is well known, the same thing went on in Great Britain in the eighteenth century. "The major crying for his parritch" is an echo from the Scotch nursery of that period. Later on, perhaps, they attend *L'École d'État Majeur* in Teheran, where they receive instruction in tactics, geometry, mathematics, military drawing, the use of artillery, etc., and are then given the command of a regiment. Such is the case of the Sartip Abdullah Khan here (Kalát-i-Nádiri). His father before him was a soldier, and, it appears, one of the most noted Persian generals during the reigns of the present Shah and his predecessor Mohammed Shah. He attained the rank of Amir-i-Toman (practically equivalent to a general of division, but relatively greater in Persia), and to the title of I'timád-ud-Daula. At the age of thirteen the son was granted the rank of sarhang, or colonel, and later on attended the Staff College at Teheran, where, he tells me, he highly distinguished himself. He then obtained the command of the Fauj-i-fadawi, or Hamadáni Regiment, which is composed mainly of peasantry from his own estates. He is a Turk of the tribe of Karaguzlu. He has now—and he is still a young man of thirty or so, I should say—attained the rank of Sartip-i-Awwal, or first-class brigadier. Such is the career of a man with interest. He now draws a salary of 4,000 tomans (£1,333), and an income of double that amount from his estates at Hamadan. He was apparently born with the proverbial silver spoon. But for a man without interest there is little hope of promotion. He may attain the rank of Naib, Sultan, or Yáwar (lieutenant, captain, or major), and remain in that rank until he is placed on the shelf.

It was last year (1884) about this time, I am informed, that the Persian Commissioner for the settlement of the Russo-Persian frontier, Sulaiman Khan, accompanied by his Russian confrère, arrived here. The commandant, pursuant to the instructions given him by the Shah, refused to let them enter the fortress. They were conse-

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quently obliged to communicate by telegraph via Mashhad with Teheran; and it was only when the Shah's express order arrived that the Commissioners and their suites were allowed to enter. The Shah's order is that no one be allowed to enter or leave Kalát without the permission either of the Shah himself or of the commandant. After staying here some days, the Persian and Russian Commissioners, who had already settled the frontier from Sarakhs to Kalát, continued their work westward, and have now, I understand, completed it to the east shore of the Caspian. As one result of this new frontier settlement the whole of the Atak, up to the foot of the northern spurs of Kalát, and so as to place in Russian possession the road from Ashkabad, through a fertile, inhabited, and well-watered district to Sarakhs, has been ceded to Russia. Lutfabad, though still Persian territory, is cut off from Kalát by intervening Russian territory. The peasantry here are very bitter on the subject of this cession of the fertile Atak to Russia. But what could the poor Shah do? What the frontier is from Ashkabad to the Caspian I cannot yet say, but I believe it to be approximately represented by the Atrek River. Another outcome of this rectification of the frontier is the stoppage of rice cultivation among these mountains. The Russians, having obtained the whole of the Atak, found that its fertility depended solely on the water supply from the mountains. If the mountaineers cultivated rice the supply was sensibly diminished. So the Russian Government reapplied the screw to the Shah, and the latter ordered the mountaineers to stop cultivating rice. He impoverishes his own subjects to benefit aliens. The people here are very indignant about it.

This afternoon I rode out accompanied by a *yáwar*, or major, of the Hamadáni regiment to Khisht, a village about four and a half miles north of Gugumaz. The whole of the interior of Kalát consists of a confusion of lofty abrupt spurs, of which the highest points are Baba Kumaili, some ten miles south-east of Gugumaz, and a nameless eminence a mile north of Khisht overhanging the northern wall. In a locality of such rugged configuration the roads, on which the Government has certainly not thought fit to expend any money, are of the roughest kind, mere foot tracks winding along the face of almost precipitous slopes. Anyone who desires a better road must go a longish way round to find it. The Persians are proud of this unique fortress, and yet they take no pains and go to no expense to insure its impregnability. The five entrances to it (the circumference of this mighty wall is said to be eighteen farsakhs—about sixty miles—and the average height above the immediately adjacent country I should estimate at 500 or 600 feet) should be connected by fairly good roads permitting of the rapid movement of troops from the central camp or cantonment to any point. As for the defences of the

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Arghawan Shah Gate, they are simply pitiable, and I conclude that the defences of the other four gates, although I did not see them, are equally feeble. The garrison of 500 infantry, 200 cavalry, and some guns of sorts is utterly inadequate. At each gate two to four guns are placed behind walls of no great strength, in some position supposed to command the entrance. With regard to the position selected for the guns at the Arghawan Shah Gate, it appeared to me that their fire would only take effect on an enemy already within the entrance, instead of commanding and closing the entrance itself. As for the miserable little loopholed gateway drawn across the entrance, a baron of the mediæval ages would have been ashamed to see such a structure closing access to his feudal stronghold. Here you have a channel, say, 40 to 50 feet wide between lofty walls of rock. What should be done is to make loopholed galleries in the rocky walls themselves, besides a succession of adequate defensible barriers to assault. There must always be an arrangement admitting of the passage of the stream when in flood. But when the stream is in flood an enemy could scarcely make an assault; and when the flood abates the channel of water escape can be closed. Yesterday (July 4, 1885) evening the *Sartip's* Nazir, or house steward (I had sent in my letter of introduction given me by Mirza Abbas Khan, the British Agent in Mashhad, about midday), came out and brought me the *Sartip's* invitation to be his guest during my stay. As I rode with him through the winding rocky channel, about half a mile in length, known as the Darwaza-i-Arghawan Shah, he pointed out to me, in that braggadocio manner characteristic of too many Persians, the miserable defences meant to bid defiance to the invader. Now as a matter of fact, Kalát in the hands of an able and energetic Government might be made a terrible thorn in the side of Russia. Fortify impregnably its five entrances, put into it a garrison of, say, 5,000 infantry and at least five batteries with machine guns, place there a good well-filled arsenal, collect a reserve supply of provisions for one year, and some mule and pony transport, connect the five entrances by good broad level roads, or, better still, by a light tramway system, and then the place would be able not only to resist any assault, but also to effectively harass the Russian line of comunications between Ashkabad and Sarakhs, which is only distant some ten miles or so from the two northerly gates of Kalát, called Dehcha and Nafta. In order to prevent continued attacks from the Kalát garrison on every passing convoy or detachment it would be necessary to detach a considerable force to hold the garrison in check. Even then it would be impossible to watch each of the five issues. It would be a dangerous experiment to hazard even a strong force in the mountain defiles and fastnesses south of Kalát where every Kurd and Turk is an enemy. Consequently even if sorties from the Dehcha, or north-west, and Nafta,

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or north-east, Gates could be prevented, the Chubbaz and Kushtani Gates to the east and south-east, and the Arghawan Shah, to the south, will still be available. From these issues more distant points of the Ashkabad-Sarakhs road could be assailed before the forces opposite Dehcha and Nafta could afford any assistance. If all the entrances to Kalát, however, are like that of Arghawan Shah, it must be admitted that a sortie therefrom in the face of a fairly strong besieging force would be as impossible as a successful assault by the besiegers. But as I said above, I think the Kurds and Turks of these highlands would render the position of a besieging force in front of the Arghawan Shah Gate untenable. Whence would its supplies be drawn? Would they be brought in by these difficult mountain passes and gorges, in the face of swarms of mountaineers, rifles in hand? It would be an arduous task, liable to end in disaster. On the other hand, Ḳalát is more or less self-sustaining. Its principal water-supply is drawn from the copious stream that flows down from Jarf and Istakhsu, enters Kalát by the Arghawan Shah, and leaving it by the Nafta Gate runs away to fertilize the fields of Dushakh. To divert the course of this stream may be regarded as an impossibility, but supposing that the garrison of Kalát were to be deprived of it, they have still the internal resources of water-supply to fall back upon. These, however, to the best of my knowledge, are not as abundant as they might be. They consist of a large tank at Khisht constructed by Nadir, and of five small springs issuing from the soil, one each near Girau, Sirzar, Aghdash, Kulahzau, and the fifth some six miles east of Khisht. But this tank and the springs are only just enough for the wants of the villagers themselves, and could not possibly suffice for a large garrison as well. What, therefore, should be done now is to take immediate steps to provide an adequate internal reserve of water by artificial means. The actual existence of five natural springs proves that the interior of Kalát is not void of water-bearing strata. While on the subject of water, it may be mentioned that there are two medicinal springs in this neighbourhood, the one of which is looked upon by the natives as a valuable remedy for many diseases, and the other as a poison. The former is a hot sulphur spring near the Nafta Gate, called by the local peasantry Ab-i-Khwaja, or the holy man's water. Its products are taken medicinally, especially for skin diseases. In Mohammedan countries the priesthood appear to have early realized the capital, both pecuniary and religious, to be made out of a judicious use of these hot sulphur springs. Near them is invariably to be found a Ziarat, or the tomb of some saint of the Mohammedan Calendar, used as a resort for pilgrims. The gesture expressive of offence to the olfactory organ with which the *Sartip* spoke of the waters of Nafta carried my thoughts away forcibly to the pleasures of Harrogate. The second

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is at Istagshu, some eight miles up the Kalát stream from Arghawan Shah. This, as its waters are said to be red, I take to be an iron spring. The natives, however, aver that it is undeniably poisonous, and, mingling with the main stream, proves the cause of the fever, ague, and other diseases so prevalent at Kalát in the autumn. By others the unhealthiness of Kalát in the autumn is attributed to the moist vapours arising from the rice fields and to the consumption of water that has been used for irrigating the rice fields. Just outside the Darwaza-i-Arghawan Shah rises the Karazu spring, the excellent water of which was conveyed by Nadir in pipes to Gugumaz, four miles off. This useful work of sanitation has long been out of repair. It is one of the most interesting traces of Nadir's work here.

I had expected to find the interior of Kalát more fertile and more cultivated than it is. The narrow valley, extending from Arghawan Shah to below Gugumaz, is everywhere cultivated. The cultivation consists of rice, wheat, lucerne, vineyards, orchards, melon, and cucumber beds, etc. The level summits and gentler slopes of the spurs throughout the whole interior of the fortress are cultivated as *daima*, or rain land. Barley and wheat are produced in large quantities. Probably there are not less than twenty square miles of this cultivation inside Kalát. The people also cultivate and pasture their sheep in the valleys and mountain slopes immediately adjoining Kalát. I was surprised to see so few flocks grazing inside the fortress, and to find the grass as a rule so scant. Still the lucerne grown in the valley and the wheat and barley straw of the *daima* supplementing the natural grass growth of the hillsides should suffice for the support of a large number of animals. The local products of grain, rice, etc., would go a long way to support a garrison of 5,000 men.

CAMP OUTSIDE KALÁT, JULY 6, 1885

I cannot praise too highly the kindness and hospitality that I experienced at the hands of Sartip Abdullah Khan. I was lodged in a spacious tent, with every convenience, in the midst of his garden. I dined with him always, but owing to its being the Ramazan fast—during which Mohammedans of rank spend most of the day in sleep—I breakfasted alone. He could speak a little broken French, and as he evidently preferred talking that language, we generally conversed in it. The only thing I feel disposed to find fault with is that his cook would insist on trying to imitate European cooking. Some of his Persian dishes were excellent, but his *cuisine à l'Anglaise* was not palatable. I shall always look back with much pleasure to my short stay in Kalát-i-Nádiri.

As a matter of course, in Kalát-i-Nádiri the relics of Nadir are many. Firstly, there is the ingenious arrangement for conducting

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the Karazu water in pipes for four miles to Gugumaz. Secondly, in Gugumaz itself is the Makbara-i-Nádir,* or Nádir's tomb, built under Nádir's orders. Not that Nádir was buried there, although it is possible he may have intended that he should be. No one, I believe, knows where the peasant boy, who rose to be one of the greatest Oriental conquerors, lies buried—if, indeed, he was buried at all. In his latter days he made himself generally hated by his subjects, and he was assassinated by one or more of his own soldiers near Kuchan. Naturally his camp broke up at once, and his corpse was not improbably left to the dogs and vultures. His so-called tomb is a simple but not inelegant edifice of red sandstone. The central chamber, which was once domed—this dome has fallen in—is exactly like most Mohammedan tombs. It is encircled, however, by a number of small chambers, and below it is a very extensive cellar, which is not the case in most Mohammedan tombs. It is a semi-ruin now, and will be a complete ruin ere long. Not far from it stands a small *masjid*, completely encased in Kashi, or painted tiles. This is known as the Bulūt-gumbaz. On the red-coloured eminence two or three miles east of Gugumaz was Nádir's Nakkāra-khana. The Nakkāra-khana is the building in a city, or the spot in a camp from which are sounded reveillé, retreat, last post, etc., on drums and trumpets. Nádir's own usual residence was near Khisht, and its site (named Asiabad) is now indicated by some uninteresting remains of walls, etc. The water-tanks below Khisht are also due to him, and at a place called Buikuli, on the outer face of the southern wall, between Arghawan Shah and Kushtani, are to be seen the remains of a wall and tower constructed under his orders. Such is the sum total of all that remains here to remind the world of the once widespread fame of the great Nádir Shah.

From the height north of Khisht a fine view of the Atak is obtainable on a fine day. Yesterday it was very misty, and I could with difficulty make out the following places when indicated by my guide: North lay Aliabad, with Nurik, Tirmachin, Kahka, and Baward to the west, and Dushakh to the east of it. The Kalát stream issuing from the Nafta or north-east gate, flows away to Dushakh. Just below the eminence from which I viewed the Atak a footpath winds down the steep cliff and goes away to Aliabad. A guard is always posted to watch this pass. Between the north wall of Kalát and the Atak stretches a series of confused rugged spurs for six or seven miles.

I returned from Kalát to Mashhad by a circuitous route, to avoid Dewa Boini and the Zaopirzan Gully, and probably arrived back there on the 10th. I marched thence with Mr. Finn and Dr. Weir as far as Kuchan, and there saw the Khan, a famous character, with whom

* MacGregor and Tod give pictures of it.

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O'Donovan stayed on his way to Merv early in the eighties of the last century, and whose striking portrait Curzon's "Persia" gives. At Kuchan I decided to part from my fellow-countrymen. Their leisurely progress did not suit me. Only a weekly steamer left Bandar-i-Gaz for Baku, and I calculated that by forced marching I could catch the one due to start in about ten days. The same half-dozen of mules carried my kit from Mashhad to the Caspian, and I have calculated that those mules kept up an average of thirty-three miles a day for eleven days. The longest march was fifty, an all-night march. The heat was serious. I stopped a week at Tiflis and three weeks at Therapia, near Constantinople. I took the opportunity to swim the Bosphorus just opposite Therapia. I returned to Bombay by the Khedivial and P. and O. Lines.

A. C. YATE.

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RECENT EVENTS IN TURKISTAN

AFTER a long period of silence, several articles of great interest have appeared lately giving the story of recent events in Central Asia and Turkistan. In October the *Asiatic Review* published an account of Russian Turkistan since the Revolution and the attempt that is being made at the complete Russification of that province. The same periodical in its January number gives the first instalment of a paper on Bokhara during the last six years, and the United Service Institution of India in its January *Journal* has a series of Notes on the Middle East and Central Asia from April to August, 1923. After discussing Turkey and Persia and Great Britain's relations with both, the Notes go on to speak of Russian Turkistan as follows:

Interest (here) has centred entirely round the rebel operations in Bokhara and Ferghana and the concentration of Russian troops in those districts. The rebel movement in Bokhara had since Enver Pasha's death gradually lost strength in spite of the attempts of his successor, Haji Sami Bey, to instil new life into it; and the latter's control over the various rebel leaders had steadily decreased till in July he gave up his difficult task and crossed into Afghanistan. In Bokhara, as in Ferghana, however, the rebel attacks on Russian posts and communications have continued in varying measure.

"Early in May the Moscow Government decided to send additional troops to Turkistan, and in the same month Kameneff, the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, and Znamensky, head of the Red Air Force visited Tashkent and Bokhara. The arrival of fresh troops, which occurred simultaneously with their visit, and almost immediately after the presentation of the British note at Moscow, was announced as a measure connected with the hostile policy of Britain towards Russia. The size of the present concentration of troops in Bokhara certainly gives the impression of an intention on the Russian part to do something more than merely crush the local rebel movement. Seeing, however, that the plans for this concentration must have been matured before the presentation of the British note, the idea that it had any connection with this note can be dismissed at once. The distribution of the troops along the Central Asian Railway and the Oxus may point either to a concerted movement from north, west and south against the rebels in Eastern Bokhara, or equally to preparations for a threat to Afghanistan. On previous occasions the Russians, finding that the demands they had made to the Afghan Government through their Minister in Kabul were not complied with, have concentrated troops on the Afghan border and thus quickly brought the Amir to reason. But on the present occasion Russo-Afghan official relations are less unfriendly than usual, and, as far as can be ascertained, there were at the time the present concentration began no recent Russian demands with which the Afghan Government had failed to comply.

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"Moreover the strength of the concentration close to the Afghan border, amounting to some 75,000 rifles in all,* is comparatively insignificant compared with the numbers which would be required for a successful advance on Kabul. There is another factor too which militates against the likelihood of Russia invading Afghanistan at the present time. The Soviet Government has long proclaimed itself the "supporter of oppressed nations," the "emancipator of the East," and such like. Any attack by Russia on Afghanistan would give the lie to such protestations, already deeply mistrusted throughout Moslem countries. Setting aside, then, the possibility of Russia threatening to attack or actually attacking Afghanistan, there remains the conclusion that the present concentration in and around Bokhara is solely for the purpose of crushing once and for all the rebels in that area. The only argument against this conclusion is the size of the concentration for the task in hand; this, however, may be explained by the fact that the efficiency of the Red Army has not even yet reached a very high level, and it has probably been found by bitter experience that it is necessary to employ brigades where battalions of first-class troops would be sufficient.

"Despite the decrease in the strength of the rebels and their lack of cohesion it cannot be expected that, even with their present forces, the Russians will be able to crush them and restore order in Bokhara and Ferghana in any short period. The large area and mountainous nature of the country from which the rebels operate and to which they return after lightning raids on Russian communications and posts favour the defence, and although there is little likelihood of the rebels again becoming a serious menace to the Russian hold on Turkistan, it is unlikely that their strength will be entirely overcome during the campaigning season of the present year."†

The writer then sums up very shortly the position in Afghanistan, and gives his conclusions.

The three articles mentioned here have been added to the Library.

* The numbers given here are probably excessive.

† See *Morning Post* of February 15: "Recent reports from a usually well-informed private source in Moscow, which must, however, be taken with reserve, speak of a growing activity of anti-Soviet organizations in various parts of the Union of Soviet Republics.

"On January 22, it is stated, in the region of Blagovestchensk, in Eastern Siberia, a serious anti-Soviet rising, organized by General Sytcheff, unexpectedly broke out, embracing not only the town itself, but also the neighbouring villages of Ivanovsk Ilyinsk, and Lower Poltavka.

"At the same time very perturbing reports have been received in Moscow from Khiva, where, in the middle of January, a sudden revival of the activities of anti-Soviet guerrilla bands was noted. The well-known native rebel leader, Junaid Khan, whom the Bolshevist authorities have been trying unsuccessfully to run to earth for some time, is behind the affair. Khiva itself, it is stated, has been surrounded on all sides by the rebels, and direct telegraphic communication with Bokhara and Moscow is cut."

It is rather hard to describe Juniad Khan as a "rebel," as he is the rightful occupant of the throne of Khiva.

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REVIEWS

THE MYSTERY RIVERS OF TIBET. By Captain F. Kingdon Ward. Seeley, Service and Co. 21s. net.

The earth is shrinking apace, the time is fast approaching when there will be no new worlds for geographical Alexanders to conquer, but Captain Kingdon Ward may claim to have secured a place among Asiatic travellers before the record of their discoveries is finally closed.

The narrative introduces the reader to three of the mightiest rivers of Asia, the Yangtze Kiang, the Mekong, and the Salween, and therefrom originates a geographical wonder of the world, for at one point the three rivers flow within fifty miles of each other, the Mekong in the centre being twenty-eight miles from the Yangtze, and but twenty from the Salween. Much geographical research has been carried out in their upper waters, but the sources of all three still remain undetermined, and a wide field is thus open to further exploratory enterprise.

Generally speaking, Tibet is a sealed mystery, but it has grown a little more familiar in recent years, and in the area dealt with by the author he tells us much of the flora; he met with over two hundred varieties of trees, plants, and shrubs, and, incidentally, discovered a new specimen of perennial primulas, a beautiful chrome yellow *Primula pulvinata*. He also treats of the fauna, and it is interesting to note that, although the habitat of the monkey is essentially one embraced by a warm and equable climate, the author actually met with a variety of short-tailed monkeys in the mountains of the Mekong at a height of 10,000 feet.

The book contains many interesting sidelights upon the country passed through, and the habits and customs of unknown people met with. Tibet is, above all, the land of the lamas, and if the writer tells us nothing new regarding the religious fanaticism of the Tibetan monk, he emphasizes something of the hold the monastic orders have upon the country. The extent to which this fanaticism goes is frequently apparent, and the present reviewer, who has spent several years in Central Asia, recalls a practice formerly in vogue at an annual religious festival in a monastery of Northern Tibet. Large numbers of pilgrims gathered at the festival in question, and, on the gala day, huge cauldrons, nine feet or more in diameter and six

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or seven feet deep, were used to prepare soup for the pilgrims. It was the acme of religious devotion and piety on the part of aged lamas, and a fitting termination to their earthly existence, to plunge into the seething cauldrons, which act of self-sacrifice was received with due awe and reverence by the assembled crowd, the sequel thereto being the competition that ensued to secure a taste of the soup.

The religion of the lamas has undergone many changes since the days, five centuries before the birth of Christ, when Gautama Buddha first spread abroad the tenets of his belief and so founded the Buddhist faith. In the days of its inception it was more or less pure and undefiled, and the monasteries were the seats of learning and religion, but in the course of time their influence exerted an adverse effect upon the people, and the tyranny of the priests, and inequality of castes, to overcome which Buddha had striven, became reinstated. Moreover, quaint rites and sinister customs have crept in with the advance of time. In this connection the present reviewer came across a Buddhist tribe in Central Asia some years ago, whose spiritual and executive head on attaining the age of twenty-five years vanished from this world, and a new chief reigned in his stead, until in the fulness of time he, too, should be gathered unto his predecessors. The mode of his disappearance from mortal ken could not be definitely established, but, apparently, the end was brought about by means of a subtle poison. Of a truth, uneasy lies the head that wears a monastic crown in Tibet.

Apart from his contribution to our knowledge of this little-known corner of Asia, Captain Kingdon Ward supplies useful geographical information, and the number of photographic reproductions adds considerably to the interest of a book, which does credit to its author.

P. T. ETHERTON.

KINGS OF ARABIA. By H. F. Jacob, C.S.I. Mills and Boon, London, 1923. 12s. 6d. net.

Colonel Jacob's readable and interesting book suffers from possessing a title which it is unable adequately to fulfil. For, except for a few references to events in other parts of Arabia, it deals almost exclusively with the South-Eastern portion, known as the Yemen, and with the country on the Arabian side of the Red Sea littoral. It has, moreover, two great defects, in that it is in nature inconclusive, and that it badly requires both an index and a good map. Generally speaking, Colonel Jacob deals with two very important incidents in his career, that of the Anglo-Turkish Boundary Commission, 1902-1907; and that of the mission to the Imam of Ṣana in 1919, when the members of the mission suffered arrest and deten-

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tion at Bajil by the sheiks of Kuhra while on their journey inland from the coast. On both of these occasions he was the Political Officer to whom was entrusted the work of negotiation, and he writes with an intimate knowledge of all that took place. It is in their connection that the charge of " inconclusiveness " is made, for after reading the chapters dealing with them, the reader is quite unable to say what results it was desired to attain, and whether those results were attained. The accounts are too shadowy to make them a valuable contribution to the history of British dealings with the Turks and Arabs concerned. Would that Colonel Jacob had told us more of the delicate situations to which the Commission were exposed, when the encroaching Turk, who was expected to fight, retired during the night. History almost repeated itself when British met Turk only recently outside Constantinople, with this difference that during the Boundary Commission's work firing was occasionally indulged in and losses sustained. Yet no medal was awarded for these " peaceful " operations.

Throughout the book the author gives evidence of possessing an unique knowledge of the people of Yemen, of their language and folklore, and of their psychology. His long service was mostly spent either among them in their own country, or in close touch with them at Aden, and he displays an interest in his subject which makes invaluable his contribution towards settling the great problem of British dealings with the Yemen Arabs after the War. When the War broke out the Turks were nominally supreme in the Yemen, and they were able to march a force from Sana against Aden, and to maintain it there throughout the War. It was a wonderful achievement, and only the powerlessness and neutrality of the petty chieftains within our so-called Protectorate made it possible. But one substantial chief was staunch to us, the late Sultan of Lahej, H.H. Sir Ahmed Fadl, K.C.S.I., and if ever a failure of policy became apparent it was that of our relations with the chiefs as a whole, with whom we had, and still have, treaties. These treaty relations are extremely one-sided, and while we are scrupulously careful to uphold our side of the bargain, we could not enforce reciprocity without substantial military support! The treaties should be entirely remodelled, and we should endeavour to turn the chiefs into respectable members of the community, instead of being, as they are, just chronic beggars, who war constantly among themselves with the sinews which we provide. Colonel Jacob suggests that we should restrict our activities to the country below the Yemen hills, leaving the tribesmen beyond to come under the ægis of the Imam of Sana, who is far better able to control them than are we.

Colonel Jacob professes an unbounded admiration for Commander Haines of the Indian Navy, under whose direction Aden was captured

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in 1839, and who was the first Political Agent. The subsequent career of this unfortunate officer recalls that of Warren Hastings. Accused of peculation, he was taken to Bombay to stand his trial, and though acquitted of the charge in a court of law, he was still kept a prisoner, being released only to die. The tragedy of it is as great, though the story did not attract the notice, nor call forth the oratory which we have learnt to connect with Warren Hastings' impeachment.

Colonel Jacob refers to Aden itself in no uncertain terms, and he condemns the present method of calling the place a " fortress " and of retarding all progress within it. Aden ceased, strictly speaking, to be a fortress when the last Arab attack against it failed in the early forties of last century, and only the apparent unconcern regarding its charge by the Government of Bombay has allowed the anachronism to continue for so long. Aden is not the sort of place that can be turned into a miniature paradise. Its forbidding hills and its lack of verdure and fresh water must always limit any attempt to introduce more than the most necessary amenities of life. But much more could be done than has been done, as Colonel Jacob says, and administrative methods of forty years ago are entirely unsuited to modern conditions of commercial and social life. Colonel Jacob quotes many Arab proverbs, and there is one of them which may be aptly referred to here: " The hand is thine own, even if it is leprous!"

" Kings of Arabia " supplies a long-felt want. Generally speaking, the Yemen is a sealed book to us, and there are hitherto but one or two travellers who have written of it with knowledge. The last of them, the late Mr. G. Wyman Bury, has left us " The Turk in the Yemen " and " The Land of Uz," but neither is so valuable a contribution to present-day conditions as is Colonel Jacob's work. If for that reason alone, it is more than welcome. The fact that it tells us so much about the Arab himself makes it, besides, most valuable, and we look for the appearance of a second edition—with index and map—at no very distant date.

Is not the author at fault when he tells us at page 267 that the present Government Treasury was first, after our occupation of Aden in 1839, on the margin of the sea? Surely the ancient city wall marked then, as now, the sea's limits? Most of it is buried, but its site is easily traceable, and an ancient "sally-port " still shows to the sea the face of stone which it showed to the Portuguese when they unsuccessfully attacked Aden in 1512. Had the sea covered this wall it would surely have levelled it.

ISLAM AT THE CROSS-ROADS. By De Lacy O'Leary, D.D. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., London, 1923. 12s. 6d. net.

Dr. O'Leary's subtitle is " A Brief Survey of the Present Position and Problems of the World of Islam," but of his seven chapters the

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first two are, rightly and necessarily, historical. In the first he traces the "Historical Development of Islam," dealing more with the political than with the religious aspect, but has much of interest to say of the Shi'ite group of heresies and of the effects of Greek and Asian thought on orthodox Islam. Throughout he holds to what is relevant as an introduction to his description of the position of affairs as he sees it to-day, and it is therefore natural that the greater portion of his second chapter on the internal reforming movements in Islam should be devoted to the story of Wahabiism. The Senussi get as much space as, perhaps, they are entitled to, if considered only in relation to their present political power. Both these movements are correctly described as a revolt against the undue reverence paid to "holy men," but the sects founded in consequence of these movements still flourish throughout Islam, and are potent factors in the situation, deserving greater attention than the mere mention of the Dervish orders of North Africa and the Ahmedia sect in Egypt. The Mahdist movement in the Sudan was not so much a religious as a political revolt; in the final result it has only added yet another sect to those already in existence, and has always incurred the opposition of the older "tariqas" who felt themselves strong enough to resist it. Which turning Islam takes at the cross-roads depends no doubt more on such countries as Turkey, India, Arabia, and Iraq, but there will be turns further down the road, and the student of Islamic politics must not forget the potential influence of the mass of African Moslem tribes who stretch from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. The sects to one or other of which all these people belong owe much of their teaching to old Sufic doctrine, now greatly corrupted, superimposed on, and intermixed with orthodox Islamic teaching. A good deal remains to be known about them, and the knowledge may be important in the future.

The third and fourth chapters, on "The Western Penetration of Islam" and "The Reaction of Islam against the West," give a picture of almost unrelieved hatred and distrust in every sphere—political, economic, social and intellectual. Certainly the Western Powers, and Great Britain among them, have made grievous errors, more particularly in the years since 1914, but it may be doubted if the position is quite as gloomy as Dr. O'Leary sees it. Granted, too, that Western motives have often been bad, it is unfair to attribute all our encroachments in the East to rapacity, and omit any consideration of the economic necessity of Europe for raw materials and for markets. In many cases this has been the force which, either directly or indirectly, has driven Western Governments forward in the wake of their traders.

After a short note on the Babist movement, the author devotes his last two chapters and nearly half his space to "Pan-Islamic Hopes and Nationalism" and "The War and After." The first of these,

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with the aid of the historical survey which has gone before, gives an able summary of the many cross-currents within Islam itself, of nationalism and of the difficulty of reconciling it—whether it be Arab or Turanian—with Pan-Islamism, and of the tendency to close the ranks as against Christianity in spite of all internal differences.

The last chapter is a record of recent events. Individual readers, particularly those who had a personal knowledge of particular phases during the War, may make their own criticisms. The author makes no attempt to point the moral, and the tale is not altogether pleasant reading, and would not be an easy one to adorn.

Dr. O'Leary brings us over the road to the cross-roads, but he does not paint the arms of the signpost for us; he would say, perhaps, that that is neither the intention nor the function of the book, and he prefers to make us think it out for ourselves and make the best guess we can. If he does not succeed, at least, in giving to think, the fault is not his.

The misprints in the book are numerous, and more irritating when coupled with a somewhat pedantic system of transliteration which is not always consistently adhered to.

L. C. C. B.

PERSIAN LITERATURE. By R. Levy, M.A. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

We welcome the appearance of "Persian Literature," for the author has given us, in little more than one hundred pages, an attractively written and scholarly piece of work. The first section deals with the great historical figures of Cyrus the Great and Alexander *Zulkarnain* or "The Lord of the Two Horns," by which title the Macedonian conqueror is still known and feared in the East.

In the fifth century of our era Persia reached the zenith of her fame under Nushirwan the Just, but rapidly waned until she fell under the blows of the fervid Arabs, who, imbued with a new spirit by the teachings of Mohammed, created a world-empire which stretched from Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean. Pahlawi or the "Parthian" tongue, the language of Persia, was forced to give way to the Arabic script, as much as its speakers to the Moslem conquerors.

The author's sketch of the Abbaside Caliphate when Persian literature, in the modern sense of the word, came into being is vivid and clear, and he shows how the early simple poems ceased to please, and were succeeded by over-elaboration and artificiality. The Mongol conquerors first wrecked Persia and then created a golden period for literature until they, too, became effete and gave way to the brilliant Safavi monarchs, who gathered round them the leading poets and writers and rewarded them generously.

Mr. Levy's book shows remarkable promise, and we shall, in due

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course, expect to see more ambitious works from his pen. Meanwhile the manual can be warmly commended to the members of the Central Asian Society.

P. M. Sykes.

The Three Dervishes, and Other Persian Tales. By R. Levy, M.A., Lecturer in Persian at the University of Oxford. Oxford University Press. Leather, 3s. 6d.; cloth, 2s. net.

To anyone interested in Persia these stories, so charmingly narrated, will be very welcome, as they are full of touches that carry the reader into the mental atmosphere of the inhabitants of old Iran, of Bagdad under the Caliphs, and of Turkestan.

The story-teller is a familiar sight to-day as he sits surrounded by a throng of listeners whom he can charm or terrify at will, and it may be partly owing to this art that the belief in the supernatural is so firmly implanted in the minds of the whole nation. Jinns, devs and peris are to them unquestioned facts; ghouls still haunt graveyards and ruins in readiness to devour the unwary; it is dangerous for youths to sleep alone at night or even to whistle, as demons can then carry them off, and no stone may be thrown or hot water flung away carelessly, as an invisible though ubiquitous jinn may thus be injured and immediately wreak vengeance upon the perpetrator.

One of the stories, that of Jamshid and Zukak, is taken from Firdusi's "Shah Nama," the great epic which relates the legendary history of Persia. This narrative of the exploits of kings and heroes is looked upon by the uneducated Persian as genuine history, and is frequently alluded to in conversation, entire credence being given to its marvels. The Persian regards the reign of Jamshid as a golden age, to be compared with the reigns of the Sassanian Noshirwan or the Safavi Shah Abbas.

The country itself favours romance. The great desert in the centre that few have traversed, the days of travel across wide plains, where at dawn the mirage gives tantalizing pictures of pellucid lakes or shady groves, and where a harmless peasant driving his ass assumes the dimensions of a giant, foster it; and when night descends without the warning of twilight the jackals slipping past to the rendezvous of the pack or the slinking form of a hyena may well suggest the malignant spirits that prowl to destroy the unwary.

The Persian is essentially poetic and artistic, and phrase after phrase in this collection of tales reveals his vivid imagination. A youth describes his sensations at the sight of a beautiful maiden by saying: "The bird of my soul flew out of the cage of my body"; a maiden says she loves "with a thousand hearts"; and the wonderful Persian dawn is described in the following terms: "The world, plunged in night, was black as a raven's wing; suddenly light dawned

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upon the mountains as though the sun had scattered rubies upon the azure of the firmament."

In the tale of "The Sailor and the Pearl Merchant" there is an allusion to Alexander and Plato, and an incident that recalls the adventure of Ulysses with Polyphemus.

But space fails, and I must write no more about a book upon which Mr. Levy should be warmly congratulated.

ELLA C. SYKES.

THE CRADLE OF MANKIND. By W. A. and C. T. Wigram. A. Black and Son. 15s. net. Second edition.

The casual traveller who passes through Syria, South-East Turkey, and Iraq must surely be struck by the knowledge of his own ignorance when confronted with the histories of Persia and Greece, Rome and Assyria, Babylonia, Phœnicia, Media, Tartar and Jew, and even more than these. Here histories have met, nations have sprung to the fore, and dynasties have sunk into a mere memory. Here peoples have fought for power, have surged up and been swept aside, have risen only to fall, have appeared for awhile, anon to vanish for ever from the stage of life. How interwoven are destinies, how mingled are their histories!

Dr. Wigram, however, appears familiar with this maze of history, and as he passes from city to village he tells us of their half-forgotten past and recalls to life their pristine glories.

His style is simple, yet masterful and full of humour. He writes, and with every justification, as one thoroughly acquainted with his subject.

In dealing with the Turk, Kurd, Assyrian, and Armenian, the reader cannot fail to notice how fairly the writer handles his subjects. We see neither a strong pro-Kurd nor yet a too jealous admirer of the Assyrian. He sees the difficulties of both Christian and Moslem, and he gives us their good points while telling us where they fail. The isolated story of Ismail, the Assyrian malik (chief), and of his son Shlimun would leave this people on a pinnacle of chivalry, but, alas! they descend to earth again in the dismal story of the Agha Petros and his unhappy adventure in 1920.

The author represents quite fairly the difficulties with which the Turk was faced when confronted with the Armenian revolutionary party, the Fedais. Difficulties they undoubtedly were, but the method of dealing with them as chosen by the Turk—namely, the wholesale massacre of a nation—does not commend itself to us as the wisest solution.

Dr. Wigram on page 41 writes that "The mere presence of a European constitutes a very real protection of our subject races." Our prestige to-day in Africa and Asia, to my mind, rests very largely

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on these remote and scarcely known individuals, and in more than one instance the author has emphasized this fact.

One could wish that a more complete story of the origin and early history of the Assyrians had been given us. The writer, dealing almost exclusively with these Asiatic highlanders in the last few chapters, makes the reader wish that it had been possible to deal at greater length with the early story of their existence.

The present Mar Shimun is a nephew of Benyamin and Polus of Dr. Wigram's story. He is the son of David who we read of as having been wounded when his brother was murdered by Simco the Kurd. It is unfortunate that the temporal and spiritual head of the Assyrians is still only a boy of some fourteen years, who up till now exerts little personal influence. His aunt, the Lady Surima, is, however, an energetic and enlightened woman and very helpful to her nephew.

"The Cradle of Mankind" is well illustrated with photo and sketch, but it is a pity that these illustrations are placed in such a haphazard way.

The book is one of arresting interest, and the author gives us, with little exception, information enough to satisfy the most epicurean reader.

A. W. D. B.

By Tigris and Euphrates. By E. S. Stevens. Hurst and Blackett, London, 1923. 18s. net.

This book contains a number of sketches of people, places and things from Basra to the Yezidi country north of Mosul, so taking the reader to the edge of Dr. Wigram's country. The description of the holy cities gives *en passant* a good account of the differences between Sunni and Shiah, and shows how these differences react on political affairs, while the brief but up-to-date summaries of the antiquarian discoveries in Iraq will tend to awaken interest in what will undoubtedly be a very fruitful field of research.

The author has succeeded in getting together an excellent and varied collection of photographs, and in making her selection has avoided those which by now have become hackneyed. It is a pity, from the point of view of the general reader (for whom the book is presumably intended), that it was not thought necessary to include a map.

A very great merit, however, of Miss Stevens' book is that it opens up new lines of investigation into the affairs of Iraq. In the past, when Iraq was under consideration, too much space has been devoted to polemics, and it is therefore the more refreshing to read "much legend and little of history, much of customs and superstitions and little of British policy or problems of local government." The author

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has found and made opportunities to visit and sketch some of the less-known races which go to make up the ethnological confusion that is Iraq, while her love of the country is shown by her care in noting the little details of everyday life even more than by her descriptions of the unusual. Her example may well encourage others who are in contant touch with the people to write of other areas, but in any case it is to be hoped that Miss Stevens will herself redeem the promise given (on page 70 of her book) of another volume.

H. G.

THE WORLD AS SEEN BY ME. By T. Simpson Carson, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. Heath, Cranton, Ltd., London, 1923. 30s. net.

One of the charming features of this work is that the author is himself the first reviewer of it. His very preface, for which he almost apologizes, is quite an entertaining review, replete with apt and amusing quotations. I, who now take up my pen to review this remarkable and original book, am, like the author, no professed naturalist, though a nature lover; no geographical explorer, though a rambler, and that occasionally off the beaten tracks. Our author quotes "a great publisher" to the effect that "The preface at the beginning is as essential a part of the book as an index at the end." I like his preface, but I, without further hesitation, condemn his index. If an author contends that a two-page index can adequately summarize the contents of 350 octavo pages of 500 words to each page, and descriptive of travel and experience in every quarter of the globe except Australasia and the Arctic and Antarctic Zones, then I must differ from him. His index will be far from satisfying that "great publisher."

The first chapter is devoted to India, and takes the reader into scenes of that vast country with which he is probably not familiar. Sylhet, Cachar, Assam, Manipur, lie away in a corner with which comparatively few Anglo-Indians are familiar; but Mr. Carson paints in fascinating terms its fauna and flora, the "atlas moth," the "durian" fruit, and last, not least, his own "Nur Mahal" combing his hair!

Chapters II. to V. (inclusive) are devoted to America, Northern, Central and Southern, and to North and South Africa. Each chapter opens with a picture of a lovely plant or flower, or a lovely woman, under the title of "Flower of the Desert," and the intervening illustrations introduce the reader to the stern realities of life—"Roping the Grisley," a "Shooting Scrap," or "A Real Bad One" (colt-breaking). The description of the cattle-ranching life in Mexico, Central America, and Arizona is most graphic and tinged throughout with a precious vein of humour, and, let me add, the illustrations to that

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section, every one of them, tell their story admirably. The descriptions of these territories and of the bird, beast, reptile, fish, and plant life in them are excellent. His description of the "buck negro" (p. 60) who could throw a steer is scarcely credible, and as we follow him through polo, bull-fighting, baseball, and tarpon-fishing, we appreciate the unrivalled opportunities of sport which this life gave him.

It is interesting to find Mr. Carson in the fifth chapter, on North Africa, speaking of the rise a century ago of the Senussi fraternity, whose country since the War both Mrs. Rosita Forbes (Mrs. McGrath) and Hassanein Bey have visited, and of his captivity in which Captain Gwatkin-Williams gave us so vivid an account—captivity from which the Duke of Westminster delivered him. Of this "splendid feat" Mr. Carson speaks as "one of the finest episodes of the War"; and it is not out of place to recall that Mr. Lloyd George applied similar language to Major-General Lionel Dunsterville's occupation and defence of Baku, and that in the House of Commons the very evening before General Dunsterville lectured to the Central Asian Society.

Glancing at Chapter VIII., on Arabia and Egypt, we find an interesting reference to Sir Reginald Wingate, Slatin Pasha, and Father Ohrwalder, and another to a very remarkable, and as far as I am aware, a hitherto unknown "Scotch Agha of Mamelukes, one Thomas Keith, once a private in the 72nd Highlanders, who in 1815 was governor of the holy city of Medina—surely the strangest office ever held by a Scot." We must admit that Thomas Keith rather casts into the shade the performance of more recent British visitors to the Hedjaz.

The chapters on Japan and China are replete with curious and vivid information. I read without surprise in the account of North Africa that native maidens preparing for the marriage market were expected to devote themselves, prior to the wedding ceremony, to the cultivation of adipose tissue; but when I came across the picture of two Japanese wrestlers (taken, as I gathered, from a photograph) with figures worthy of a Daniel Lambert, I was fain to turn to the letterpress for some enlightenment. I learnt there that "by continual butting at wooden posts the fat on the abdomen becomes so hardened that the huge stomach has of itself become a weapon of defence; a swelling chest is of minor importance."

In reading Chapters XI. and XII. we return once more to India, and there come across many old and familiar friends, both European and indigenous, personalities and places, and on page 213 we are treated to the self-advertisement of an Indian newspaper, of which, as the author says, "London advertising agencies might well make a note."

We turn to Europe and find the author as familiar with Russia,

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Turkey, and Greece as he has shown himself to be with America, Asia, and Africa; and as we come across curious references in one or the other to the Agha Khan, Sir Thomas Holdich, the Gaikwar of Baroda, Mr. Morgenthau, Sir Edwin Pears, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the Wigrams, R. J. Campbell, James Morier, the Hon. R. Curzon, and Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, not to mention the Kaiser, Abdul Hamid, and Venizelos, we begin to be thoroughly at home in the society in which we move.

And, finally, we revert to Africa, the United States, Brazil, and the Mediterranean, and while we still admire the charm and the delicacy of floral specimens and the pictures of animal life so expressive of the physical vigour of the beasts portrayed, we accept with some sense of repulsion an introduction to that type of human deformity for which the author has invented or borrowed the classical appellation of "steatopygia." If my readers seek a further interpretation, I advise them to consult the book itself.

And now we bring to a close this but inadequate effort to describe the very varied contents of this volume. The "addendum" inserted at the end includes "two chapters adjudged unsuitable for the Public Ear." This reminds me of editions of certain classical authors in which one finds grouped at the end of all the chapters passages supposed to be taboo *virginibus puerisque*. I do not myself consider that the "addendum" to the book now under review need be regarded in that light.

A. C. YATE.

UNCONQUERED ABYSSINIA. By C. E. Rey, F.R.G.S. Seeley, Service and Co. 21s. net.

Mr. Rey is to be congratulated on his book, for he touches on nearly every subject of interest in Abyssinia.

He gives us a brief and clear account of the early history of the people of this country.

The two chapters on "Customs and Practices" are extremely interesting, and, as one quite realizes, are the results of very careful study. Any traveller in Africa knows from experience how difficult it is to find a reason for many of the customs in that land. So often the explanations given are totally opposed, and it entails endless difficulties to arrive at the probable origin of some custom which has been handed down from father to son for many generations.

With regard to the author's remarks on the religion of Abyssinia, and more particularly with the mission to Jerusalem to which he refers on pages 129 and 130, the Abyssinians have their own church in Jerusalem, with its own Abyssinian priests, besides having certain rights in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Mr. Rey describes the building of the native churches, all of which are built in exactly the

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same way. Of course, while some are richly decorated, others in the outlying districts lack any attempt at ornamentation. It is, I believe, a fact that the three inclusive portions of the church (see page 133) are an emblem of the Trinity—that is, the three separate divisions being comprised in the one building.

The book has been well illustrated, but it is a pity that it was thought necessary to include the very gruesome picture illustrating the hanging of the malefactors in the open market-place. This sight is, fortunately, not a common one, but, yet that it is even a comparatively isolated example drives home the fact that in Adis Ababa one is distantly removed, in more senses than one, from Park Lane.

Mr. Rey dwells on the courtesy of the Abyssinians as a whole. I think in making statements of this sort comparison is necessary, as, after all, practically everything must be judged by comparison. While not wishing to make any suggestion that their manners are not good, I think one is right in saying that they could learn a great deal from either the Arab or the inhabitants of India. Their officials have yet to learn that a courteous bearing is neither a sign of weakness nor a secession of position.

Mr. Rey, in discussing slavery in Abyssinia, deals with very vexed question. He handles the subject, however, with great delicacy, and adopts the attitude of sympathizing with the difficulties which confront the Regent and with his efforts to rid the country of an offensive institution.

It is unfortunate that throughout the book Mr. Rey refers to the capital of the country as "Adis." Now *adis* means "new" or "fresh," and *ababa* is a flower. Thus the name of Abyssinia's capital is translated as "fresh flower," a beautiful name indeed. The name is, moreover, by no means out of place; for the dusty and weary traveller, after a three days' train journey, is greeted by hedges of roses as he rides up through the garden of the British Legation. That a town which is so kind to flowers should have its name thus distorted is even worse than the vulgar abbreviation of "Mespot" for Mesopotamia. Incidentally, during two and a half years' stay in the country I never heard the town referred to as "Adis."

As regards the languages of the country, the author mentions Amharric, Galla, Tigre, Geze. He might have added Dankali (spoken by the Danakill), Guragi, Harari (a language peculiar to the inhabitants of Harar), and, lastly, Somali is widely spoken on the frontier. Where so many languages hold sway the question naturally arises as to which is the most useful language. Officially Amharric is the language of the country, and all official documents are couched in that tongue, but it will, I think, be generally agreed that Galla is the most useful from a purely colloquial standpoint.

A. W. D. B.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on Thursday, March 13, 1924, when a lecture was given by Brigadier-General M. E. Willoughby, C.B., on "The Relation of Tibet to China." The Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen was in the Chair.

The Chairman introduced the lecturer as a distinguished officer of the Indian Army who had seen much service in China and on the Chinese borderland. He was in the Boxer expedition in the beginning of the century; was afterwards sent on an Indian remount mission, which kept him a long time in the three western provinces of China—Yünnan, Ssuchuan, and Kuei-Chou. Later he was attached to the staff of the North China command, was military attaché at Peking during that most stirring time when the Chinese rebellion broke out, and has, besides, travelled extensively through the country. It was also under his direction and supervision that the Chinese troops were repatriated from Lhasa on their defeat by the Tibetan forces in 1912. He then invited General Willoughby to begin his lecture.

THE RELATION OF TIBET TO CHINA

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL M. E. WILLOUGHBY, C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G.

In recent years, especially since Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission to Lhasa in 1904, we have become increasingly familiarized with the subject of Tibet. The Mount Everest Expeditions of the past two or three years have further focussed our interest and attention on that country. Quite recently a flood of light has been thrown on it by the illuminating lectures given to us, and to the Royal Geographical Society, by Sir Charles Bell, to whose personal influence with the Dalai Lama our improved relations with Tibet are so largely (if not mainly) due.

In all this, however, the age-long connection of China with Tibet has been more or less lost sight of. The Central Asian Society has therefore done me the (perhaps dubious) honour of inviting me to assume the rôle of *advocatus diaboli*, a somewhat invidious rôle for one who has been a servant of the Indian Government for some thirty-six years. Nevertheless, I think you will agree that a clear perception of the aims, claims, and view-point of the other side is always helpful rather than harmful.

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At present, to the best of my belief, no vestige of Chinese control remains in Central Tibet. My lecture will, therefore, be concerned mainly with what is now "ancient history," but that ancient history, I think, may have a not unimportant bearing on future possibilities. There is so much to tell that my summary, compiled from various sources, must be, I fear, but a bald one. Let us first glance at the geography of the country.

Please look at the map and observe how Tibet marches with what we call "China proper" (*i.e.*, the eighteen provinces) for some 1,400 miles along the borders of Yünnan, Ssuchuan, and Kansu Provinces, and for some 1,200 miles more with the old dependency of China known as Sin-kiang (the New Dominion). It marches with India and the States of Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, and Kashmir for some 1,900 miles. By the way, I would here remark that the inclusion of Kokonor in our European maps in Tibet is somewhat misleading. Tibet under the temporal rule of the Dalai Lama extends north-eastward only to the Dangla range, separating it from Kokonor, a region inhabited by Mongols as well as Tibetans, and nominally under the control of the Si-ning Amban up to 1915, and afterwards of the Muhammadan General of Si-ning. Actually it has always been very independent of any authority; a very lawless region. Along the "marches" of East Tibet there are a number of Tibetan more or less autonomous native States, some within the borders of the Province of Ssuchuan. It will make my lecture more intelligible if I suggest that their relation to Lhasa and China respectively is somewhat analogous to that of the Wazirs and Afridis on our north-west front of India to Afghanistan and India.

You will notice next how greatly the area of Mongolia, Sin-kiang, and Tibet (in all some 2,380,000 square miles) exceeds that of China proper, which is a little over $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions; but whereas the total population of the above three dependencies is roughly estimated (very much guesswork) at 7 to 8 millions only, the population of the "eighteen provinces," according to an estimate of last year, was put down at the amazing figure of nearly 420 millions. Think of it! Somewhere about one-quarter of the entire human race.

As regards *ethnology*, Mongolians and Tibetans are racially akin to the Chinese, and their religion is the Lamaist form of Buddhism, which exists widely also in China proper. The intervening wedge of Sin-kiang, on the other hand, is predominantly Turki in race and Muhammadan in religion. The Muhammadan belt is continued on eastwards into the Chinese Provinces of Kansu and Shensi. Yünnan also contains a large Moslem element, and Moslems indeed are to be found throughout China. There were, I believe, some 70,000 in the Peking district in 1910.

Politically China has had relations with Tibet from the very remote past. In the eleventh century B.C. Chinese records make mention of

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the pastoral tribes of Kokonor and North-East Tibet. Without going so far back, however, into the twilight of antiquity, let us skip the intervening centuries and come down to more modern times—to the seventh century A.D., when the T'ang Dynasty (the golden age of Chinese literature) was on the dragon throne. A princess of that house, by name Wen Cheng, was one of the two wives of the Tibetan king who introduced Buddhism from India in A.D. 622. In 633 his son subdued Kokonor and attacked the Chinese, who retaliated and advanced to Lhasa and burnt the royal palace.

This king's grandson married a daughter of the Chinese Emperor Juitsung, and their son (half Chinese) reigned from 743 to 789.

In 821 a war between Tibet and China ended in a peace (signed at Sianfu) and ratified at Lhasa in 822. This is recorded on bilingual tablets which still exist; I think Sir Charles Bell showed us a photograph.

In 1253 Kublai Khan, Marco Polo's "Great Khan," the founder of the Yüan (or Mongol) Dynasty in China, conquered all Eastern Tibet and invited the Sakya monk Phagspa to his court, where he stayed twelve years, engaged in literary work. The Emperor then made him king over Tibet, Kam, and Amdo. From this time the Sakyapa Lamas ruled Tibet for twenty-one successive reigns.

In the fourteenth century Tsongkaba the Reformer (the Luther of Tibet), who was born at Kumbum in China in 1357, established the existing "Yellow Church" in Tibet, in place of the "Red Church" of the Sakya lamas. His reforms were supported and approved, be it noted, by the Ming Emperor of China. The "Red Church," by the way, still exists. One may see it, for instance, in Ladak (the Tibetan Province of Kashmir). Tsongkaba died in 1419 leaving two disciples, the Dalai and Panshen Lamas. The second Dalai Lama established the seat of his ecclesiastical rule at Lhasa.

In 1642 the Dalai and Panshen Lamas were induced by the Mongol Chief, Gushi Khan, to send an Embassy tendering allegiance to the Manchu Sovereign then on the eve of ejecting the Ming Dynasty from the throne of China. The Manchu throne thereupon assumed sovereignty over Tibet. The Dalai Lama was received at Peking by the Emperor in 1653, being lodged in the "Yellow Temple," which was specially built for him.

In 1694 the Emperor Kanghsi conferred on the Regent of the Dalai Lama the title of "King of Tibet."

On the Dzungarian Mongols invading Tibet, early in the eighteenth century, the Manchu forces which came to the rescue (from Si-ning and Ta chien lu) remained as conquerors. (Incidentally this was merely a repetition of what the Manchus had done in China, when called in by the last Ming Emperor.) Chinese direct domination in Tibet may be said to date from this time, as a Manchu resident and garrison were

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left at Lhasa, and communications with China were assured by a chain of military posts along the Ta chien lu-Batang-Lhasa road.

The boundary between China and Tibet was marked by a pillar, set up in 1727 on the Bumla Pass, two and a half days south-west of Batang, on the Yangtze-Mekong "divide." The country to the west of this was handed over to the Dalai Lama, under the suzerainty of the Manchu Emperor, while the chiefs of the Tibetan States to the East of of it were given seals as semi-independent feudatories—*e.g.*, Chala, Nyarong, Dege, the five Hor States, etc.; and this arrangement lasted till the Chinese forward movement of 1905 began (*as a direct result of the British advance to Lhasa in* 1904).

An outbreak in 1725 against a nominee of the Emperor gave the pretext for the appointment of two Manchu High Commissioners to Lhasa. A further revolt in 1750 led to the suppression of the temporal sovereignty in Tibet, the Government being placed thenceforth in the hands of the Dalai and Panshen Lamas, aided by a Council of Laymen under the direction of the High Commissioners.

The Chinese divided the country into Chien Tsang (*i.e.*, *front* Tibet) or Kam; Chung Tsang (*i.e.*, *central* Tibet) containing seat of Government, Lhasa, and residence of the Dalai Lama; Hou Tsang (*i.e.*, *back* Tibet) containing the seat of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Panshen Lama at Tashilumbo; and Ngari, Western Tibet.

There was (and probably still is) in the archives of the Chinese Government at Peking a monumental work called the "Ta Ching Hui Tien"—*i.e.*, the collected regulations or institutes of the Ta Ching Dynasty. (Ta Ching, "Great Pure," was the title of the Manchu Dynasty.)

These "institutes," extending from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, contain details of the whole scheme of Government administration. The following particulars are taken from Mr. Mayers' "Chinese Government," a book based thereon.

The Chinese administration in Tibet as laid down in these institutes provided for the following organization: An Imperial High Commissioner (Chu Tsang Ta Chen); an Assistant High Commissioner (Pang Pan Ta Chen); hence perhaps our word "Amban" (which, for short, I will use hereafter). Both were high Manchus. They were under the "Li Fan Yüan" (Board of Dependencies), but might address the throne direct on important matters. They corresponded, on an equal footing, with the Viceroy of Ssuchuan, which Province provided and paid for the Chinese garrison, some 1,500 strong, and the officials of the Chinese civil administration in Tibet; for correspondence with the Tibetan and Nepalese authorities the Amban had on his staff a "Secretary for Native Affairs."

Appointments to the chief civil and military offices of the Tibetan Government and hierarchy were made on nominations to the throne

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by the Ambans, who were also invested with the supreme command of the Chinese garrison and the Tibetan soldiery.

Under the Ambans were three "Liangtai" (or Commissaries), ranking as Assistant Magistrates, stationed at Lhasa, Tashilumbo, and Ngari, acting as paymasters of the Chinese forces, and local deputies of the Ambans.

As to the secular administration: four "Kalon," Councillors of State, acted under the Ambans. They were appointed by Imperial Decree from Peking, on the nomination of the Ambans, and *ex officio* had the third degree of Chinese official rank.

Various other civil and military *Tibetan* officials were likewise granted Chinese official rank (down to the seventh rank).

The Institutes recognized thirteen Deba (or District Governors). Then, as to the *Hierarchy*. The successive Dalai Lamas, supposed to be reincarnations of one of Tsongkaba's disciples, were recognized by the Chinese Emperors as the supreme Pontiffs of the "Yellow Church." Owing to various frauds resulting in the election of unsuitable persons, Ch'ien Lung, in 1792, ordained that the selection should be determined by the drawing of lots from a golden urn. The miraculous particulars as to the candidate were reported to the Amban, who in turn reported to Peking. The baby candidates were brought to Lhasa, and the names of a selected three placed in the urn. The drawing took place under the superintendence of the Amban, and the child whose name was drawn was declared "Dalai Lama." At the age of two or three he was solemnly enthroned.

The Panshen Erdeni Lama was a purely ecclesiastical functionary. Succession arranged as for the Dalai Lama. He resided at Tashilumbo (700 li west of Lhasa).

The sixth Panshen Lama, Lobtsang Tanishi, was invited to Peking in 1780 by Ch'ien Lung, to attend his seventieth birthday celebrations. A special model of his residence in Tibet was built for his reception at Jehol, the summer retreat of the Imperial Court, outside the Great Wall. He died of smallpox at Peking at the end of the year. His remains were taken back to Tibet, and a mausoleum was erected in the temple he inhabited in Peking, and his robes are enshrined there.

We then come to the appointment of a Regent ("No Men Han"), rendered necessary by the long minorities of the Dalai Lamas. The first Regent recorded in the Institutes was the before-mentioned Mongol Gushi Khan, who, in 1643, made the Dalai Lama the temporal ruler of Tibet. The Institutes record several bestowals of the title in the eighteenth century and on up to 1844, when the then Regent, accused of treason, was unfrocked and banished to Manchuria by Imperial decree. This ex-Regent was subsequently permitted to return to his home on the Kansu border, where he died in 1854. In 1877 an application was made to Peking for the official recognition of his

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reincarnation in the person of a youth then seventeen years of age. The decision disallowing the application is recorded in the *Peking Gazette* of September 7, 1877, wherein the deceased Regent "was forbidden for ever the privilege of appearing again on earth in human form."

Next, as regards abbots ("kanpu"), a Decree of 1792 directed that those of the larger monasteries should be appointed on the joint authority of the Dalai Lama and the Amban. A selected abbot bearing presents from the Tibetan Pontiffs was sent annually to Peking.

One hundred and sixty "Hutukhtu" (reincarnations), called by the Chinese "Huo Fu" (*i.e.*, living Buddhas), were recognized and registered at the Board of Dependencies; sixty-five of these were in Tibet and Kokonor, and fourteen among the Lamas at and near Peking. For political reasons, to conciliate Mongolia and Tibet and facilitate control over them, the Chinese Sovereigns established and endowed many Lamaist temples and official dignitaries in and near the capital—*e.g.*, Peking, Jehol, Lama Miao, Wu tai Shan, etc.

There was a Lama Metropolitan (a reincarnation of a "Hutukhtu" sent to Peking by a Dalai Lama in the seventeenth century). A Decree of 1786 gives a list of the ecclesiastical dignitaries under him with the order of their precedence. So much for the Institutes.

During the late eighteenth century Chinese power in Tibet waned, and Nepal, in 1788, invaded Tibet and sacked Shigatse. The Emperor Chien Lung sent an army into Tibet which defeated and expelled the Gurkhas, pursued them over the Himalayas, and dictated peace outside Khatmandu in 1792, Nepal agreeing to pay China an annual tribute and to send a mission to Lhasa every five years. (One such came to Peking while I was in China.)

An Imperial Decree of 1793 gave the two Ambans equal rank with the Dalai and Panshen Lamas, and made them responsible for the superintendence of the administration of the country. It further forbade the Dalai Lama communications with the throne save by memorial through the Amban.

After Ch'ien Lung's death Chinese power in Tibet again waned under the weak rule of his successors. In 1856 Nepal, after a series of conflicts, again concluded a treaty with Tibet, by which both countries acknowledged their dependence on China.

To turn now to East Tibet.

In 1860 the chief of Nyarong invaded Dege and the five Hor States, who appealed to both Peking and Lhasa. The former, fully occupied with the Taiping Rebellion, could, or would, do nothing. Lhasa, on the other hand, sent an army which quelled the disturbances, burnt the Nyarong chief and his family alive, and took over the administration. Lhasa then appointed an official to govern Nyarong, and also to superintend Dege and the Hor States. The Tibetan claim to Nyarong,

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Dege, and the Hor States dates from this time—1865. The Manchu throne seems to have acquiesced, and the annexation was formally confirmed in 1898, and the region remained under the Dalai Lama till forcibly annexed by Chao-erh-feng in 1908.

To go on with the story of Nyarong, while I am at it. In 1894 Nyarong again rose and invaded Chala. The Viceroy Lu of Ssuchuan sent a force which occupied Nyarong, and he then memorialized the throne to annex it; but on the Dalai Lama protesting, the proposal was vetoed, and the Tibetan Government of Nyarong was reinstated. Lu's troops also occupied Dege and exiled the chief, who died in exile. The Dalai Lama again protesting, the throne again refused annexation, and the late chief's two sons were sent back, the elder being installed as Jyelbo (King).

From 1900 to 1908 faction fighting between the brothers at Dege continued. In 1908 Chao-Erh-feng appeared on the scene and expelled them both and occupied the territory.

To hark back, in 1875 the present (thirteenth) Dalai Lama was reincarnated; in 1886 Tibetans began to raid over the Sikkim border. After fruitless protests the Indian Government was eventually forced to send an expedition under General Graham in 1888, which expelled them, and then followed, in 1890, the "Sikkim Convention" between Great Britain and *China* (not Tibet), at China's request as suzerain. (This assertion of suzerainty carried with it a corresponding obligation —namely, to enforce the terms on her vassal state.) These events, for the first time, brought England on the scene of Sino-Tibetan relations.

Tibet failed to carry out the Convention. All attempts by India to open relations failed. Messengers were ill-treated, letters returned unopened, and the Chinese Government was apparently unable or unwilling to coerce her vassal. At last, in 1903, the Indian Government, finding it impossible to deal with Tibet through China, resolved to send a mission to deal direct with Tibet. There seems little doubt that Tibetan exclusiveness was deliberately instigated by China on the "buffer state" principle; but it is also a fact that Russia had, for some time past, been intriguing with Tibet against us through the agency of a Siberian Buriat Mongol, one Dorjieff, who was for a long time a thorn in our side. Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission, starting as a peaceful embassy, reached Lhasa, after considerable opposition, in August, 1904, as a military expedition, and the Dalai Lama fled (with Dorjieff) to Urga. Sir Francis, therefore, proceeded to make a Treaty with the *de facto* Government. By this Anglo-Tibetan Convention Tibet agreed to recognize the Sikkim Convention; to open Gyantse and Gartok to trade; to pay an indemnity; not to alienate Tibetan territory to any foreign Power; not to allow any such Power to intervene in Tibetan affairs or send representatives to Tibet; not to grant concessions or pledge Tibetan revenues to foreigners.

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The Mission withdrew after the conclusion of the agreement, save from the Chumbi Valley, which also was evacuated when China (as suzerain) surprisingly quickly paid up the indemnity.

In April, 1906, the Anglo-Chinese adhesion Convention was signed at Peking, confirming the Lhasa agreement, England agreeing not to annex Tibetan territory or interfere in administration, while China undertook not to permit any other foreign Power to do likewise.

In 1907 Russia and England mutually agreed to recognize Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, to treat with Tibet only through China, and to abstain from sending scientific expeditions into Tibet for three years.

In 1908 China was a party to the Indo-Tibet Trade Regulations signed in Calcutta.

All these agreements gave China a very free hand in Tibet, and owing to our deliberate self-denial in the matter of representation at Lhasa, China gradually instilled into the Tibetans the idea that we had withdrawn from Lhasa through fear of her, and gradually the old procrastination and obstruction began again to crop up.

To go back for a moment to the fugitive Dalai Lama. He remained at Urga for one year (an unwelcome visitor for the Bogdo Khan, as his presence diverted the offerings of the faithful from the coffers of that local Pope to the willing pockets of the greater luminary). Thence he went to Kumbum, where he stayed two years then for the summer of 1908 to Wu tai Shan; whence he proceeded in September, 1908, to Peking on the summons of the throne. He was lodged (like his predecessor in 1653) at the "Yellow Temple" outside the Wall of Peking. Foreign legations were only allowed to visit him unofficially and in the presence of Chinese officials. He was received in audience by the Emperor and Dowager Empress, his position as a vassal being "rubbed in." He was, however, allowed to kneel instead of "kow-towing." On November 3, 1908, an Imperial Decree conferred on him the title of "Our Loyal and Submissive Vice-Regent"; an annual subsidy of 10,000 taels (to be paid by Ssuchuan); directed him to return to Tibet; to "be a good boy"; and to memoralize the throne always through the Amban; and "to respectfully await our will." The Emperor and Dowager Empress both died, almost simultaneously, very shortly afterwards. His Holiness left Peking on December 21, 1908, and reached Lhasa (via Si-ning) in November, 1909.

Meanwhile, during his long absence, the Chinese forward movement in Tibet, consequent on our expedition to Lhasa, had made great headway. In 1904 Feng Chuan was appointed "Imperial Resident at Chamdo," with orders to curtail the powers of the native rulers and lamas and bring the country under more direct Chinese control. His activities soon began to arouse disaffection, which the loss of prestige due to the British Expedition to Lhasa enhanced. In April, 1905, the Tibetans at Batang openly revolted, attacked the Chinese, and murdered

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the Imperial Resident and two French priests. A general rising ensued, and small Chinese garrisons in South-West Ssuchuan and North-West Yünnan were annihilated. An avenging force from Cheng tu hastened to Batang and quelled the revolt, with ruthless severity. Let us put ourselves for a moment in their place. Imagine, for instance, a sudden Afridi rising, involving the burning of Government House at Peshawur, the murder of the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, the wiping out of small outlying detachments in the Khyber (supposing for the moment that they could catch these napping). Should we, in such a case, have felt over-lenient? One, Chao-erh-feng was now appointed to take charge of the pacification of the "Marches." A fiercer revolt blazed out at the end of 1905. The rebels concentrated at Hsiang Cheng, where they were besieged by Chao till the middle of 1906, when the monastery was taken and destroyed, its defenders being all slain. This opened the "south road," and Lien Yu (the new Amban, who had similar instructions—viz., to tighten up control) was able to proceed to Lhasa, where he arrived in the autumn of 1906.

Chao meanwhile at Batang had appointed a Chinese magistrate (vice the native chief—beheaded), had limited the number of lamas, and started schemes of Chinese colonization. He was appointed "Frontier Commissioner," but had to return to Ssuchuan for more than a year as acting-Viceroy. During this time the Native States of Ta chien lu, Litang, and Batang were converted into nine regular Chinese districts.

In March, 1908, Chao-erh-feng and his brother Chao-erh-hsun were appointed "Imperial Commissioner for Tibet" and "Viceroy of Ssuchuan" respectively. The combination resulted in the complete subjugation of Tibet (for a brief period).

Chao then successively occupied Dege (the largest of the Native States and autonomous for 1,000 years or more), Chamdo, Draya, and Markam, and established Chinese administration.

China, at this time, asked and was refused permission to send troops to Tibet via India.

In December, 1909, Lhasa, in despair, telegraphed (via India) appeals to Peking and all the Great Powers. A small mixed brigade (some 2,000 strong), under General Chung Ying, now advanced via Chamdo, Enta, and Lhari, meeting slight opposition at two points only, and entered Lhasa on February 12, 1910. The Dalai Lama (whom the advanced guard had special orders to capture), escaped over the frontier to Sikkim, and reached Darjeeling on February 24 (a very rapid flight). A violently worded edict of February 25 deposed him. "He has shown himself proud, extravagant, lewd, slothful, vicious, and perverse, without parallel, violent and disorderly, disobedient to the Imperial commands, and oppressive towards the Tibetans. He is not fit to be a reincarnation of Buddha." The edict went on to order the selection (in the orthodox manner) of a new Dalai Lama.

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The administration was now, virtually, taken over by the Chinese, evoking a protest from Great Britain, who demanded the maintenance of an effective Tibetan Government.

Chao now suggested to Peking that Giamda should be the limit of Chinese administered territory. This proposal was vetoed, but was approved a year later.

At the end of 1910 the Chinese troops mutinied at Hsiang Cheng and the local Tibetans rose in revolt. Chao suppressed the rising. Early in 1911 an expedition from Lhasa under Lo chang chi to Bomed met with serious reverses. The Amban had to call on Chao for help. He sent two columns from Batang and Shuopando, who advanced through Zayul, defeated the Tibetans, and executed their headmen. Two Chinese districts, to be called Po-mi and Tsa-yu, were planned, but the Revolution prevented their establishment. Chao was then appointed Viceroy of Ssuchuan, but on the way back thither occupied and took over Nyarong, thus completing his task of bringing all Kam under direct Chinese administration. His successor on the frontier, General Fu sung mu, sent up a memorial (evidently Chao's work) advocating the conversion of Kam into a regular Chinese Province, to be called Hsi-Kang. Certain passages in this memorial are so interesting that I quote them. "The frontier regions in question," it says, "march with Tibet, and beyond Tibet lies the territory of a mighty Power This Power is closely watching Tibet, which it no longer regards as a dependency of China. By converting the frontier regions of Kam into a Chinese Province we shall secure ourselves against territorial aggression. As a result of the British Expedition to Lhasa in 1904 the Tibetans ceased to regard China as of any importance."

The Revolution broke out shortly afterwards. Chao was besieged in Cheng tu for three months. On December 23, 1911, he was treacherously beheaded by the revolutionaries after surrendering, a tragic fate for the great "Warden of the Marches," who had served his country so well. Though ruthless he was just, and was certainly a great soldier and Empire-builder. With his death passed away Chinese ascendency over Tibet.

The Revolution was soon followed by revolts all along the border, and by the middle of 1912 the Chinese had lost most of the frontier districts, the outlying garrisons being withdrawn to Batang and Chamdo. Thus the troops in Central Tibet were left, so to speak, "in the air." As they, in turn, learnt of the Revolution, the usual troubles broke out there also: mutinies, burning, looting. The Tibetans retaliated. Outside Lhasa the garrisons melted away, some joining Chung Ying in Lhasa, some being overwhelmed, and other small detachments in the Chumbi Valley trickling into British territory. In Lhasa the garrison fortified themselves in the Teng Ye Ling Monastery, and held out for some months against some 15,000 Tibetans.

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In April, 1912, President Yüan issued a mandate that Tibet, Mongolia, and Turkistan would henceforth be regarded as provinces and integral parts of China. Britain protested, desiring that the *status quo* in Tibet should be maintained. In July, Ssuchuan and Yünnan started off their relief forces (I saw some of the Yünnan Relief Column at Yünnan fu in that month, on the eve of their departure for the frontier). Owing to British protests, assurance was given that they were not intended to go beyond the "Marches" (I may mention that common rumour at Yünnan fu had it that their destination was Pien-ma, on the Burma border, about which there was much soreness. But "that is another story"). On June 24, 1912, I paid my farewell official visit (as outgoing military attaché) to the President, Yüan Shih Kai, at Peking, under the wing of my Chief, Sir John Jordan, who went to discuss Tibetan affairs. Naturally, the plight of the beleaguered garrison in Lhasa cropped up, and Yüan suggested the possibility, in the last resort, of their withdrawal through India. Sir John, I remember, laughingly said to the President, "See, here is a friend of the Chinese army just going there. I am sure he will give them a helping hand if he can." Well, "there is many a true word spoken in jest." I arrived in India just at the time of the Chinese surrender at Lhasa, and the arrival of the joint telegram of the Amban and General Chung to the Viceroy (Lord Hardinge), asking leave for the withdrawal through India. I was put in charge of the Reparation Mission, which went to the Sikkim-Tibet frontier to receive and forward the Chinese troops. It meant a good deal of arrangement; stages, accommodation, transport, supplies, medical arrangements, escorts, railway arrangements from Darjeeling to Calcutta, shipping arrangements thence to China, etc. The 10th Gurkhas furnished the escorts. To cut a long story short, we repatriated the sorry remnant of the Lhasa garrison to the number of about 1,000 only; on New Year's Day, 1913, I was summoned to Gnatong again to deal in the same way with a miscellaneous crowd, including civilians, and sent down a few hundreds more.

A presidential mandate of October 28, 1912, reinstated the Dalai Lama. He re-entered Lhasa in (I think) January, 1913. Lien Yu was cashiered and Chung Ying appointed to act as Amban in his place. General Chung hung on in the Chumbi Valley for awhile, but was eventually forced to quit. He tried to linger again at Calcutta, but was at last persuaded to embark. His reluctance to return to China was only too well justified. He was executed at Peking two years later. His sentence appeared in the *Gazette* of March 22, 1915, wherein he was charged with failure to maintain discipline; leaving Tibet (when Amban) against orders; and murdering Lo chang chi.

The Ssuchuan Relief Force which left Cheng tu in July, 1912, under General Yin, succeeded during 1912-13 in recovering most of the

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lost ground in the "Marches," and by the end of 1914 Chinese control had been re-established up to the Mekong. Lhasa, meanwhile, had sent the Kalon Lama (her Commander-in-Chief) to check the Chinese advance. He did so, on the line of the Mekong and Mekong-Salween "divide," and this line (thanks to the truce resulting from the Simla negotiations of 1913-14) remained the *de facto* boundary till 1917, Batang and Chamdo being the principal Chinese bases, and Shuopando and Shayu Zamka the chief Tibetan ones.

A special "military district" for the Ssuchuan frontier territory was created under a Commissioner with H.Q. Ta chien lu and two subordinate Generals at Batang and Chamdo.

When the Simla negotiations (just referred to) started, in October, 1913, the position was roughly as follows:

Tibet, freed from all Chinese control, extended east to the Mekong, north to the Dangla.

In *Kam*, east of the Mekong, Chinese control had been re-established.

Koko Nor (unaffected by the past ten years' events) remained *nominally* under the Si-ning "Amban."

The aims of the three parties to the conference were:

Tibet.—Complete independence, with boundaries enclosing all the regions of high Asia inhabited by people of Tibetan race.

China to recover the position held at "high water mark" of Chao-erh-feng's conquests.

Great Britain.—Peace, preferably on the basis of Chinese suzerainty over a stable Tibetan Government with whom we might deal.

The Conference eventually agreed to Tibetan autonomy under Chinese suzerainty; the return of an Amban to Lhasa, with suitable escort; and non-interference in administration by either China or Britain; but the question of the boundary was the rock on which the Conference split, Tibet wanting it at Ta chien lu and China at Giamda. The British representative proposed a compromise: an inner and outer Tibet (on the lines of Mongolia), the boundary to be the old 1727 one. Eventually they agreed accordingly, and initialled a draft convention on April 27, 1914, but China promptly disavowed it on the 29th, and the Conference broke up without agreeing. China, however, *did* formally notify Britain that the boundary was the *only* point she could not accept, and undertook that her troops should not move beyond their positions (*i.e.*, roughly the Mekong line) unless attacked by the Tibetans.

There was renewed trouble at Hsiang Cheng in 1914. In 1915 the Manchu "Amban" of Si-ning was abolished, his functions being transferred to the Muhammadan General of Si-ning.

At the end of 1915 Yüan Shih Kai ascended the throne, and at

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once Yünnan broke into rebellion and started fighting with Ssuchuan. Owing to this civil war during 1916-17 the frontier garrisons were neglected, and left without pay, supplies, or ammunition. They naturally degenerated into little better than brigands. Similarly the administration of the frontier districts lapsed into the hands of ex-brigands and adventurers, whose misgovernment speedily led to rebellion all along the border.

Central Tibet, on the other hand, enjoying peace and prosperity, had reorganized her army, so that by 1917 the Tibetans were in a decidedly better military situation on the frontier than the demoralized Chinese. The latter, however, were the first to break the truce. General Peng, commanding at Chamdo, acted with great arrogance, while the Kalon Lama seems to have shown the utmost forbearance and restraint. The Chinese having started hostilities, the Tibetans took up the challenge, and eventually captured Chamdo with General Peng and the survivors of the garrison after a siege of several months. Two thousand to three thousand Chinese prisoners were marched to Lhasa, whence they were subsequently repatriated via India, Burma, and Yünnan. Neither Ta chien lu nor Batang had lifted a finger to help Chamdo. The Tibetans were fast recovering the states of the "Marches," and by the middle of 1918 came into conflict with the Ta chien lu reserve force at Rongbatsa, and threatened to cut off their retreat. A large Tibetan force was threatening Batang, and a Chinese battalion at Gaji was surrounded. Another month or two would probably have seen the Tibetans in control right up to Ta Chien lu. At this juncture the Chinese local leaders invoked British mediation, and Mr. Teichman, of the consular service, from whose interesting book most of my latter information is derived, most courageously performed this delicate task with such success that a cessation of hostilities was arranged. The provisional boundary agreed on was roughly the old 1727 line, the Chinese retaining Batang, Litang, Nyarong, and Kanze (where poor Pereira died recently), and the country to the east of them; while the Tibetans retained Chamdo, Draya, Markam, and Dege, and the country westward. By the end of 1918 the frontier regions had settled down after the conclusion of the truce, and there I will leave the story. What has happened in the last five years I do not know. Perhaps someone present can enlighten us.

In conclusion, let me give one final croak. Let us not be too confident that Chinese control in Tibet has passed away for ever. The eclipse of the Chinese power there was due more to the rot engendered by the Revolution than to the strong right arm of Tibet. I think it probable that when China settles down (as sooner or later she must do) she will begin to put out feelers to re-establish some measure of control over her old dependencies. Her suzerainty (however shadowy) has

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been constantly admitted by us, and has been, time and again, reaffirmed by the Republic. Their national flag has a stripe (black) for Tibet as one of the five nations of the Chinese Commonwealth.

The old "Board of Dependencies" of the Empire merely changed its name to "Meng Tsang Cheng Chih Hui" (Department for Administering Mongolia and *Tibet*).

The Chinese are very tenacious in sticking to an idea. They are proud of their long history. They are intensely jealous and sensitive about questions touching their sovereignty, and I cannot think that a great and populous nation will quietly submit for ever to be shut out entirely from a region which they have controlled for centuries.

Sir JOHN JORDAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not think I can add very much to what General Willoughby has said. In fact, he has given us a most exhaustive account of the whole situation. I have spoken, I think, twice on the subject of Tibet before, and each time I have found myself in disagreement with the lecturer. This time I am happy to say I entirely agree with him. He is one of a band of men who have done great service in the Far East. (Applause.) He is, I am sorry to say, almost the only survivor of that band, one of those military attachés who did so much work in China. And he is probably the most representative traveller that we have so far as China is concerned. His lecture gave you a most exhaustive account of the whole situation from the beginning up to very recent times. Chinese influence in Tibet dates largely from the reign of Ch'ien-lung, not only a great emperor but a great traveller, something like our own Prince of Wales, who travelled over the whole country and mixed with the people. He did not make speeches, but wrote poems which are still graven on stones all over the country. The importance of Tibet from my point of view is largely this: Forty or fifty years ago China was a great, overgrown empire with five feudatory states—Burmah, Annam, Corea, Nepaul, and Tibet. All these were large countries that sent tribute to Peking and acknowledged the authority of the Emperor there. Now, during these forty or fifty years, all these countries have gradually drifted away from China, and in most cases there has been a very great deal of trouble connected with the change. The fate of Corea, for instance, where I lived ten years, was decided by two great wars: one between China and Japan, and one between Russia and Japan. That was largely due to what General Willoughby has told us of the tenacity of the Chinese, who never yield an inch of this ground if they can avoid it. The same with regard to Annam, which caused a war between France and China. It was a very unnecessary war, but it caused a great deal of bloodshed. In the case of Burmah we were more fortunate, because we and China are accommodating people, fond of compromises. We made a com-

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promise. We made a treaty by which we were to send local produce and become feudatories of China for some time. Of course, the treaty was never observed, it was never intended to be observed; but it was all right in its place. I think that was in 1886. The only thing that occurs to me is this: Tibet is almost the last country about which there is any dispute. The others have all become incorporated either in Japan, Great Britain, or France; but Tibet still remains an outstanding sore, and what is to be the future of Tibet? It is very difficult to say. The evening is rather late and I do not wish to detain you, but General Willoughby has given us so much solid material that I think I may indulge in a little forecast. Tibet is, of course, under the Dalai Lama, who is both a spiritual and a temporal ruler. In my early days in the Far East empire was the great thing. Everybody wanted to be an emperor. That was the fashion at that time. I remember very well the King of Corea one morning declared himself an Emperor, and he sent round to all the legations to see what his precedence would be in the hierarchy. After a time it was settled he should rank after the Emperor of Austria. That is all changed; the fashion now is not empire but republic. China became a republic against the advice of a great many of us, and has had a pretty bad experience. What about Tibet? I should not be surprised if Tibet became a republic some day; it is the vogue nowadays. The Dalai Lama is not going to remain a shuttlecock between Great Britain and China. Then his spiritual influence will go because you cannot have the President of a Republic turning prayer wheels all the day. He would join the League of Nations and we should have questions. But I think in the present state of things we are not going to have another war over Tibet, as we have had over Corea and Annam and those others. I do not think it is worth the trouble. In one thing I disagree with General Willoughby; I think it is a very good thing we did not establish a Resident in Lhasa, as it was at one time thought we should. I have had some experiences of Residents: in Corea we used to have one. If you establish a Resident in the place, you will find there is a great deal of trouble before very long. There is a great deal of competition for power and influence. The Tibet question, I think, could easily be arranged between Great Britain and China. In fact, just before I left Peking, one of the very last things I did related to this matter, and it was within an ace of being settled. It was in 1919, towards the end of my time there. The Chinese came to us—it is not a secret—and said, "We want to settle this question before you leave." They made a fair proposal on the whole with regard to the future status of Tibet: it was practically that we should acknowledge their nominal suzerainty, and that they should send back their Resident with a small escort of two or three hundred troops. The only question that really was not settled was that of the boundary. The Tibetans, in my opinion, have always

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been very unreasonable about the boundary, and have claimed a frontier right away to Ta-chien-lu. No one would make me believe that Ta-chien-lu and Batang are not Chinese. For years we have had people living there under British and American passports, so that the Tibetan demand was quite unreasonable. The negotiations broke down at the last moment through reasons not connected with Tibet at all, but the situation will probably be settled in the end on the basis of what took place in Pekin in 1919. I would like to say that I think there is in the audience a gentleman who has lived in Ta-chien-lu for years. I think you might perhaps get a paper out of him some time with regard to the whole situation there. In conclusion, I would only say that I have listened to General Willoughby's paper with very great interest indeed. I think he has covered the whole ground very minutely and with extreme accuracy. (Applause.)

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, —As I came into the room from another engagement about half-way through the lecture, I heard the words, "He ran away from Sir Francis Younghusband." I gathered from the rest of the address that it was the Grand Lama who ran away from me. There have been a great many vicissitudes in Tibet since I was there twenty years ago, and I understand from the last speaker, Sir John Jordan, that the Lecturer had said in the course of his address that it was a good thing that the advice of some of the agents of the Government of India, myself included, had not been followed, and we had no Resident at Lhasa. I gathered that the Lecturer and Sir John Jordan disagreed with this policy of stationing a Resident at Lhasa.

The LECTURER: I did not quite say that.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: I think that if we had had one there we could have saved all this coming and going backwards and forwards of the Tibetans running away from the Chinese one day and the Chinese running away from the Tibetans the next. I think that if we had had a Resident there, especially if that Resident had been Mr. Wilton of the Chinese Consular Service, who was with me in Tibet, and who is a very skilled and able adviser, we should have kept the Chinese and Tibetans in hand. We never wanted to do away with the suzerainty of China over Tibet, and we do not want to do away with that now. But I think that with a British Resident there and with the prestige that we had at the end of our Mission twenty years ago, and with the policy we had of keeping in with the Chinese, we should have had their support, and could have calmed down the Tibetans. I really think, and would like to take this opportunity of saying so, that in that way we might have saved a great deal of the troubles that have been going on during the last twenty years. As regards the general situation, it has struck me that at the root of the Chinese, I might almost call it, failure in Tibet is this, that through their pride of race they keep very much aloof.

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I saw them myself at Lhasa, and they treated all the Tibetans, even the highest, as very contemptible kind of people. Of course, the Tibetans resented that, and as soon as they see the Chinese weak they rise up against them. Then the Chinese gather strength, and come in with one of their tremendous rushes and subdue the Tibetans, as they did some fifteen years ago. And I quite agree with the Lecturer as to the great military capacity of Chao-erh-fung. His was a most wonderful feat, and I testified to it when I last spoke before the Society. Then, after they have made some tremendous spasmodic effort like that, their energy evaporates away. There is no steady or persistent control over the Tibetans, and consequently you get the trouble. It is my personal opinion, which I give for what it is worth, that if a British Resident had been at Lhasa he would have kept things steady. I should like to express my very hearty thanks to General Willoughby for the exceedingly interesting and well-delivered lecture that he has given to us. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN thanked General Willoughby for his valuable lecture and congratulated the Society on having had the opportunity of hearing both sides of the Tibetan question, so ably put by Sir Charles Bell in his lecture in the autumn and General Willoughby respectively. He hoped and believed that it might be possible to make some sort of a final arrangement, which might be acceptable to both parties, without coming into conflict. He then closed the meeting with a vote of thanks to the Lecturer.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Tuesday, April 8, 1924. The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presided, and the Rev. Father Antoine Poidebard, S.J., M.C., Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Croix de Guerre, late Major of the French army, attached to the General Staff of the British Force in Persia in 1918, lectured on "The Junction of the Highways in Persia."

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by calling on the Hon. Secretary (Sir Raleigh Egerton) to make an announcement as to new members of the Society.

The HON. SECRETARY: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to announce that twelve new members have joined the Society since the last meeting, which brings our numbers up to 783. Of course, our ambition is to reach a thousand, and I hope that some of those who hear the interesting lecture to-day, and are not already members, will be impelled to become such. The Secretary will always be very glad to receive proposals of membership at 74, Grosvenor Street.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall stand between you and the interesting lecture we are going to hear with only as few words as possible, in order that I may just tell you in brief outline who is the gentleman who has so kindly come over from Paris to give us the benefit of his large experience in the countries in which our Society is so deeply interested. Père Antoine Poidebard was, I think, for ten years in eastern Asia Minor—the Armenian part of it—in charge of the important French religious missions in that part of the country, and he utilized the time at his disposal in making a very close study of the conditions of life, political, economic, racial, and geographical in that country. Then came the war, during which Father Poidebard rendered distinguished service like so many of the Army Chaplains and Almoners —to which class he belonged—in his country and in ours. We all know the devoted and heroic service which they rendered at the front during the war. Then, towards the conclusion of the war the French general staff, being well aware of his remarkable attainments in the knowledge of the Armenian language and the whole of the Armenian problem, deputed him to go to that part of the world again, and to study the communications between the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus, so that he might eventually get to Tiflis, where there

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was already a French General Chardinier, who had been attached to the Russian armies at the time when they were fighting in alliance with ourselves. Père Antoine Poidebard accordingly went out in the early days of 1918, and made his way through the Suez Canal, Red Sea, and Persian Gulf up to Baghdad; there he made acquaintance with many of our officers, both civil and military. He proceeded on his journey along the well-known but difficult route from Baghdad into the country of the Caspian by way of Hamadan, and as he passed along that route he had many opportunities at the different military posts of making acquaintance with our officers, to whose staffs, indeed, he was actually attached, and with them he discussed the great questions that were then at issue—in particular the collapse of Russia. Consequent upon the Russian revolution a great gap had been created, through which there was imminent danger of the Turks, with the Germans behind them, making an attack, and occupying northern Persia and so onwards. All these questions Père Antoine Poidebard discussed with those most competent to talk about them, and he acquired a great fund of knowledge, which he has since recorded in an admirable book that I have before me—an account of his journeys and of the conclusions he comes to, "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse." He describes all the roads which lead through Persia, which if occupied by an enemy might form a threat to India. All those matters he studied profoundly. Eventually he got to Tiflis after the Armistice. He went back to Paris, then went again to the Caucasus for some time, and his special knowledge of Armenian questions made his services there invaluable. He saw the formation of the different Caucasus states, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia, and also witnessed their destruction at the hands of the Soviet forces which overran the country and before which the Turk retired, leaving the whole of the Caucasus in the hands and under the authority and power of the Soviet Government at Moscow. I believe Père Poidebard was almost the last to embark and take flight before this invasion, which has had, of course, such enormously important political consequences. I may say that his book conveys to one the general opinion that Père Poidebard was very much impressed by the dangers of the situation, and certainly we do not wish to diminish these in any way. We must face them. But the great danger before the final defeat of the enemy in his mind seems to have been this, that the great empires and powers of Germany, Russia, and Turkey might combine forces, which combination, operating through a great pan-Islamic or at least pan-Turanian movement, might constitute a very serious threat to our Indian Empire. That is very much the conclusion to which he comes, and I think we must all feel that it is a danger that did exist, and that may conceivably exist in the future, and if so we must take every precaution against it. Père Poidebard's defence against such a possible

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attack is a very simple one, it is that the two great countries in the world which are most concerned in the Islamic question—that is to say, our country and France—should agree on some policy which would, between them, enable our two countries to stand up against such an attack. I wish to say that we feel very much gratified at having the advantage of his presence here to-day.

THE JUNCTION OF THE HIGHWAYS IN PERSIA*

By A. Poidebard, M.C.

Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Among the many articles which my recent work on Persia as the junction of the highways has called forth, a writer, none too friendly to the British and French armies, thus humorously describes me: "Major Poidebard, small, fat, and short, his pipe eternally in his mouth, as fond of gossip as a *concierge*, ever full of sensational tales . . ."

Another adds: "This good man has the 'Road to India' on het brain. He cannot eat, drink, or sleep for thinking of it. As if the enemies of the Entente had nothing else to think of in 1918 than to seize the road to India."

Now all my chiefs and comrades know that Major Poidebard, after fulfilling certain official missions in Asia, disappeared from the public ken some three years ago, and that since then Father Poidebard has been free to resume his scientific labours and his life of missionary.

I know not if I be small and short; but the 14th Hussars has not forgotten that I was a heavy rider, nor the 13th Aerial Squadron that my weight made me an unwelcome observer to pilots.

As for the pipe, that is a familiar habit which has stuck to me since the pleasant days I spent with the British General Staff.

If I am talkative in my mother-tongue, I can hardly say as much for English, which I learned only in Persia in 1918. General Dunsterville will remember that at his headquarters in Hamadan my English was known as "explorer's" English. I must therefore beg the members of the Central Asian Society, who have so kindly invited me here to-day, to excuse my faulty pronunciation.

* I regret that the Journal of the Central Asian Society, Vol. XI., 1924, Part II., was shown to me too late to enable me to reply, in my lecture of April 8, to the criticisms contained in an article directed against certain points maintained in my book, "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse."—A. P.

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In the humorous portrait, however, which I have just quoted one point is perfectly accurate. Ten years' sojourn on missions in Asia have convinced me of the importance of that question of the road to India. The fight for the road to India is at the root of all the events in the East during the Great War, and that is precisely what I have endeavoured to bring home to the French public in my recent book, "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse."

The composition of the book was for me a labour of gratitude towards my chiefs and comrades of the British Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia and Persia. It was, moreover, a labour of justice towards our gallant British Tommies, who, as I have said in it, died by thousands on the plains of Mesopotamia and the mountains of Persia to keep the road to India, fighting for the same ideal as those who fell in the fair land of France in defence of their homes and those of their French comrades.

The many letters I have received from my French and English friends have shown me that my idea has been understood in all sincerity.

Keeping strictly outside all political and military questions, and confining myself solely to the geographical domain, I would ask leave to make some remarks on the question of communications across Persia.

By its geographical constitution, Persia is a striking example of the great laws of human geography.

An American explorer, Miss Ellsworth Huntington, remarks that the Pamir plateau is the "pulse" of Asia. That is true; but west of this plateau, between Western and Central Asia, between the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and Central Asia, the Persian plateau is the "wrist" by which have passed in every age the great routes of communication by land. This is one of the laws of historical geography.

PART I.

THE JUNCTION OF THE HIGHWAYS ON THE PERSIAN PLATEAU.

1. Configuration of the Persian Plateau.

Persia as the meeting-place of roads from the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, China, and India, is one of the great junctions of Asiatic communications. Before, however, studying this question, let us cast a rapid glance at the characteristic features of the Persian plateau as regards configuration and climate.

"Certain trade and transport routes," remarks M. Jean Bruhnes,* "are prepared in advance by geographical conditions, and man has

* "Géographie humaine," p. 151.

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merely to make slight modifications in the parts most favourable to his passage." Nowhere is the truth of this law of human geography more clearly demonstrated than in Persia. There, as Sir Percy Sykes aptly puts it, the real road-makers are the caravan mules,* and the routes are the tracks that have been determined by geographical conditions; and the wreck of successive empires in that part of Asia has been powerless to alter the lines of communication laid down by its orographical configuration.

Geographically Persia forms part of Central Asia.

The plateau of Iran extends between the valley of the Indus and the plain of the Tigris. It is the most westerly and most extensive portion of that upper region of Asia which is occupied to the east by Afghanistan and Baluchistan. On all sides it is surrounded by lofty mountains, which attain a higher altitude west and north.

The orographical map shows us in a striking manner how Persia is confined within the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. Its position and geographical conformation make it the sole passage for the land routes running from Central Asia to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

Bounded on the north by the Elburz and on the south by the Zagros, the Persian plateau rises between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. On every side it has the appearance of a gigantic staircase. The southern rim rises by broad steps leading to a central terrace, which is itself supported by two parallel chains of the chief range. Between the two central crests are situated the ancient cities of the Medes and Persians: Ecbatana, Persepolis, Ispahan, Shiraz, and Kirman.

The geographical and political backbone of Persia is formed by a lofty, elongated terrace, of a uniform height of over 5,000 feet, along a superficies about 100 miles in breadth by nearly 700 miles in length. Northward, near Tehran and Meshed, the plateau is uniformly above 3,000 feet. South and west it exceeds generally 4,000 feet. East and centre the desert is, on the contrary, uniformly below 2,000 feet—considerably below the plateau which encloses it on every side.

Persia is not, as it is sometimes described, a vast elevated plain bounded by lofty mountains. All along the plateau one meets with parallel chains, always running in a north-westerly direction, and separated by valleys nearly twenty miles broad. This formation is not merely exasperating to the traveller, who, coming up from the south, has to cross them at right angles. It also plays an important part in the regularity of the wind, which is an important factor in the aridity of the climate of Persia.

There are but a few natural passages across the elevated girdle of the plateau. The sole points of access relatively easy are marked by an important route.

* "History of Persia," i., p. 28.

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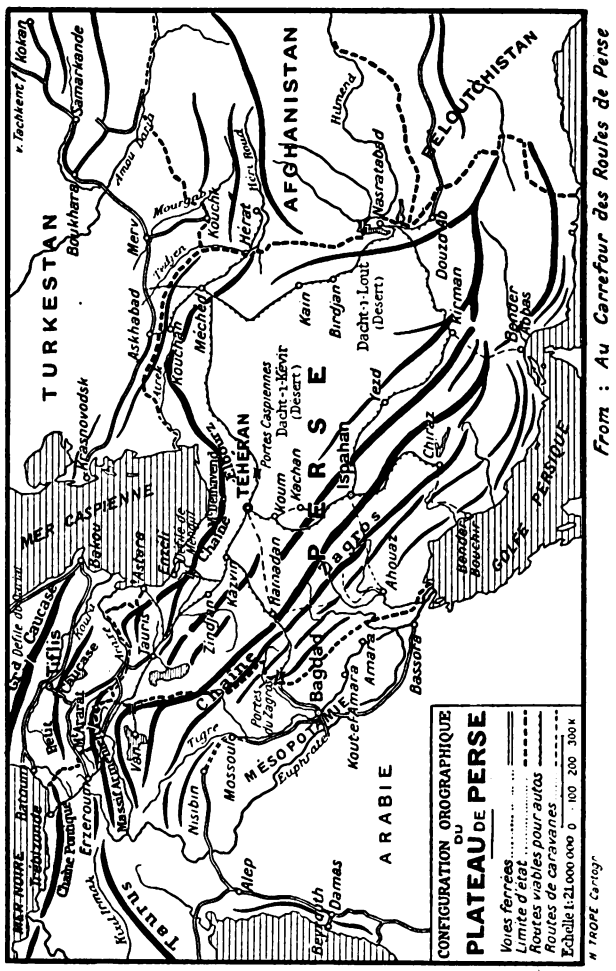
To the north-east, the Tedjend cut in the northern chain (communications with Turkistan and Afghanistan).

To the south-east, the Nasratabad Pass (communications with Baluchistan).

To the north, in the Elburz chain, the Safid Rud cut south of Resht and Enzeli (communications with the Caspian).



To the south, the steep barrier of the Zagros contains only one passage really practicable as a great route of communication—the Defile, or Gates, of the Zagros (Pa-i-Tak Pass, Tak-i-Girreh Pass) giving access into Persia from Mesopotamia. This is the itinerary of the Baghdad-Hamadan route, the ancient Royal Road of Babylon to Ecbatana. In every age it has been the great highway of communication for Persia with the neighbouring empires.

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The other routes starting from the Persian Gulf—Bander Abbas-Kirman, Bushire-Ispahan, Mohammerah-Ahwaz-Hamadan, Mohammerah-Ahwaz-Ispahan—were, before the war, mere mountain roads particularly difficult and only practicable to caravans. We know what great efforts were made by General Sykes's expedition (1916-1918) to improve the first two of these itineraries.

Finally, to the north-west, there is the Tabriz region, more favoured. From that town four principal routes have their natural course marked out in the chains surrounding Persian Azerbaijan. They are: Tabriz-Astara, on the Caspian, by the Ardebil Pass; Tabriz-Tiflis, by the Julfa Pass; Tabriz-Erzerum, by the Khoi Pass; Tabriz-Van, by the Kotur Pass. There is a fifth itinerary—Tabriz-Baku, by the lower course of the Araxes.

The rarity of natural passages existing across the border of the Persian plain and the manner of their distribution will make it clear, in our study of ways of communication further on, why in all ages, including the present, political and commercial movements have made use of the two great itineraries Baghdad-Hamadan-Kazvin (the Royal Road of Darius) and Meshed-Tehran-Kazvin-Tabriz (the silk route and road to China). It is a fulfilment of that law of human geography which says: "The pass is indicated by the general conditions of topographical modelling and relief; but, if it is, and if it is to remain a route, it needs the urban centres which safeguard it and which, by exercising afar their radiating influence, maintain the passage of the road by this naturally favourable point."*

2. Climate of the Persian Plateau.

Before studying the itineraries of the Persian roads, it is necessary to take note of the climatic conditions of the plateau.

The climate of Iran is peculiarly favourable to caravan transport. For the explorer it combines, during the greater part of the seasons, the ideal conditions of open-air life and camping outside the centres of habitation.

Pending the construction of railways and the regular upkeep of the great highways, it permits of the use of motor transport over the main roads of communication.

A remarkably dry climate is a characteristic feature of Persia and, indeed, of the whole of Central Asia.

The causes of this dryness are the same as for all the central regions of the Asiatic continent: rarity of moist winds coming up from the sea, a low yearly rain average, and a strong proportion of drying land breezes.

Rarity of Moist Winds from the Sea.—Deprived, like all Central Asia, of the moist currents of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, Persia

* Brunhes, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 231.

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cannot even take advantage of the vicinity of the Caspian. The lofty chain of the Elburz intercepts most of the clouds coming from the sea. Their abundant moisture is freely discharged over the narrow riparian provinces, and very seldom crosses the mountain. "Nothing," remarks Sir Percy Sykes, "is more striking than to stand on this mighty rampart and behold on the northern slopes a luxuriant expanse of forests and fertile plains, while to the south the immense plateau is bare and dry."

Annual Rainfall.—The centre, east, south-east, and south of Persia, as climate, are arid regions, and the soil is cultivated chiefly by means of irrigation.

By reason of the latitude and the sun's power, the very small annual rainfall average, as indicated by the statistics, shows that the situation of the region is altogether unfavourable.

Over and above the parched regions of Persia, however, which owe the vegetation of their oases to the mountain watercourses fed by the winter snows, there are provinces more favoured in annual rainfall. Such are the districts of the north and west—Khorasan, Azerbaijan, and Kurdistan.

In Persia, setting aside the plains of Arabistan and the richly watered shores of the Caspian, the "highlands" will necessarily be the most fertile and the most populated. The Iran plateau depends for its existence specially on the mountain snows. The higher and broader the mountain ranges the vaster the reservoirs they offer to this source of moisture.

Persia is, therefore, on the whole an arid region dotted with green oases.

In picturesque language, Stevenson, speaking of the south, has this characteristic sentence: "There is a certain tawny nudity of the south, bare, sunburnt plains, coloured like a lion, and hills clothed only in the blue transparent air."

The highlands of the west have this general physiognomy as one flies above them by aeroplane from Baghdad to Tabriz or to the Caspian. Only, in these less arid regions of the plateau, thin strips of verdure descend from the mountains and broaden into rich oases around the white splashes of the towns and villages. They mark the path of the watercourses over the tawny expanse of the plain. The translucent blue tint peculiar to the atmosphere of Iran forms a very limpid setting to the whole on the horizon.

Seen from above, the plateau looks like those Persian carpets on which, on a light brown ground surrounded by bright and brilliant bands of colour, the skilful workwomen trace arabesques of verdure It is indeed the dryness of the air which gives to the colours of Iran those pure, transparent tints which form the charm of the Central Asian landscape, tints which we find reproduced in the carpets, stuffs, and miniatures of its artists.

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Drying Winds.—The natural aridity of the plateau is considerably increased by another cause. Deprived, by its geographical position and its orographical configuration, of the moisture of the winds from the sea, this lofty region is, moreover, subject to the drying action of land currents.

A remarkably constant and uniform wind blows over the surface of the land. When the burning sun falls upon these treeless plains and bare masses of rock, it creates a vast column of hot air which in its turn calls forth a powerful current. On the plateau, the juxtaposition of these countless parallel chains, all running diagonally north-west, favours the creation of these air-currents invariably blowing towards the north-west or south-east.

No one who has not flown across Persia can so well realize what this constant draught is which is produced on the surface of the plateau by the sun's heat, untempered by any moisture. These columns of hot air of varied intensity, rising from the bare and rocky expanse, often render the journey by air from Baghdad to Tehran a stormy one. Over each valley he crosses, the pilot meets with air-pockets which are severe ordeals for the motor.

Conclusions.—These few geographical observations lead us to precise *conclusions*, "full of human geography," as Jean Brunhes expresses it, or as an English geographer puts it, "crammed with economic facts."

"From one snow to the next, there is no rain in Persia," says a proverb which is constantly in the mouth of the peasants of the plateau of Iran. This strict law is important in a region where the principal ways of communication are themselves mere tracks marked out by the caravans across chains and valleys. In the eight months of the fine season motor transport is therefore possible when the passes are not too rocky in parts and when the ascent is not insuperably steep.

For the rest, as soon as the snows melt, the dryness and limpidity of the atmosphere give great power to the sun's rays and quickly raise the temperature by day to torrid. But, for the same atmospheric reason, the twilight is the hour for a sharp drop in the temperature. The cool nights of the Persian summer and the luminous brightness of the stars enable caravans and transport to make long marches before sunrise. Then they halt in the oases of the villages.

The Persian plateau, as we have just seen, is a central basin, barren and low, surrounded by a mountainous plateau which becomes higher and higher as one travels from north-east to south-west, until the Zagros range presents a culminating terrace of a regular altitude of 5,500 feet.

Given the aridity of the climate, *the vital regions of the plateau must be in the highlands.* 'There it is that the snows which have accumulated during the winter in the mountains give birth to the chief rivers. From this point of view, Persia is a precise and interesting example of the influence of altitude on the density of production and population

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in certain regions near the tropics. History shows us the empires of the Medes and Persians establishing their important centres on the culminating portion of the plateau in the Zagros range. In the plateau *the highest region will be the best watered, consequently the most fertile and the most thickly populated. There it is, further, that the great routes of communication (the highways) will pass.*

We still see to-day this quadruple law in permanent operation. The charts of annual rainfall, production, population, and roads are, so to speak, superposed, and offer an interesting similarity.

In the list of altitudes we see that the principal towns are all above 5,000 feet in the Zagros range (Kerman, Shiraz, Ispahan, Hamadan, Birjan, and Sehneh); above 4,000 feet in the eastern and north-western mountainous girdle (Birjan, Kain, and Kuchan, Kermanshah, Kazvin, Tabriz, Urmieh, Ardebil); above 3,000 feet in the north part of the plateau (Tehran, Meshed).

3. The Roads of the Persian Plateau—Baghdad-Enzeli, Kazvin-Tabriz.

In January, 1918, having been instructed to study on the spot the shortest lines of communication between the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus, our mission found on the map of Asia only two possible itineraries: either enter the Persian plateau by the Zagros Pass, north-east of Baghdad, and thence by way of Hamadan, Kazvin, Enzeli, and Baku reach the Tiflis railway; or else avoid the Caspian Sea by following from Kazvin the road to Tabriz, and thus reach in the latter city the terminus of the railways of Russian Armenia.

Our itinerary would therefore be Baghdad-Kazvin-Enzeli or Baghdad-Kazvin-Tabriz, according as we entered the Caucasus from the east or from the south.

Railways.—On the map of lines of communication, Persia, in common with the upper regions of Central Asia, presents an enormous gap in the midst of the system of great railways. No railway appears between the Russian lines of the Transsiberian and the Transcaspian, the Mesopotamian lines and the Indian systems.

The true cause of the lack of railways in this part of Asia is to be found in reasons of international policy, rather than in difficulties of a natural or financial character. This map* is of a great interest. It points out very precisely which are the geographically possible itineraries of the land route to India. Consequently all the land routes necessarily pass through the Persian plateau.

Main Lines of Communication in Persia.

Two main lines of communication alone exist across Persia: the Baghdad-Hamadan route between Mesopotamia and the Caspian and the

* From "Mossoul et la Route des Indes," by A. Poidebard, in the *Asie Française*, Paris, May, 1923.

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Meshed-Tabriz route, which links up Turkistan and Afghanistan with the Caucasus and Turkey in Asia.

From Tehran a branch road runs to Ispahan and Kerman, where it joins the caravan route to Bander-Abbas, thus connecting the Persian roads with the seaborne trade of India by way of the Persian Gulf.

The main junction is at Kazvin.

1. *Baghdad-Hamadan Route.*

Historical.—In the Persian Empire, the Baghdad-Hamadan route lay along the famous artery of the *Royal Way* of Darius and Alexander, connecting Babylon with Ecbatana. From time immemorial it was the chief line of communication by land between the West and the East.

The Royal Way, which has been minutely described by Herodotus, started from Ephesus and Sardis, and by way of Ancyra (Angora), Comana (east of Tokat), and Melitène, reached Arbela (Erbil) and Susa. From Babylon it threw out a branch to Ecbatana (Hamadan) by the Gates of the Zagros, traversed Rhages (Tehran), and by the defile of the Caspian Gates gained the plains of Bactriana. In the Greek-Roman period it took the shorter route by the south, the actual line of the Baghdad railway through the Cilician Gates.

Under the Roman Empire it remained the great road of communication by land with Asia. As early as the second century B.C. it was the *Silk Way*. The caravans, starting from the markets of Chinese Turkistan, gained the Mediterranean by the north of Persia and Mesopotamia.

The Silk Way, from Antioch, joined the Royal Way in the north of Mesopotamia. By Arbela, the Gates of the Zagros, Ecbatana, Rhages, and the Caspian Gates, it entered Bactria (Balkh), and on leaving the Stone Tower came out on Issedon Scythica (Kashgar) and Issedon Serica (Khotan). It was in these markets that the Greek merchants met the Chinese caravans.

This Silk Way of the second century is interesting in that it marks out one of the natural routes from the Mediterranean into Central Asia, a great potential land route to the north of China and India.

Road to India.—In her commercial expansion "eastward," the Germany of 1914-1918 had vast ambitions. Her plan of a Berlin-Constantinople-Baghdad, completed by a pan-Islamic action, sought "beyond Constantinople Baghdad, beyond Baghdad the Persian Gulf, beyond the Persian Gulf the Indian Ocean and India itself." *

Brought to a standstill in 1917 on the road to the Persian Gulf by the loss of Baghdad, she endeavoured to seize the land route by way of the Caucasus, Turkistan, and Persia. This is proved by one of the annexes of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, March 3, 1918: "Germany shall

* Brunhes et Vallaux, "Géographie et l'Histoire," p. 490.

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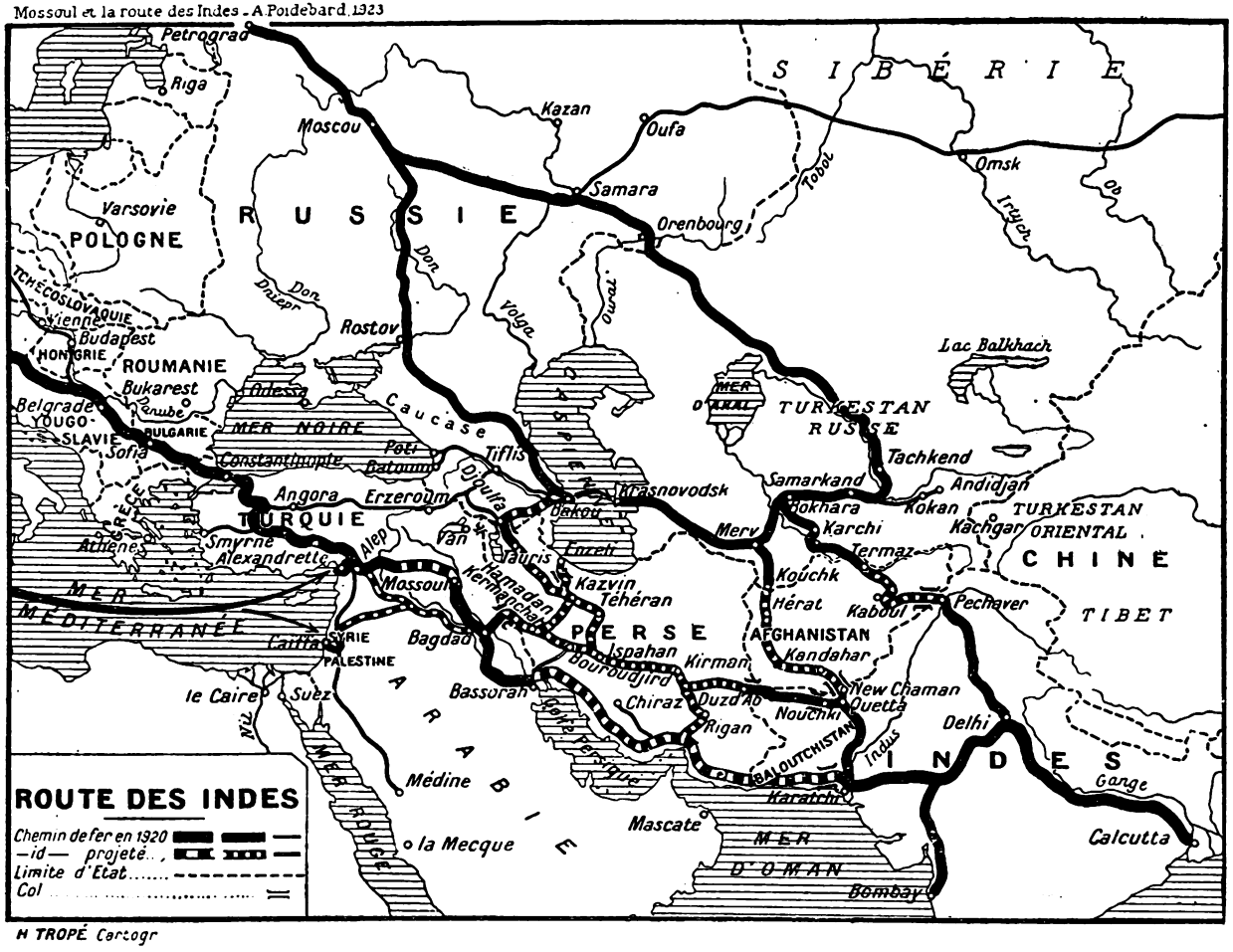

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have free access across the Russian territory to Persia and Afghanistan "! General Dunsterville tells us the same in his book.*

The Route of Invasion.—The Zagros route, after having been throughout the history of the Arabian, Persian, and Turkish Empires the route of invasion, the passage by which the armies attacked Baghdad, became in 1916-1918 the route by which the British and Russian armies put a stop to the German "Drang" towards the Persian Gulf and India.

In 1916-1917 it witnessed the passage of the Russian corps under General Baratoff, which was despatched from the Caspian to raise the siege of Kut-el-Amara and join hands with the British forces coming up from Basra.

Again in 1918, it was the route of General Dunsterville's force hurrying in motor cars from Baghdad to relieve Baku, Tabriz, and Krasnovodsk, which were threatened by the German-Turkish invasion.

To-day the Zagros route is still the high road of trade communication between Tehran and Baghdad (by rail from Baghdad to Kuraitu, near Khanaqin, and by motor car from Kuraitu to Tehran).

2. *Meshed-Tabriz Route.*

Historical: The Road of the Genoese to China.—In the Middle Ages, Tabriz-Meshed was the route chosen by the Venetian and Genoese merchants. In order to reach the silk markets of China from the shores of the Black Sea they landed at Trebizond, and travelling by way of Erzerum and Tabriz gained at Meshed the cross-roads leading to Chinese Turkistan. In the jargon of the Persian muleteers and camel drivers this route is still called the "Road to China." In 1921, when the Caucasus was seized by the Bolsheviks and every outlet on the west was closed against the Persian trade, the caravans, in the

* *Vide* Liman von Sanders, "Cinq Ans en Turquie" (Payot, Paris), pp. 375, 376:

"J'ai derrière moi cinq années d'activité militaire en Turquie, dans une haute situation lourde de responsabilités. Je suis donc bien fondé à porter un jugement sur ce que l'on a voulu et ce que l'on a réalisé . . .

"Dans le domaine militaire, ce que l'Allemagne attendait des Turcs dépassait de beaucoup leurs moyens et par suite était irréalisable.

"La Turquie n'avait pas seulement à défendre les Détroits, à protéger ses frontières sur leur prodigieuse étendue, mais elle aurait du conquérir l'Égypte, *soulever la Perse, préparer en Transcaucasie la création d'États indépendants afin de pouvoir, dans la suite, menacer de là les Indes par l'Afghanistan*, et enfin apporter en concours efficace sur les théâtres de guerre européens . . .

"A l'Allemagne on peut reprocher de n'avoir pas eu la froide et claire conception objective de ce que la Turquie était en état de fournir avec ses forces.

"Il semble que les souvenirs des 'Contes des Mille et Une Nuits' ou des mirages du désert de l'Arabie aient troublé le jugement de nos compatriotes d'ordinaire plus clairvoyants."

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space of a few weeks, were using once more the ancient road from the Black Sea to Tabriz by way of Trebizond and Erzerum.

Road to India.—In 1918 the road of Northern Persia was the itinerary assigned to the Turkish army of Islam.

Meshed-Tabriz is still one of the possible roads of the future from India to the Black Sea. The pre-war plan was that of a direct railway from Batum to Kars, Erivan, Tabriz, and Tehran. It was to avoid the circuit by way of Tiflis and cut straight across from Kars to Erivan and Julfa. But with the Russian revolution Persia has again been isolated within her own system of communication. Political calm would have to return to Asia before she would desire to see those great arteries of international exchange pass across her territory.

A Road of Islam.—In concluding this study of the Persian roads it is necessary to call attention to a point seldom touched upon, which is, nevertheless, of capital importance if we would understand the present pan-Islamic movement.

On the geographical map, between Turkey and Russian Islam, the people of Caucasian and Russian Azerbaijan are seen to form an important centre of population, Turkish in origin. Placed at the very meeting-place of the principal routes connecting the Black and Caspian Seas, the Persian Gulf, and Central Asia, they form an active link between the extremities of the Turanian world. The old road to China and the Silk Way have thus become one of the roads of Islam.

PART II.

FROM BAGHDAD TO THE CAUCASUS BY THE PERSIAN PLATEAU.

In January, 1918, the route from Paris to Tiflis by way of Arkangel (Murmansk) or Vladivostok was in danger of being cut by the Bolshevik revolution. All the other routes eastward were cut by the front of the Central Powers. There was urgent need to reconnoitre the communications between the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus, which were soon to become the sole practicable means of reaching Russia. With my comrade, Lieutenant Gerardot of the Army Staff, I was instructed to study this itinerary.

On January 25, 1918, our mission left Paris with letters from General Sir Henry Wilson (of the inter-Allied Military Council in Versailles) for the British staff in Mesopotamia.

In the autumn of 1917 the operations in Palestine and Mesopotamia had, once and for all, barred the way against the German-Turkish "Drang" towards the Suez Canal and Persian Gulf. But at the same moment the falling away of the Russian Caucasus front opened up to it a fresh road to India: Batum-Baku-Bokhara and Batum-Tabriz-

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Tehran. General Dunsterville's expedition was designed to meet this menace by marching across Persia to the Caucasus.

On receiving my orders at Versailles, on January 26, 1918, and in the few minutes of conversation which I had with the French and British Chiefs of the inter-Allied staff, I saw how important was the defence of the road to India in the mind of the defenders of the Allied front.

On March 4 we arrived at the bar of Shatt-al Arab.

The map of the oilfields of Mesopotamia and Southern Persia shows us the object pursued by the Germans and the Turks in their push towards the Caucasus and Persian Gulf. In Ludendorff's Memoirs we see that in the eyes of the German General Staff the land route to India was first of all the road to the oilfields of Asia, in order to obtain the all-important supplies for the German Army during the final offensive in 1918. General Sir Percy Sykes has not failed to point this out in his "History of Persia."

On arriving at Basra, on March 4, we learned that the road to the Caspian was closed by the Bolsheviks. General Dunsterville had not been able to embark at Enzeli for Baku, and had been compelled to fall back on Hamadan. On March 16 we went aboard the *P.* 51 for Kut-el-Amara, whence we were to take train for Baghdad. The chief interest on this journey by water across Mesopotamia lies in the picture it presents of the richness of this vast and naturally fertile plain, which only wants water to recover its ancient prosperity. The trade in cotton, corn, dates, and oil will, as soon as the old canals have been reconstructed, turn this region into one of the capital centres of the Asiatic highways.

We reached Baghdad on March 20. At G.H.Q., General Marshall and General Beach informed us that orders had been issued to facilitate our journey across Persia. "The orders of the War Office and of General Sir Henry Wilson," said General Beach to me, "are formal. Your mission is to be furthered at all costs," and let me add that, whether I had to do with General Beach or with Captain (now Lieut.-Colonel Sir) A. T. Wilson, Sir Percy Cox's able assistant, I was destined to experience in the fulfilment of my mission the fullest collaboration and sincerest friendship.

*On March 25 we left Baghdad in motor cars, running along the road to Persia, the ancient Royal Way of Darius. Thirty miles further, in the desert, we reached the palms of Baquba. Another thirty miles and we were on the spurs of Jebel Hamrin, the north-eastern girdle of the plain of Mesopotamia. Jebel Hamrin precedes the outlying slopes of the Persian plateau, whose massive rocky chain now begins to bar the horizon. In the evening we reached the camp

* Slides were shown throughout the lecture giving maps and illustrations of the distinctive features of the roads, buildings, and people.

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of General Sir William Thomson, who was in command of the northern front of Mesopotamia, and whose cavalry secured the high road against the attacks of the Kurdish tribes.

On March 26, setting out at dawn, we passed through Khanaqin.

From Khanaqin, Kurdish and Persian costumes began to intermingle, and up to Kermanshah our way lay through Persian Kurdistan.

In the evening we entered Sir-i-pul. The gorge became narrower. We were at the Gates of the Zagros. In the shade of the ancient Persian fortress, which commands the pass, were pitched the tents of a British camp.

The outline of the Baghdad-Enzeli route shows us the natural difficulties of this line of communication. The map shows us that on leaving the Zagros the road must cross the Persian plateau at the point where all the folds of the mountain ranges draw together before continuing towards the Caucasus and Turkey in Asia. In a stretch of 580 miles, 375 are above 3,000 feet, and several passes have an altitude exceeding 5,500 and 6,500 feet.

In 1918, as the metalled road only existed from Hamadan to the Caspian, the remainder of the route was practicable for motor cars only at the close of the snowy season. Before the first days of April the heavy clinging mud of the plains and the deep snow in the passes did not permit of any but caravan traffic. But the sun no sooner appears than the track regains its solid crust, making it possible for a light motor car to cover with ease in four to five days the Baghdad-Hamadan-Enzeli route.

In 1918, at the cost of immense labour, the British army established a good line of communication: the railway constructed from Baghdad to Kuraitu, near Khanaqin, and the road opened up to motor-car traffic. The Persian Government has thus a central route between the Caspian and Mesopotamia.

In the course of the day our escort and horses arrived, the escort being in charge of Captain Cropper, of the 14th Hussars.

On March 27, leaving our cars, we climbed on horseback up the road which crosses the steep barrier of the Zagros. By the Pa-i-Tak Pass we reached the camp of Surkadiza, where Colonel Mathews, commanding the Hampshire Regiment, was stationed, and as we approached the tent which served as a mess-room, and in which a welcome fire was blazing, a gramophone struck up the Marseillaise—a delicate attention on the part of the doctor.

The Royal Way had once again been laid waste by war. Famine ravaged the people of the villages which had been destroyed, and hunger-stricken natives gathered together in the neighbourhood of the camp and were fed by Colonel Mathews and his kind-hearted Tommies. We stayed here until April 1, when, well wrapped in furs, we again set out with our escort of the 14th Hussars for Kirind and Kermanshah.

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Caught in a snowstorm on the Pa-i-Tak Pass, we had to halt in the evening at Kirind to rest our horses and men.

On the muddy plateau of Kirind we passed through the gangs of navvies who were busily engaged, under the direction of the officers of Colonel Mathews, in repairing the route for the motor cars of the Dunsterville expedition. One has no idea of the enormous difficulties encountered by the British expeditionary force before the Zagros route from Khanikin to Hamadan was rendered practicable to motor transports. From Kirind, an important centre of the Kurdish sect of the "Ali-Allahi," our little caravan had to advance cautiously as far as Kermanshah. Our route led us through defiles held by hostile Kurd tribes. Before descending into the marshy plain of Mah-i-Dasht, we crossed the rocky pass of Shekar Zabar. At last the sun broke forth and the snow began to melt, but a day's warm sunshine dried the way, restoring its fine level and hard surface. We halted that night at Mah-i-Dasht, an important stage for the caravans of Persian pilgrims going to Kerbela. On April 5 we arrived at Kermanshah. The road had been thoroughly dried by the sun and we were able to push on. In the rear was Captain Goldberg and his armoured car, which had succeeded in crossing Pa-i-Tak Pass and was to join us at Kermanshah.

On April 8, after enjoying three days of charming hospitality at the hands of Colonel and Mrs. Kennion, we started in our Ford vans for Hamadan, escorted by Captain Goldberg. This is the ideal means of transport on the Persian plateau, when the road is dry and one is not hampered by too much baggage.

Twenty miles from Kermanshah we reached the Kuh-i-Parao chain. It breaks off abruptly at Bisitun. This was the grandiose mountain site selected by Darius to be a lasting memorial of his victories. Through this central passage of the Royal Way all the great historic invasions between Babylon and Ecbatana have passed. The bas-relief, which is in a state of perfect preservation, is sculptured on the face of the rock at a height of 300 feet from the ground. It represents Darius triumphing over his enemies, his foot on the neck of the chief Gaumata, the most powerful among them. Around him stand the other vanquished chiefs with their hands chained behind them.

One of the arches of the Bisitun bridge had partly fallen in, and only pedestrians and asses could venture along the parapet. Our cars had to be ferried across in *keleks*, a primitive kind of raft, on which we had some difficulty in stowing them. The Bisitun peasants had not seen the modern means of transport, and were much astonished thereat.

The Persians, who are renowned as gardeners, run their irrigation canals across the road from one field to another. These crossings are danger spots for a heavily laden motor-car, as we found to our cost occasionally.

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On April 11, avoiding the Asadabad Pass (7,600 feet), which was still covered with snow, we turned the summit of the Alvand by the right, and after crossing three high passes arrived at Hamadan. We lost no time in placing our baggage in a big Persian building where we were to have our quarters with other officers of the staff and in reporting to General Dunsterville, who received us with winning cordiality.

On the map the General briefly explained the position in the Caucasus and Northern Persia. "The situation," he said, "in the Caucasus is such as to render the fulfilment of your orders a sheer impossibility. All my couriers were arrested last week. The route to the Caspian is cut by the Jengali revolt, under the direction of German officers. The Germans are on the point of occupying the Caucasus. The Turks are invading Russian Armenia. With troops despatched from Baghdad we are going to try and stiffen the resistance of the Christians of Urumieh, Armenia, and Baku, and hold up the German-Turkish push towards the Caspian and the north of Persia. Gerardot will return to Paris with your report on the routes of the Caspian Gulf to the Caucasus, and Poidebard will remain with me until he can get through to the Caucasus." A few days later the General Staff in Paris detached me to Dunsterville's staff, and shortly afterwards Dunsterville attached me to Wagstaffe's party, which was about to operate towards Tabriz. It was not the least interesting experience of my journey.

The famine in Hamadan was terrible. The partisans of the Turks and Germans maintained corn at such a price that many of the inhabitants died of hunger. The object was to stir up the Persian population against the British army by making it think that the famine was caused by the arrival of the British. At every step one came upon the dead and dying. General Dunsterville did his utmost to revictual the Persian population.

On May 11 the Wagstaffe expedition set out hastily from Hamadan to establish its headquarters at Zenjan and advance on Tabriz. We were ten officers, twenty sergeants, plus an armoured car and a wireless station—thirty merry fellows well armed and eager for the fray. Success depended on rapid action ahead of the troops coming up from Baghdad.

On September 6 the Turks launched their attack. The patrols came in with information on the situation in the villages around Mianeh. Urumieh, our left wing, had been captured by the Turks on August 5. On our right, Baku, attacked by the army of Islam, was to fall on September 14. Our little expedition, with its ridiculously insufficient effectives, was pitted against a whole Turkish division supported by 2,000 horsemen. On September 9, 10, and 11 our headquarters were withdrawn to the rear of Kuflan Kuh. To meet a Turkish division and 2,000 horse we had only a few British soldiers and a squadron of the 14th Hussars. Our Persian levies fled at the first shot. In spite of

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the arrival of reinforcements sent from Kazvin, on September 12 Kuflan Kuh was taken by the Turks.

Having reached Kuflan Kuh the enemy stopped short, the sole reason being that victory had now declared for the Allies on the Western front and in Palestine. Our comrades had barred and bolted the road to India.*

In appreciating the work of the Dunsterville expedition too little attention has been paid to the innumerable difficulties which it encountered on every side. Critics have forgotten the solid results obtained by it. Ludendorff remarks in his Memoirs that the resistance offered by Baku held up the Germans for five months from the reserves of petrol so ardently coveted by them for the offensives of the summer of 1918. Numerous reserves were imprudently shut up by the Turks in the Caucasus and Northern Persia. The pluck and energy shown by the little Wagstaffe expedition in its desperate retreat excited the admiration of the Turks themselves. At the headquarters of the 9th Turkish Army at Kars, on December 8, 1918, I heard Shefki Pasha's staff speak in terms of the highest praise of that little handful of Englishmen who endeavoured to close the Kuflan Kuh against a Turkish division, and of those sixty Hussars who patrolled the country in the teeth of 2,000 enemy horse.

From September to October, during which period I was attached to the 36th Indian Brigade under General Champain, we were able to fly over these roads from Zenjan to Tabriz and photograph them under all their aspects.

On November 29 I joined my French Colonel at Baku, which had been occupied by a British force under Major-General Sir W. Thomson. A Ford convoy took me through the Elburz Mountains towards Enzeli.

On December 16 I arrived at Erivan as the French military representative. For two years in sight of Mount Ararat, the culminating point of the plateaux and key to the roads of Asia, I was a spectator of the struggle which went on for the possession of the road to India.

In 1919 and 1921 the Musulman movement, aided by Bolshevik Russia, was to make one more effort to fight its way across Russian Armenia and seize the Persian highways.

Conclusion.

This expedition led us to the central junction of the Persian routes, which has at the same time become an important junction of the roads of Asia. It has been remarked that unless one knows Persia it is difficult to understand events in Asia. I may add that, unless we knew the geographical meaning of the routes in this part of Central Asia, we should fail to understand aright the great movements which, like a

* *Vide* "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse," pp. 236 237.

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mighty tide, alternately rise and fall between Europe and the Asiatic continent.

"It required the discovery of the sea routes to India by the Cape at the end of the fifteenth century before the zone of migrations lost its commercial value. To the din of battles succeeded for three centuries a kind of lethargy which only terminated with the construction of the Suez Canal and the Asiatic railways (Caucasus, Russia-in-Asia, and Mesopotamia). These new ways have given a modern equipment to the ancient zone of movements and migration of the Old World. They have given it new life." *

The historic routes of Asia—the Royal Way of Darius, the Roman Silk Way, the route of invasions are as important as ever. To-day their names are: Road to India by land, oil route, central route of Asiatic Islam.

In spite of its defective communications, Persia is and remains, therefore, a vital point, a great junction of the roads of Asia. Without a knowledge of Persia, it is hard to understand the tangled skein of Eastern problems which have their centres of fermentation not only on the shores of the Bosphorus, but especially east of the Black Sea.

General DUNSTERVILLE: Sir Maurice, Père Poidebard, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a very great pleasure to me to be here this afternoon —not to find myself up here by way of delivering a lecture to you, but to have had the opportunity of shaking the hand of one of my best comrades of the war, Commandant Poidebard, with whom I parted at Hamadan, and have not met from that day to this. I am very glad to have this opportunity, though as regards the subject of the lecture there is very little I can add, and very few criticisms I would care to make on the subject with which he has dealt so thoroughly: but it is just the pleasure of paying a personal tribute to this gallant French officer, who joined us in Hamadan, and who we felt from the very first day was one of ourselves. He represented our great Ally France, but although our languages were different, we felt from the very first moment that here was a human being with whom one was at once in the relationship of a comrade. It is, I think, one of the points he wants to make in the book, though he has not dwelt upon it to-night, the necessity of a thorough understanding between ourselves and our great Ally. (Applause.) All the troubles we have, or are ever likely to have with France, arise from that one sad failing, the inability to understand each other. It is just as difficult for a Frenchman to understand an Englishman as for an Englishman to understand a Frenchman. We do not want to be like each other, but we must understand each other's temperaments before we can arrive at a common point of view, which will enable us to adjust the affairs of

* Brunhes et Vallaux, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

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Europe in the way they should be adjusted. The force that I had the honour of commanding during the war was engaged in operations which have frequently been described as a gigantic piece of bluff, and with some truth I think. But of all these operations the bluffiest, I think, was the one in which Commandant Poidebard took part, which went under Major Wagstaffe in the direction of Tabriz. I think it was rather the limit when ten officers and twenty non-commissioned officers started out with the whole of the Turkish army in front of them. The Turks at that time were not very enterprising, and the little force was right on top of Tabriz when the Turks suddenly discovered there was not very much there and decided to push them back. Imagine those three days when the Turkish officers were watching the little force with their glasses and wondering what was behind it. There was nothing behind it but an armoured motor car which refused to move when wanted to. That difficulty was got over, and the little force was able to withdraw in good order and without severe loss. The Lecturer deserves the heartiest congratulations on addressing us in our own language. A great number of us like to think we understand French very well indeed, but perhaps we understand it better when it is put into English—(laughter)—and I think it requires some courage to undertake to address a foreign audience in their own language as he has done. As he says himself, when he joined us, his English was qualified as "explorer's English": certainly to-night he has reached a very much higher standard. (Applause.)

General Vicomte De la Panouse said that in spite of General Dunsterville's remark about English people understanding French best when translated into English, he would ask permission to speak in his own language: it was a good thing to hear the two languages, and he was quite sure that the great majority of those who heard him would understand him when speaking in French. He wished, first of all, to say something about their Lecturer: he had not met the Rev. Father Poidebard until to-day, but he had known his name from long past, and he had met his brother when that gentleman had been with himself (Vicomte de la Panouse) an officer in the French army of the Rhine. He wished to pay his respects to the habit worn by the Rev. Father, who, with his brother Jesuits, had set a fine example of patriotism during the war. He knew that on the first day of general mobilization all the mobilized Jesuits living in England had presented themselves at Dover in order to put on the uniform and rejoin their units. He wished also in Father Poidebard to salute the missionary. Since 1904 Father Poidebard had been occupied with the school mission. He belonged to that admirable phalanx of missionaries who, alike in British and French colonies, did so much for their country. In the region extending between Samsoun, Siwas, and Adana, he had helped in carrying on the work of civilization, but after the war that work had been very much impeded. All the colleges and scholastic

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establishments of Asia Minor had been closed, and the property of the mission sequestrated by those who have been educated there. No one could tell when they would be able to recommence their admirable work, but it was to be hoped that better days for the missions were in store, and that they would be able to resume their activities. What we saw in Asia Minor was, in effect, a sort of wave of nationalism which took an anti-religious form. Moreover, there was what would, perhaps, be a bigger danger, a wave of Bolshevik propaganda, destructive not only of all religion, but of all morality. Mischief would be done unless that propaganda could be arrested. He thanked the committee of the Central Asian Society for having been good enough to invite himself and compatriots to the meeting. The presence in the hall of such a distinguished gathering of people who had been members of the British Diplomatic Service, of the Indian Civil Service, some of them having held high office in that country, together with the presence of high officers of the army, showed that the Committee desired to make a little Franco-British demonstration, and above all to recall the loyal comradeship which had existed during the war. To-day everybody wished for peace, but there were some people who no longer dared to pronounce the name of war, and who seemed to think that the word could be expunged from the dictionary. He thought that a profound error. The future belonged not to man, but, as the greatest French poet had said, it belonged to God, and we must always be ready for any sacrifice that might be demanded. We must be ready, if need be, to fight for liberty and for the just cause which we had victoriously defended; but in order to maintain the peace of the world or to fight successfully, one condition was necessary, and that was the union of Great Britain and France.

The CHAIRMAN: Amongst those whom our Lecturer was associated with in his venturesome journeys, and on whose staff he was, is General Bateman Champain. I will ask him if he will kindly say a few words with regard to his experiences in Persia. (Applause.)

General BATEMAN CHAMPAIN: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am indeed honoured to have the opportunity of saying a few words on this occasion; and I can promise you, looking at the time, that they will really be a few words; because I do not intend to touch on either the political, strategical, or even the geographical side of the lecture that we have heard to-night; but I do feel that it has given me this opportunity of saying a word of thanks to an old comrade of mine who served with me for the latter part of the time he was in Persia. I came rather late on the scene: I missed the exciting part that he has told you of, his advance under General Dunsterville's orders to Tabriz, and how he and his gallant band and twenty-nine others with a motor car faced the Turkish army; but I was there in time for the advance of the Turkish Army on to that little band, which had then been reinforced by a handful of the Hampshires under

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Colonel Mathews, and by a few Gurkhas. I think, in all, when the main force of the Turks bumped up against us, we had something like seven or eight hundred rifles and two guns, and there was still the little squadron of the 14th Hussars, consisting at that moment of thirty-five sabres. With this little force—I always congratulate myself that it was so—was Commandant Poidebard. (Applause.) When I first arrived at Kazvin I was told by the staff that I took over, "There is a fellow called Poidebard, a Frenchman, up there. He is our intelligence officer." I had personally just met him before on my way up there, but did not know he was attached to our army then. When I met my friend, Commandant Poidebard, I found out that not only was he what Sir Maurice de Bunsen says, a good comrade to all of us, but, in my way of thinking, he was an absolutely first-class intelligence officer. He had a command of the language, and I do not know where he had learned the art of intelligence, but he had learned it well. He produced for me, and I was able to pass on to General Thomson, information that it would have been very difficult to have found out without him. I think this is an opportunity of thanking him publicly for all he did for us. I would like to congratulate him on the advance he has made in the English language, and I think from what you have seen from his pictures to-night, and from the way he went forward with that little band, that he earned what I am glad to say he did get, that is the English Military Cross. (Applause.)

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think it is the first time I have had the pleasure of hearing the Vicomte de la Panouse speak in French. He has always said, as far as I understood, that he preferred to speak in English while in England. Why he changed his mind to-day I do not know. I think in listening to the lecture to-day, we have all begun to realize what our soldiers went through in the operations in Persia. There we had an almost unknown country. I can remember the time after the Afghan War, when I rode across Persia from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, and except for the telegraph officials along the telegraph line and a few officials in Tehran, there were comparatively few travellers in the country. Now we have opened up a new route and built a road—which the Persians had never done—and I do not think they have ever thanked us for doing it. (Laughter.) We explored the country, and did a enormous amount to try and keep the people from starvation. What the force under General Dunsterville and other Generals did to employ the Persians and feed them is a thing that has never been acknowledged by the Persians, and is known to very few people. We have seen by the pictures on the screen what unaccustomed situations our soldiers were put in, and how they accommodated themselves, as the British soldier always does, to whatever state of affairs he finds himself in. But it is not only what the soldiers did; we must realize what the sailors did. I took a particular interest in what was done by

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Captain Norris and the sailors on the Caspian Sea: I remember the day in the middle of the war when, as a Member of Parliament, I wrote a letter to the War Cabinet, suggesting to them that if we could only get a gun of some decent calibre on to the Caspian Sea we should be able to cut the whole line of the communications stretching across that sea. That eventualized, as we know, into the force under Captain Norris, and I only wish we had retained that force on the Caspian instead of handing it over to the Russians, as we did with such disastrous results. ("Hear, hear.") Our Lecturer has given us an account of the various roads through Persia, and has shown how there were great routes there in ancient times. Well, whether those routes will ever be resuscitated or not I do not know. We remember that before the war there were great plans for railways across Persia, but they never matured. How far they will ever mature it is very difficult for us to say at the present time, but there is no doubt, I think, that circumstances will bring communications in Persia to the fore again, and that we may have roads or railways constructed which we have no knowledge of as yet. Doubtless these communications will be most important in time, and we may see a route from the Mediterranean right through to India, but how long that will take to develop no one can say at present. However, I think our Lecturer has given us a great exposition to-day of what the possibilities of Persia are and what the old roads were; and I can only say we must leave the development of Persia for the future. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The operations about which we have heard this evening had for their principal object always the defence of India. Now, on the subject of the effect which these operations may have had on opinion in India, I believe that we have a gentleman present this evening who can speak with a good deal of authority; I refer to the Maulvie Abdur Rahim Nayyar, whom I am very glad to see here. (Applause.)

MAULVIE ABDAR RAHIM NAYYAR (Representative of the Ahmadia movement in England): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has pleased me to see so distinguished an assembly of people here who are connected not with England alone but with the Empire, and, at the same time, to see that a fellow-missionary of a faith of the Empire has spoken to us, and has spoken of defending the hearths and homes of the people who were in danger of being robbed of honour and property, and who fought in our defence on the road to India. (Applause.) Ladies and Gentlemen, those people who lived in India in those days were of two kinds—officials and the people who belonged to that land. The officials had a great protection, because they had a force and a prestige behind them. Then there were the people who belonged to that land. Among these were again two kinds of people, those who were fond of foreseeing the downfall of the British Empire and of foreseeing that some new people should come. But there were people who

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appreciated the good which the British Empire has done to them, and acknowledged the benefit of the benign rule of England. There were and there are such people in India among them, and I am one of those. (Applause.) It was in those days that we used to hear, "The Germans are coming; the Turks are coming; now in a very few days we will butcher you in the streets of the cities." We used to hear: "Kaiser Wilhelm has become Mahomet Kaiser Wilhelm; he is a Mohammedan. The Germans have become Musulmans. The great days of Islam are coming." Those were the rumours. I still believe there was some kind of organization behind which spread those rumours. I was denounced for making this statement. Sir Michael O'Dwyer may or may not believe with me, but, as far as my knowledge goes, there was something behind which put forward such kinds of rumour. In those days of danger, for what your soldiers, sailors, and this gallant French gentleman along with them did for us we are grateful. In those days there was a great torment in the souls of the people who saw that perhaps the Germans would come. There was a time when the rumour was spread that the Germans had reached Karachi. In those days I had been sent to Sind, and was in Jampore when I heard the rumour that some people had formed themselves into groups. Certain towns in the Mooltan district had been named Belgium, Paris, and so on, and there came red Germans, yellow Germans, and blue Germans. First of all they descended upon "Belgium," and there was a German king, as they called him. He was on a camel, and all his party was with him; and when he came near, all his party got down, and he said, "Gentlemen, what are we to do? Go and have everything from the shops." They had everything, and "Belgium" was looted and destroyed. Then they were to go upon "Paris"; but Sir Michael heard, and sent his people, and in this way the peace and prosperity of India were saved. My thanks as an Indian and an Indian Ahmadi Moslem, who never agreed with the Turkish Khalif, or Turkish Empire, or pan-Islamic question. My belief has been, and will always be, that the Moslems in the British Empire should be British Moslems, the Moslems under the French rule should be French Moslems, and the Moslems under other rule should be those Moslems. The Turkish should be Turks, the French French, and the British British, and Indians should be true to the people whom God sent to do good to them. I am thankful to you for fighting for us, for safeguarding the interests of the Empire, and it is my wish that we should always go on together to do good to God's creatures wherever they be. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then closed the meeting, summing up the lecture and the remarks made by the various speakers, praising the Lecturer's courage for delivering his address in English, and thanking him in the name of the members for his most interesting lecture.

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THE DOWNFALL OF THE OTTOMAN KHILAFAT

By Sir Valentine Chirol

A Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, May 8, 1924, when Sir Valentine Chirol delivered a lecture on "The Downfall of the Ottoman Khilafat."

Sir Maurice de Bunsen, who presided, said there was no need to introduce the lecturer, and congratulated the Society on having secured so well-known an authority to speak on a subject which was of such importance and interest as the fall of the Ottoman Khilafat.

The Lecturer: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—If the revolution by which the Grand National Assembly has put an end to the Ottoman Sultanate and Khilafat had happened forty or fifty years ago, I think that attention would have concentrated almost entirely on the disappearance of the Sultanate. That of the Khilafat would have attracted much less interest, for it is only since then that an extraordinary endeavour has been made in different quarters and for different purposes to identify with the Turkish Khilafat an ancient Islamic institution, which came into being seven hundred years before the Turks or the Turkish Sultans appeared in history. I must therefore in the first place ask you to bear with me whilst I remind you of what the origin and history of the Khilafat as an Islamic institution have been. You know that Mohamed founded what was essentially a theocratic state. He received, as he believed, through successive revelations, a code of laws, moral, political, and religious, by which his people were to be governed. The temporal and spiritual authority were to be vested after his death in a Khalif—*Khalifa-Rasul-Allah*, the Vicegerent of the Envoy or Prophet of God; also called *Imam-el-Kebir*, the Great Guide; also *Ameer el Muminin*, the Prince of the Faithful. He was not a supreme Pontiff in the sense in which the Roman Catholics regard the Pope of Rome as such, because orthodox Islam knows no priesthood properly so called. He was to be the interpreter of the sacred law and the defender of the faith—the Sword of Islam. Unfortunately Mohamed died without designating a Khalif. the Khilafat, as a matter of fact, remained but a very short time universally recognized by the Mohamedans, and its story has been frequently stained by violence and fraud. Dissensions arose very early as to whether the Khilafat was to be elective or transmitted by descent in the family of

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the Prophet. Discord, open discord, only broke out under the fourth Khalif, Ali, who was assassinated. From that moment sprang up the great schism in Islam between the Shiahs, who were followers of Ali, and have recognized no other Khalif since him, and the great majority of the Sunni orthodox Mohamedans, for whom the Khilafat is a matter faith. The Khilafat passed after Ali's death to the Omeyyad dynasty of Damascus, and then to the Abbasside dynasty of Baghdad; and simultaneously with the latter there came the great Khilafat of Cordova in Spain. The Arab empire had spread over such an enormous area within a hundred years—right away from Central Asia, all through Northern Africa into Spain, and once into the very heart of France—that unity either of temporal or spiritual sovereignty could not be maintained. It was during the Khilafat of Cordova that Arab civilization reached its apogee, and produced great Arab thinkers—men of science and philosophers—who in fact held the torch of ancient learning burning whilst it was very nearly extinguished in the rest of Europe during the dark ages.

The Khilafat of Cordova crumbled away as well as the Khilafat of Baghdad, and only some fugitive descendants of the Abbasside Khalifs still bore the almost empty title in Cairo when the Ottoman Sultan, Selim the First, conquered Egypt; and from one of these he secured the transfer of the shadowy rights that he enjoyed as Khalif. Having conquered the Holy Places, Selim returned to Turkey as the first Khalif who could not claim any kind of descent from the Prophet. But the claims of the Turkish Sultans to the Khilafat have been frequently challenged by learned and pious Moslems, amongst others in our own time by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Alighur Mohamedan College—now a university—and it was challenged forthwith by the Sultan of Morocco, who, although an orthodox Sunni, just like the Turks, refused to recognize the Ottoman Sultan as Khalif, and proclaimed himself Khalif, and, to the present day, his successors are alone recognized as Khalifs in Morocco. The Ottoman Sultans themselves never really made much use of their spiritual authority. Selim died a few years after he proclaimed himself Khalif. His successor, Suleiman the Magnificent, was absorbed in European conquests which brought the Turkish armies up to the gates of Vienna, and he was the last of the great Sultans.

Then came a long period of decay, of horrible corruption and depravity—the era of the seraglio—when Turkey was governed by sultanas, concubines, and favourites, and the heirs to the throne were brought up in what was called "the cage," and, if not sooner or later killed off, deliberately debauched and emasculated; so that if and when they came to the throne, they should be mere puppets in the hands of the ruling faction. This was the age of the janissaries, who sold their swords to any faction that was prepared to pay for them.

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Turkey was rescued from dissolution at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the rivalry of the European powers, and England, for political purposes into which I need not enter to-day, made an attempt to reform Turkey in order to make her something like a bulwark against Russian ambitions, and actually fought the Crimean War to keep her in being. At that time, too, very little was said about the Khilafat outside Turkey. In fact, when the Grand Viziers, Ali and Fuad, who enjoyed an almost European reputation in the middle of the nineteenth century, were engaged in putting a sort of European façade on the Ottoman Empire, they were so anxious for the West to forget the Oriental origin of Turkey, that, in documents exchanged with European powers, the Sovereign was generally not styled Sultan, much less Khalif, but Emperor of the Ottomans. It sounded more Occidental.

But, after the Russo-Turkish War, when Turkey was bankrupt, and stripped of many of her provinces, and once more saved by England alone from a much worse fate, there came to the throne one of the most remarkable of Ottoman sovereigns. That was Abdul Hamid the Second. In his youth he had been told by a pious fakir that he would live to revive the glory of Islam as Sultan and Khalif. He was not a fanatical man, in spite of many things that point that way; but he was very superstitious, and it may be that that prophecy sank into his mind. The fakir had assured him that he had discovered his star in the heavens, and it is at least a curious coincidence that, when he built himself a palace, in which he lived in seclusion during the greater part of his reign, he called it the palace of the star—Yildiz Kiosk. He conceived the really great idea of finding compensation for the territorial losses which the Sultanate had incurred by reviving and extending the spiritual authority of the Turkish Khilafat, and, having successfully destroyed the old ring of Pashas, who had established under his predecessors a powerful bureaucratic oligarchy in Stamboul, he made himself in the first place an absolute autocrat in Turkey. Then he was ready to start his great pan-Islamic propaganda in order to rally all the orthodox Mohamedan peoples around him as Khalif; and it is interesting to note that India was one of the first fields to which he turned his attention. As far back as 1884 he had printed for him at Yildiz a paper in Urdu called "Peik-Islam"; which was written by an Indian Mohamedan who had been expelled from the Indian public service in the Punjab. It was a bitterly anti-British paper, directed against British rule in India, and he wanted to pay off England for insisting that he should carry out in his Empire the reforms to which he had pledged himself under the Treaty of Berlin, and, to Great Britain in particular, under the Cyprus Convention. Later on, he was in a still better position to snap his fingers at England, for he had the good fortune to find an appropriate ally in the ex-Kaiser, who, in return for value received—the Baghdad railway and other concessions

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—was the only European sovereign who ever publicly recognized the Sultan as Khalif. In his famous speech at Damascus, a few days after he had been masquerading as a Christian Crusader in Jerusalem he greeted "his good friend and ally, His Majesty the Sultan Abul Hamid," as the Khalif whom "three hundred million Mohamedans" revered as the head of their religion—one of his usual exaggerations. The greatest success which Abdul Hamid's propaganda achieved was probably the construction of the Hejaz railway to the Holy Places of Arabia—to Mecca and Medina. It was built with German aid, and Abdul Hamid sent out his agents all over the Mohamedan world to collect subscriptions, and to preach at the same time, of course, the glory of the great Sultan and Khalif who was so paternally concerned for the welfare of all Mohamedans. Unluckily for Abdul Hamid his internal methods of government led to his downfall. He was a pitiless despot; he relied upon delation and corruption as instruments of government; he held the army at arm's length; and he created much dissatisfaction amongst his own Turkish subjects by surrounding himself, especially in connection with the pan-Islamic propaganda, with non-Turkish Mohamedans—Syrians, Albanians, and Kurds, whom he also employed almost exclusively as his Prætorian guard.

The Turkish revolution came. He was deposed in 1909, and the power passed into the hands of the Committee of Union and Progress, which was formed partly of Turks who had imbibed certain liberal ideas, and been banished or interned in consequence, and partly of disaffected army officers. The leader of these was Enver. On the Committee of Union and Progress religion sat rather lightly. It came in on the Nationalist cry, and it relegated Pan-Islamism to the background, retaining it, however, as a second string. The central idea of the Committee of Union and Progress was the Turkification of all the subject races of Turkey; and even when they dragged Turkey into the war as the ally of the Germanic empires, it was only once that they attempted to mobilize the Khilafat, if I may use that expression, in support of Turkey. That was when they got the Khalif to proclaim a Jehad, or holy war, against the Infidel Allies. That created, no doubt, a congenial atmosphere for the policy which Enver and Talaat had borrowed from Abdul Hamid's days, of simplifying the situation in Asia Minor and making it safe for Turkish domination, by eliminating the Christian populations—expelling the Greeks immediately after the war broke out, and subsequently expelling and massacring the Armenians. But they were always careful to explain that this was done not from any religious motives—not from Mohamedan fanaticism at all—but as a measure of political expediency. There was no response to the Jehad, or hardly any, outside Turkey. In fact, as we know, our Indian Mohamedan troops, and the French Mohamedan troops, all fought loyally, not only against the Germans in France,

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but against their Turkish co-religionists in Mesopotamia and in Syria; whilst the Mohamedans outside Turkey displayed, and continued to display, a good deal of indifference, even when Turkey was compelled to sue for peace, and the terms to be imposed upon her were expected to be very severe.

There is no doubt that if Allied diplomacy had insisted upon imposing terms of peace upon Turkey within six or twelve months of the Armistice, the Turks would have accepted practically anything; and the rest of the Mohamedan world would not have demurred. Inter-Allied jealousies, and the long diplomatic delays, and Mr. Lloyd George's infatuated belief that "the East is never in a hurry and that Turkey could wait," gave a very remarkable man, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, an opportunity to reorganize the Turkish army, and make a great appeal to Turkish nationalism when the Greek army was landed, in the first place as a mandatory of the Allied Powers, in Asia Minor. Then the loins of the non-Turkish Mohamedans were unwrung, and especially in India, where a number of Indian Mohamedan extremists had joined hands with Hindu extremists for the subversion of British rule—for that is what their agitation came to—and they now saw their chance of striking a big blow at British influence in the East and at the British Raj in India. Some of them, and notably the two brothers Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, had been in touch with the Young Turks before the war, and were interned during the war. They were animated far more by hatred of England than by love of Turkey, and they had a very brilliant idea. They recognized that they would be unable to carry the bulk of the Indian Mohamedans with them in a pro-Turkish campaign, unless they could discover a religious label which would appeal to their co-religionists. The label they discovered was the Khilafat. Their case was: Temporal power is essential to the Khilafat for the discharge of its spiritual duties, the Allies are endeavouring to curtail the territorial sovereignty of the Sultan; therefore they are making war upon the Turkish Khilafat: therefore they are making war upon Islam. Their agitation assumed tremendous proportions—though I should like to remind you that up to the Crimean War, and even up to the despatch of an Indian contingent to Malta by Lord Beaconsfield, when war threatened again between England and Russia over Turkey in 1878, the Indian Mohamedans cared and knew very little about Turkey. I have in my possession a book written less than a hundred years ago by a Mohamedan Indian, dealing with the customs and religion of Indian Moslems: from cover to cover there is no mention whatever of Turkey, or of the Khilafat; except that in reference to the pilgrimage to Mecca, the statement is made that Mecca is under Turkish sovereignty. But education and facilities of communication had, long before the Khilafat agitation, developed increased intercourse with Europe, and there had grown up

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more interest in Turkey. Nor had Abdul Hamid's propaganda fallen on to altogether barren soil. So the Khilafat agitators were able to carry a very large number of Mohamedans with them. But one of their most skilful moves was to capture Gandhi, who never looked into the merits of the case but, as he himself told me, regarded this Khilafat movement as a splendid demonstration of religious faith on the part of his Mohamedan fellow-countrymen, and therefore threw his mantle over it. It then rapidly assumed such proportions that, with a benevolent Secretary of State in office here, Mr. Montagu, who, like many of his co-religionists, had a singular weakness for Turkey, and displayed it as early as the Peace Conference, the Government of India began to lend it official countenance. It was, in fact, frightened —I think frightened out of its wits. At any rate, the Khilafat agitation in India undoubtedly ended by deflecting our whole imperial policy, and (with other causes) led us ultimately to surrender practically all our war aims proclaimed during the Great War with regard to Turkey. The idea of an independent Armenia under a European mandate vanished into thin air when the Treaty of Sèvres made room for the Treaty of Lausanne. In the latter, even the protection of minorities remained only on paper, and it could, anyhow, be no longer of much value, because, so far as the Christian minorities were concerned, they had by that time disappeared. They had been eliminated —Greeks, as well as Armenians—by massacre, and expulsion, and starvation. For the Straits a régime has been elaborated, which restores the occupation of the Straits to the Turks, and provides conditions which on paper read well. But the only sanction provided by the treaty, in the event, for instance, of Turkey violating the conditions under which she reoccupies the Straits, is an appeal to the Council of the League of Nations; and I think, remembering Corfu, we cannot attach implicit confidence to that sanction.

The Turks won the peace at Lausanne. But what of the Khilafat? As soon as Mustapha Kemal's hands were set free by the cessation of hostilities in Asia Minor, after the Greek debacle, he hastened to turn a cold shoulder upon his Indian friends and all others who had upheld him as the Sword of Islam, fighting for the indissoluble connection between the Sultanate and the Khilafat in the person of the Ottoman Sultan. Even before the Conference at Lausanne, the Grand National Assembly of Angora put an end to the Sultanate and deposed the Sultan in October, 1922. He, as you know, had to fly on board a British man-of-war, and he disappeared out of history. The Khilafat was, for the time being, retained, but a Khilafat shorn of all temporal power. This was a nasty jar for the Khilafat agitators, who had sworn that temporal power was absolutely essential to the discharge of the proper functions of a Khalif; but some of them tried to get out of it in India by saying, "Well, after all, the Khalif will be able to devote

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himself now, free from all worldly cares, to the spiritual needs of Islam; and he will have the power of Turkey—of victorious Turkey, of the ever-victorious Mustapha Kemal—at his back as the secular arm of the Khilafat."

After the Treaty of Lausanne, however, Mustapha Kemal was ready to go a step further. The word "republic" had never been uttered when the Sultan was deposed in the preceding year. The formula adopted had been that the sovereignty of Turkey was vested in the Grand National Assembly. But, just a year later, the new Turkish state was proclaimed a republic, with Mustapha Kemal as its first President, and invested with practically dictatorial powers. He was President of the Republic, President of the Assembly, President of the Council of Ministers, and Commander-in-Chief. I don't think you can have anything more comprehensive in the way of dictatorship. Again the Khilafat was not mentioned, but its days were soon seen to be numbered; and it is a curious thing that one of the biggest nails was driven into its coffin by two eminent Indian Mohamedans, well known in this country—Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan—when they wrote their extremely ill-advised letter to Angora, purporting to voice the anxiety of the Sunni orthodox world in regard to the maintenance of the Khilafat. It was particularly unfortunate, because neither of those gentlemen is a Sunni; and the effect produced upon the men of Angora was very much the same as that which would be produced upon devout Roman Catholics if some Calvinist divine and, we will say, the General of the Salvation Army, undertook to write to Mr. Mussolini in the name of the whole Roman Catholic communion to be kind to the Vatican. It increased the growing suspicion with which the Khalif, who still lived in Constantinople, was regarded in Angora. For it was looked upon as a great British intrigue—as those two gentlemen were credited with far more influence in British official circles than I think they possess. Anyhow, in March of this year the Grand National Assembly was once more set in motion by Mustapha Kemal, and it suddenly proclaimed the abolition of the Khilafat. The men of Angora kicked down the ladder which they had been quite glad to use in the stormy years that had followed the war, and the Turkish people, as far as one can gather, remained equally indifferent to both those revolutions —the abolition of the Sultanate and the abolition of the Khilafat.

Yet, what was meant by the abolition of the Khilafat, Mustapha Kemal very soon showed in a series of drastic measures which converted the Turkish republic into a lay republic, and shattered all the principles of Mohamedan government. The Sheikh-ul-Islam was excluded from the Council of Ministers; he was told he had only to look after religious affairs in future. The Evkaf, or pious foundations, to which Mohamedans in all countries often have recourse, in order to establish civil rights in favour of their own families, were placed under

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civil authority, and their property confiscated to the State. The administration of the sacred law and of education were equally subordinated to the civil authority. Turkey was converted into a lay republic, and a lay republic is an absolute negation of Islam, a negation of the theocratic basis on which, in theory at least, an Islamic state is, and must be, constituted. The Turks themselves remained indifferent, and there has been far less excitement than might, I think, have been expected in Mohamedan countries outside Turkey. For the Turks can, of course, abolish the Turkish Khilafat, but they cannot really abolish the Khilafat as an Islamic institution, which existed outside Turkey for many centuries before Turkey existed. The Khilafat will doubtless be revived by somebody somewhere outside Turkey. Several candidates are talked about. There is King Hussein of the Hejaz, who belongs to the same tribe as the Prophet, and, in addition to that, has a strong claim in the possession of the holy places of Mecca and Medina. There is King Fuad of Egypt; there is the King of Afghanistan. The Khilafat extremists in India have been driven in their despair to turn their cheek to the smiter, and to implore Mustapha Kemal Pasha to proclaim himself Khalif, so that Turkey should not entirely secede from the Islamic fold, and the power of Turkey be lost to the Islamic cause.

What, however, are the motives that have really prompted Mustapha Kemal? It is a difficult question to answer, but, before sitting down, I will just say a few words about that very remarkable personality. The British army knows Mustapha Kemal as a stout and clean fighter at Gallipoli, the man who defeated our last and desperate effort on the Anaferta heights, above Suvla Bay, in August, 1915. General Liman von Sanders, the chief of the German military mission in Turkey before and during the war, who has written a very dispassionate history of his five years in Turkey, singles Mustapha Kemal out for special praise as one of the very few able and upright generals that he came in contact with. He certainly must possess great powers of organization, or he would not have brought about that great rally of the Turks after the war. Is he really an enlightened reformer, who believes that only by the emancipation of his people from the trammels of a narrow creed can he achieve their regeneration? Is he, on the other hand, merely actuated by great personal ambition? Has success turned his head? Has he taken a leaf out of the Bolshevist book? Bolshevist influence was very powerful at Angora, and the predatory part of Mustapha Kemal's programme—the wholesale confiscation of the property of the house of Othman, and that of the semi-sacred trust property vested in Evkaf, seems to point to a Soviet contagion. In the same way, his war upon Islamic institutions in Turkey—the abolition of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and the subordination of the sacred law and education to the civil authority—is a sort of anti-clerical war, less deadly, perhaps, than the Bolshevist war against religion, but very much on the same lines.

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It seems difficult to explain why he should have deprived Turkey of the very powerful lever she had on the Mohamedan world so long as the Sultan, the head of the Turkish State, was also Turkish Khalif. One does not quite see what the future of Turkey is going to be; she is reduced now to a small State—eight millions, at the most, of Turks—and this is not the first generation in which their numbers are shrinking from congenital disease. They are more homogeneous than they ever were before, because the Christian populations have disappeared; but with these have disappeared the most valuable economic factors in Turkey, and her natural resources are no greater than those of any one of the Balkan States over which she formerly ruled. However that may be, I think that for ourselves, in fact for all nations that have large Mohamedan communities in their overseas possessions, but especially for ourselves, there is no reason to regret the disappearance of the Turkish Khilafat, which, two or three years ago, threatened to be really the spearhead of a great Mohamedan, and even of a great Asian, revolt against the West.

Sir THOMAS ARNOLD: Mr. Chairman,—Sir Valentine Chirol's clear and illuminating account of this matter leaves very little for anyone else to say; but, first, I should like to associate myself with him in the emphasis he has laid on the fact that the Khalifah movement in India gained its strength from the appeal to religious feeling; and in any consideration of the Khalifah in the Mohamedan world we must realize how strongly this institution is bound up with Mohamedan ideals. Sir Valentine Chirol has rightly pointed out to us that the action of the present Turkish Government has been a great shock to the Indian Mohamedans. It has been a shock to them because of their close clinging to this ideal which runs through the whole of Mohamedan history, and though the Ottoman Government may reject the Khalifah, the rest of the Mohamedan world, and doubtless a very large number of inarticulate Turkish Moslems, still cling to it, and will continue to cling to it. It is an ideal that has had a certain amount of manifestation from the first century of Moslem history, and though as an ideal it has largely failed of realization, still it puts before the Mohamedans the hope that at some time or other the whole of the true believers will form a political unity, that through that political unity they will be able to stand up against their enemies and (a very important point) continue that extraordinary series of conquests of the early days of Moslem history to which Sir Valentine Chirol has alluded. This ideal is, and will be for a long time to come, a serious subject of contemplation for European statesmen. For the present I think, as Sir Valentine Chirol says, it has had a certain set-back, in the fact that instead of the ideal being represented by a powerful Ottoman Sultanate, there is now one Khalifah in Morocco, another in Mecca, and five small ones

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in the Malay Archipelago. Though there are six or seven of them, still not one of the potentates who claims the title possesses the wealth or power, or controls such an army as the Ottoman Sultan possessed. I should like to add a few words in connection with Sir Valentine Chirol's reference to the alleged transference of the office of the Khalifah to Selim I. in Cairo in the beginning of 1517: the matter requires closer study than it has yet received. We have a great deal of contemporary evidence about that campaign of Selim I. There are two official reports of the campaign, which follow his movements from the opening of it in the north of Syria down to the time when, after conquering Egypt, he returned to Constantinople. The second of these official reports is very lengthy; it records the events of every single day. It is preserved, or was preserved, in the Government records at Constantinople, and has been printed. There is absolutely no mention of the fact that the Abbasid Khalifah in Cairo transferred his office to the Ottoman Sultan. There were two Turkish historians who accompanied their ruler during that campaign and wrote histories of his reign; they also make no mention of it. There was a contemporary Persian historian who was present in the camp; he, too, says nothing about it. We have a contemporary Arabic account written by an Egyptian scholar; he says nothing about it either. And the extraordinary thing is, that the first mention of this supposed transference of the office is in a French book by an Armenian, who wrote in 1787. I think any impartial study of the matter shows that there is no basis whatsoever for this alleged transference. On the contrary, during the fifteenth century and in the early part of the sixteenth century, there was in the Mohamedan world a state of things very much like the state of things at the present time; that is to say, anybody who cared could call himself Khalifah, and the Ottoman Sultans had called themselves Khalifah for several generations before Selim. His great-great-great-great-grandfather called himself Khalifah. Murad I., in 1362, was styled Khalifah by contemporary Mohamedan rulers, and he himself in his own official documents called himself Khalifah. So every single Ottoman Sultan from the time of Murad I. up to the time of Selim I.—that is, over 150 years—called himself Khalifah, and was styled Khalifah by his neighbours. As is well known, Akbar called himself Khalifah; and there is an amusing correspondence between Akbar and the contemporary Ottoman Sultan, both asserting their right to this title. So we have an interesting parallel, I think, between the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century, when this alleged transference is supposed to have occurred, and the present time—namely, in this, that any Mohamedan potentate, big or small, may assume this title. That gives the theory of the Khalifah a rather different aspect from that in which it is presented by those Mohamedan theologians who say that the Khalifah

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must be of the tribe of the Quraysh. All these Ottoman Sultans and their correspondents are in the habit of quoting that verse in the Koran in which God, addressing David, says: "We have made thee a Khalifah upon earth;" and they say that that verse rightly interpreted means that God, having given to David power, had made his His vicegerent; that he must care for the good of his subjects just as God cares for the good of all men. They quote this verse over and over again in their diplomatic correspondence, and it is taken as the basis for their claim to the title, and, of course, along with that claim goes a certain aspect of divine right. I am rather inclined to think that it is this view of the matter that has partially influenced Mustapha Kemal Pasha. He must know of the unhappy fate of previous Grand Viziers in Constantinople; he must know how Sultan Abdul Hamid very rapidly got rid of any minister that he did not care for; and I am inclined to think he probably felt that he would wisely not expose himself to the risk of being dismissed by an autocrat who looked upon himself as being in Constantinople by divine appointment, and was therefore not responsible to man for any actions he might take. (Applause.)

Lord RAGLAN: Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, after two such experts as Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir Thomas Arnold I feel rather nervous about opening my mouth; but there is one small aspect of the question that neither has referred to, and that is the importance of the Khilafat to the ordinary Mohamedan man in the street. Where he hears the Khilafat mentioned is in the mosque every Friday, where the Khalif is prayed for. It is, of course, a fact, as Sir Thomas Arnold said, that Moslem potentates have always been in the habit of arrogating to themselves the right to the Khilafat. The difficulty arises where there is no Moslem potentate, in countries like British India, where, ever since the fall of the Mogul Empire, they have had to name a foreigner in the prayers. How that question will be solved now I do not know, and I should be glad if anyone would tell me how it is being solved in Turkey at the present day. I should expect from what I know of that part of the world, that in every Mosque in Turkey outside Angora Abdul Majid is still named in the Friday prayers, and will continue to be so named. How it affects us is, What will happen in British India? I do not know whose name appears there now; but, naturally, the person whose name is mentioned in the Friday prayers, although he may be a person of no political importance whatever, gets in the eyes of ordinary ignorant Mohamedans a very great prestige, and that is, I think, nowadays, and will be in future, the importance of the Khilafat.

Lord HEADLEY: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Sir Valentine Chirol, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not know if it is a case of fools rushing in where angels fear to tread, but I have just come back from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and feel a great deal of interest in the matter. I also have had the privilege of living in India a good many years, and have a large

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circle of Mohamedan and Hindu friends. I must say that, when the action of the Angora Government in deposing the Khalif and abolishing the Khilafat was first announced, it came rather as a cold douche to Indian Moslems. They were very guarded in what they said, and there were but few strong expressions, and there was no panic or anything of that sort, but I know that they felt very deeply, and that some regarded the high-handed action almost as an insult to the Faith. It seems to me like this. For generations past the Indian Moslems have been in the habit of looking to the Sultan of Turkey as their head; not quite as the Roman Catholics look at the Pope, but still they have looked upon him as their spiritual head; and the Sultan of Turkey was originally selected for the post of Khalif, not particularly on account of his qualifications as a man, but on account of his power as a potentate in protecting the sacred places, and also in affording adequate protection for those making the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. In those circumstances, the feeling aroused has been this, that whilst Moslems generally are anxious that the best man should be appointed as a Khalif, the Moslems of India, numbering some 70 millions, and the Moslems in many other parts of the world—Java, for instance, numbering 40 millions; Morocco, and so forth, all over the world—feel that they should be consulted in such an important matter. One section of the Moslem world ought not to be sufficient to create a Khalif. To my mind the Khalif should be a man of piety. He should also have ability, and he should be conspicuous for his toleration. Those qualities, so marked in the Holy Prophet Mohamed, have not always appeared amongst the potentates who have ruled over Turkey; but those are the qualifications which I think should carry very great weight in making the selection. Now, of course, I am speaking as a British Moslem: and to my mind the abolition of the Khilafat is a comparatively small matter. It does not matter to me very much whether there is a Khalif or not: a British Moslem cannot be expected to feel the same about it as, perhaps, a Moslem of India or other parts of the East. My belief in God and adherence to Islam would be just the same if there were no Khalif at all; and I suppose the average Roman Catholic, if the Pope was suddenly abolished, would go on just the same—he would still be a Catholic. In the Greek Orthodox Church, if the Patriarch ceased to exist, the worship would still go on in the same way. Similarly, a Khalif is not essential to Islam. Only I feel aggrieved personally that so many of my co-religionists, in so many parts of the world, should be very much upset indeed at the idea of the abolition of the Turkish Khilafat. There has been talk lately of King Hussein of the Hejaz having been appointed Khalif, and he is to my mind eminently suited for the post on account of his piety, his toleration, and his broad-minded way of looking at things. I was very much struck by something he said whilst I was in Mecca, and witnessing a review of his troops. I

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was standing at the saluting-point with His Majesty, and I made a remark, "You seem to have got some good fighting material"; and he turned round and said, "It is only a beginning; I am not thinking so much of fighting just now: I am trying to understand European politics." Standing out there, close to Mecca, this simple-minded King Hussein—an excellent man, straight and God-fearing, was making his effort to understand what is quite beyond most of us over here. I do not know any Englishman who does understand European politics, but I suppose there are some politicians who think they do. It interested me greatly to hear him say that, as it evidenced a mind ever on the look-out for information, and endeavouring to understand things. I do not think a better man could be chosen as far as his personal qualifications go, but whether he has the power to protect the holy places is quite another matter. I do not think there is any country you can go to, or any nation whose ruler is, at the present moment, in a position to say *for certain* that he can protect the sacred places—Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina—or, indeed, any other place. I think we shall have in the future to choose our Khalif on account of his goodness, broad-mindedness, and capacity, rather than for any other qualifications, and, if he wants assistance, he should be able to appeal to the League of Nations. (Applause.)

Colonel MASSY: I only want to say one word on the point of the Sultan's position as Khalif. It was the power of the Sultan of Turkey to conquer Egypt, some five centuries ago, which wrested the Khilafat from the then Sultan of Egypt, and the temporal power of his successors on the Ottoman throne has secured for them the title of Khalif ever since.

I believe one of the first conditions of being Khalif is that you must have temporal power. If you are shorn of temporal power you cannot be Khalif. Now Mustapha Kemal had shorn the Sultan of his temporal power; therefore he certainly could not remain Khalif. I believe I am right; perhaps Sir Valentine Chirol will correct me if I am wrong in that statement. One of the first conditions of being a Khalif is that you must wield the power to defend your Khilafat and your people.

The CHAIRMAN: If no one else wishes to speak on the subject, I would ask Sir Valentine Chirol to be kind enough to comment in any way he would wish on what has been said.

The LECTURER: I would just say, in reply to Colonel Massy, that I entirely agree with him that the possession of temporal power is believed to be absolutely essential to the Khilafat; but to my great astonishment I read the other day an article by no less an authority, and no less enthusiastic a supporter of the Turkish Khilafat movement than Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, in which he now says it is not essential. He never said it before, and I must leave it at that. Of course, I cannot

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undertake to argue with the distinguished Englishman who tells us he has become a Mohamedan, and I will pass on to Sir Thomas Arnold's very interesting and illuminating address. I was aware that the actual transfer of the Khilafat from the descendants of the Abbassides at Cairo to Sultan Selim had been challenged, but I certainly was not aware, that, as with his great knowledge Sir Thomas is able to tell us, there was absolutely no contemporary authority for the statement regarding its transfer. I think, on the other hand, that what one has to bear in mind is what the Mohamedans and the Turks themselves have always believed; and in Constantinople many years ago, when I was there, I was assured by Turkish Mohamedans that not only did the deeds of transfer exist, but that in the mosque of Eyub where the sacred investiture of the Sultan-Khalifs used to take place, the insignia of the Khilafat brought by Selim the First to Constantinople were still preserved. Undoubtedly the title of Khalif has often been rather casually assumed; but I think that in most cases it has been treated by other Mohamedan potentates more as a matter of courtesy; just as, I presume, European sovereigns, when they address the Pope, would address him as Holy Father, even if they are not Roman Catholics. It does not mean any particular recognition of his authority as Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, but it is an act of courtesy. I think that, with regard to the future of the Khilafat, as you very rightly pointed out at the first, Mr. Chairman, the wisest thing for us to do is to leave it entirely in the hands of Moslems. They must settle the question for themselves, but that does not debar me from repeating that I do not think that in our own interest it is at all a bad thing that it should have passed out of the hands of the Turks, and by their own doing.

The CHAIRMAN: It now remains only for me to ask you to join with me in a sincere vote of thanks to Sir Valentine Chirol for his illuminating address. I cannot conceive a more interesting contrast than that which he has drawn between the Khilafat in its glory and in the present. Sultan Abdul Hamid, as I very well remember to have seen him during the years I spent in Constantinople, was a great personality with great power, whatever we may think of the way in which he exercised it. The contrast between that and the present position of Turkey is indeed graphic and supremely interesting, and one wonders indeed what will be the ulterior results of this great change and revolution which have taken place. Is it conceivable that Turkey in her present condition can continue as an independent power of any very great importance? The possessor of Constantinople and the Straits must always, of course, be important in the international world; but it is to me difficult to conceive that, in spite of the enormous and disproportionate influence which Turkey has lately exercised—an influence largely due to the division of the leading powers

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with which she was negotiating—it is difficult, in spite of the position she achieved owing to that fact, really to believe that she can have before her a future corresponding in any degree to the power and importance she has had in the past. However, the last thing I would do would be to prophesy. We shall watch the problem with the deepest interest, and certainly we are more qualified to do so than before the beginning of this lecture.

I will end now as I began by asking you to join me in passing a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir Valentine Chirol. (Applause.)

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, March 27, 1924, at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., presiding, when a discussion took place on "The Influence of Communications on Military and other Policy on the North-West Frontier of India." *

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have been delayed by the 'bus strike in opening the proceedings, and consequently I think we shall have to ask speakers, if we get plenty of them, to limit their remarks to ten minutes each. We hope to have seven or eight real experts talking to-night, and in order to give them all a fair chance, we propose, with your approval, to limit the length of the speeches. The lecture we are to discuss was delivered two or three weeks ago. Perhaps most of you were present at it, and I wish Lord Montagu himself were here to-night, but I do not see him, and I am not quite sure that he is expected. He was asked to come, of course. The consequence is that we shall have to limit ourselves to discussion on the paper without hearing what the principal protagonist might now wish to say on the matter. As some of you may not have heard the lecture or read it, I am going to ask Sir Raleigh Egerton to give us a short synopsis of Lord Montagu's remarks, and after that I think we must try to make the discussion as little discursive as possible. It is very desirable to keep clear of the wider political questions connected with the region generally, such as the "close border," "the Durand line," and "the forward policy"—especially "the forward policy," as I see an ex-Secretary of State here at the present moment. I would also add that it would be convenient if speakers limited their remarks to the areas with which they were particularly identified, and which they know well. They would naturally do so, but it is very important to-night to try and focus the discussion, and I suggest that the question of roads generally in these areas might be dealt with in about eight different groups. For instance, on the extreme right of the maps there are the roads which lead from India through Gilgit and Chitral to the far northern frontier of the Hindu Khush, the country between the Chinese Pamirs and Kafiristan. That area includes the road to the Malakand, and on through Dir to Chitral. The next area would be that comprising the roads leading from Peshawar, which perhaps is the most important area of all, because any great line of military operations must always be through the Peshawar Valley westwards towards Kabul, or *vice versa*. But it is not only the routes

* *Vide* "The North-West Frontier of India," by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (*C.A.S. Journal*, Vol. XI., Part 2).

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towards Afghanistan with which we are concerned, there are other very important roads that bifurcate from Peshawar—the roads into Tirah, and those into the Momand country, so that this area alone gives great opportunities for discussion. The third area is the Kohat area, where you have a line running from Thal up to the Paiwar Kotal and onwards into Afghanistan, or diverting at Thal, either going south to Tochi, or to Khost, and also from the country between Kohat and Thal northwards into the Orakzai Tirah. The next area is the Bannu-Tank area, which leads into Waziristan and the Tochi, and all the roads with which we have been so much concerned during the recent Waziri operations. The next area would be the Derajat. That is now of less importance. At one time it was very important, because there are several roads leading from it into Zhob and thus linking up with Quetta. Then we come to the Quetta area which, next to the Peshawar area, is the most important in a military sense. It is that which leads to Kandahar and on towards Herat. Also, you have the lateral roads which lead up into Zhob. I am glad to see here a late Chief Commissioner of that area, who will perhaps give us his views later. Further south still you have the Nushki area leading into Baluchistan and on to Seistan, which, as you can well imagine, may be the base for possible military operations at some future date. That, I think, comprises pretty well all the areas which lend themselves to our subject, except, of course, the far wider field which is offered by discussion of roads that lead from Kabul onwards to Turkistan. I will now call on Sir Raleigh Egerton to read the synopsis that he has kindly prepared.

Sir Raleigh Egerton read a synopsis of Lord Montagu's lecture.

The Chairman: Perhaps it would be convenient if I called upon an officer who has had a very great deal to do with these subjects recently, one of the Indian General Staff. I therefore call on General Charles to open the discussion.

Major-General Charles: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I find myself in a little difficulty, seeing that I had not the pleasure of being present when Lord Montagu gave his original lecture. Such claim as I have to talking on the subject is based on the fact that, for a couple of years at Simla, I worked under Sir Archibald Montgomery in doing the "devilling" work on this frontier policy as regards the area that is contained between the Tochi Valley and the Gomal River—the country which we call Waziristan. I had also the fortune, last summer, to be given the officiating command of the Waziristan Force; our main job there was to put through the trans-frontier road, which originally started at Tank, was completed to Jandola three or four years ago as a motor road, and has since gradu ally been pushed up the Takki Zam Valley; at the same time we had to carry on the extension of the road through Tal to Razmak, where it

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was eventually to join the first-named road that came up from the south. It was an engineering project which was pretty bold in its conception, in that the estimate for the road had to be made before the unfortunate individual who had to estimate its cost had been given a chance of looking at the ground. For all he knew, it might run through solid rock for those eighty odd miles, or through the easiest of clay. It fell to my unpleasant lot to justify an excess on this estimate; that is purely the engineering aspect of this road. There was also a very strong political reason for building the road; as our Chairman has pointed out, our policy for many years past—instituted by Lord Curzon—was to hold those fingers that stick out into the independent territory by locally raised forces, which, in certain cases, contained representatives of the cisborder Pathan tribes. Well, so long as there was peace, these people were able to maintain themselves; but in 1919 this policy broke down because we were not in a position to back up these militia forces by regular soldiers. The policy which the Government of India has instituted since then is to maintain these garrisons with what we now call scouts—militia under another name —holding the tips of those fingers sticking out into independent territory, but in every case to have a regular military force within easy supporting distance, so as not to let the scouts down if they are attacked by the turbulent semi-independent tribes surrounding them. We have now a pretty large regular force in the Khyber, and we have double the strength of troops in the Kohat district compared with what we had there in pre-war days, whilst we have now included in the post-war army of India a force of sixteen battalions of infantry, plus cavalry, artillery, and other troops detailed to hold Waziristan. The result, therefore, is that our irregular forces (as the Government of India terms them) have a strong regular backing. The Tochi Militia, who hold the posts of Miram Shah, Datta Khel, and Spinwam, have regular soldiers within supporting distance who can get through to these posts within twenty-four hours, owing to the fact that the roads leading to these places are now fit for mechanical transport, and troops can be run up in three-ton lorries. Similarly, in the south we hold Sarwekai with 500 scouts, with Jandola as the headquarters, and there are two brand-new posts quite recently completed at Sorarogha and Kotkai which are also held by the same corps. Lord Rawlinson, the Commander-in-Chief in India, has arranged a mobile brigade at this place (Razmak) capable of sending out four battalions, artillery, engineers and pioneers, at an hour's notice, and either running them down by motor transport to Jandola, whence they can motor up the Shahur Tangi and succour the people at Sarwekai, or, if there is trouble in the north, we can run the brigade up to Datta Khel, and in a few months I hope to Spinwam. That is a very different state of affairs from what existed in Lord Curzon's day, when he instituted

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this policy of holding these fingers by irregular troops, because we can now push our highly trained regulars up at very short notice in numbers and at a speed never possible in the old days; that is entirely due to the fact that the Government of India has spent a lot of capital in making those roads fit for mechanical transport, and in providing mechanical transport which is the only means of maintaining these large forces at such distances from the railheads of Bannu and Khirgi. As to the reasons why the Government of India consider it necessary to embark on a policy of placing these striking forces in the middle of Waziristan, I think, perhaps, in discussing these, I should be going a little bit outside the limits imposed by the Chairman. I also see at the back a gentleman who will disagree with me very strongly in such a discussion. (Laughter and applause.)

Sir GEORGE SCOTT-MONCRIEFF: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I speak with much diffidence because it is twenty years since I left that part of the world: but it is something like forty-five years since I first began engineering work on the frontier, and I spent eight of the best years of my life making roads, railways, and other public works there. I was much interested to hear what Lord Montagu has said about the matter. Undoubtedly the mechanical transport question has entirely altered the problem from the military point of view and also from the engineering point of view. On the one hand we know that by means of mechanical transport you are saved all those long convoys of mules and camels which used to be such a source of serious trouble; on the other hand, from the engineering point of view, you have a much more difficult task, because the roads must be much more solid, the bridges have to be of a different character, and the gradients very much less than they would be under the old system of pack and cart transport. With regard to these maps here, while they are exceedingly valuable for showing the main lines of road, there are a good many subsidiary roads valuable from a military point of view, though not from that of mechanical transport. From Abazai to Mardan, along the Swat Canal, there is a good road for wheeled vehicles, possibly also for mechanical transport. There is another road from Landi Kotal, north of the Khyber, in the Mullagori country reaching down to about here. [*Indicating.*] It skirts the Afridi territory, which is a political factor of some considerable importance. Then there are some other roads in the district from Bannu into the heart of exceedingly difficult country, between the Miranzai Valley and the Bannu road. Perhaps the most important of all, however, is one from Dera Ismail Khan, through a very difficult defile called the Chur Khel Dahana to Fort Sandeman, and thence to Quetta. That road passes for about forty miles over a perfectly barren plain, seamed by ravines, and without water or villages. Then it passes into a very difficult mountainous country, but I know Lord

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Kitchener drove his motor-car over it, so it must be available for motor transport. Very possibly it has been left to some extent derelict owing to the relative importance of the work which General Charles has recently described to us between the Gomal and the Tochi. Another very important road is from Wana by Sarwakai, over a most difficult pass to the Gomal Valley. These are a few of the subsidiary roads on the frontier not shown on the map. One point of considerable importance in considering any of these new developments of road work and improvement of old roads is this, that at certain times the rivers there are subject to very violent floods. In the Gomal, for instance, I am told that the floods rise as much as 90 feet. I have not actually seen this, but I know and have seen what the tremendous effect of the floods has been further south, in the Harnai Valley, just north of Quetta. The floods, in the year when we thought we were going to war with Russia, in 1885, were terrific and stopped all communications for a very long time. That sort of thing might quite possibly occur in the middle of military operations. One of the things, therefore, which engineers have to look to is the possibility of rapidly reconstructing bridges, which probably would be swept away in these heavy floods—maintaining certain quantities of material, and working out schemes for rapid reconstruction of bridgework, which would not necessarily take a whole season or anything of that kind. The first of the big frontier roads made, from Kohat to Bannu and thence to Dera Ismail Khan, had two very large bridges, one crossing the Kurram River near Bannu, and another over the Gambila between Bannu and Pezu. But there are a great number of streams along the road there which were not bridged at all, but simply left to be crossed by ford—and, if there is a heavy flood, waiting until the water is down. Now military operations, of course, cannot be allowed to be interrupted in that way, especially if mechanical transport is the sole means of supply, so I think one very important feature of frontier work is this bridge question; and I must say I was rather surprised that Lord Montagu did not lay stress on that point. He spoke a great deal about the importance, and one realized how very important it was, of the reconstruction of the bed of the road so that it should be fit for taking heavy mechanical transport —and that, I may say, is a problem not yet solved even in this country. It is still a matter for consideration, and the best engineering brains have not yet solved it, though I think they are within sight of so doing. Engineers will now have to tackle these subjects on the frontier. They will have not only to consider this reconstruction of the road bed, so as to take the new and heavy class of mechanical transport vehicle, but they also will have to consider the bridge problem in its widest aspects. I know it is being done now. I know how many of the old girders from railway bridges are being utilized for the road work upon the frontier, and it is an excellent way of using

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up the railway girders which are not sufficiently good for railway work, but more than sufficiently good for road work. The subject is a very big one, and will certainly be an expensive one, and one to be viewed from a great many different points of view. (Applause.)

Sir ARCHIBALD MONTGOMERY: Sir Edmund, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I came this evening I must confess I had no intention of saying anything. I came here to hear the views of people who know the frontier much better than I do. But as Sir Edmund has asked me to say something, all I can do is to give you the views, so far as I know them, of Lord Rawlinson and Sir Claud Jacob on the subject of frontier roads and their effect on policy. With all due deference to Sir Edmund, I do not quite see how you can separate the question of the frontier roads from policy. If, for instance, you start on a supposition that you are going to come back, as some people suggest, out of this tribal territory between the administrative border and our frontier with Afghanistan there is no necessity to build roads. If, on the other hand, you accept the policy of building frontier roads, that means you accept the policy of gradually bringing these tribes under our control. Otherwise there is no object that I can see in building the roads. Therefore, if Sir Edmund will allow me, I will include a few remarks about the general policy, but as few as possible. If you go into the bedrock principles of this problem, you have to study them, as Sir Edmund said, from the military, political, and economic points of view. I would like to take the economic first. I shall quote very largely from Sir Claud Jacob, who has spent forty years of his life on the frontier, and I do not suppose there is anyone who knows it better. All writers and others who know the frontier well agree that the bedrock cause of all the troubles we have on the frontier is the poverty of the tribesmen. It always has been. I think it was Oliver who said that "the hills breed many and feed few." These tribesmen have to live on something; if they cannot live on what they produce by their fields and flocks in their own hills, they look down from the hills and see a great many fat bunnias and other people ready to be robbed. Being lawless by nature and some of the best fighters in the world, they naturally turn to the plains to gain their living. After all, that is only human nature. The question is, How are you going to cure that? You cannot kill them all off. There are broadly two alternatives: one is to try and make them sufficiently prosperous so that they no longer have to rob their neighbours in order to live; the other is to shut them in like wild beasts inside a cage, and hope by putting sufficient troops along the frontier to prevent their raiding the people of the plain. We have tried shutting them in for something like sixty years, and I think that everyone must admit that that system has failed. For the last four years, ever since 1920, we have begun to try the other system—that is to say, by building roads, by giving them employment, and by other

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means to win these tribesmen from their lawless habits and provide them with some means of subsistence other than raiding the plains, thereby gradually making them more civilized and more able to support themselves. When I say we have tried the other system for the last sixty years, I mean we have tried it along the greater part of the frontier; but down south in Baluchistan and the Zhob area, from I think 1866, when Sir Robert Sandeman first looked after the frontiers of Sind, he adopted another policy. One of the principal points of his policy was to build roads: I think I am right in saying that somewhere between one and two thousand miles of road were built in Sir Robert Sandeman's time in the Zhob and Baluchistan. The civilizing influence of that I do not think anyone can deny. In the north we have our experience in the Khyber. There, again, I do not think some people realize the civilizing influence that the double road that goes from Jamrud to Landi Khana and the railway that has now been built have had on the Afridis. During the last two or three years there has been very much less trouble with the Afridis than ever before. Briefly I put that down to three factors: One is the construction of the roads and railway, which has given very good employment to the Afridis; the second is that a lot of Afridis are employed as Khassadars for guarding the roads; and thirdly, a regular garrison has been established for the last four or five years in the Khyber to show that the British Raj is able to exert force when peaceful means—road-building and others—do not have the desired effect. In both these cases roads, combined with a certain amount of force, have had the desired result. Here, in all this middle part [*indicating* Waziristan], the contrary has been the case: we have not until lately built roads; we have tried to keep the tribes under control by putting posts along the border and on each flank. Pre-war we used to have a brigade at Bannu and another at Dera Ismail Khan to overawe the Mahsuds and Wazirs. We left these tribes in their own district without roads or other civilizing influence, and sat on the borders and tried to keep them down by fear. The policy is now changed, and I feel convinced it will have the desired result. General Charles will bear me out that it has already had considerable effect. The presence of the garrison at Razmak, the employment of a large number of fighting men as Khassadars and of others on building roads, has already reduced the raiding into Derajat and all this area enormously. I think in 1920-21 the raids into our border district numbered 324; in 1921-22 they had already been reduced to 129. During 1922-23, I understand, they were fewer still. Therefore, even in these three years, the policy adopted in March, 1920, by the Government of India, and approved by the Government at home, has already begun to have effect. Another point, sometimes forgotten, is that there are very big resources in that country in the way of minerals and forests, which can only be exploited by means of roads

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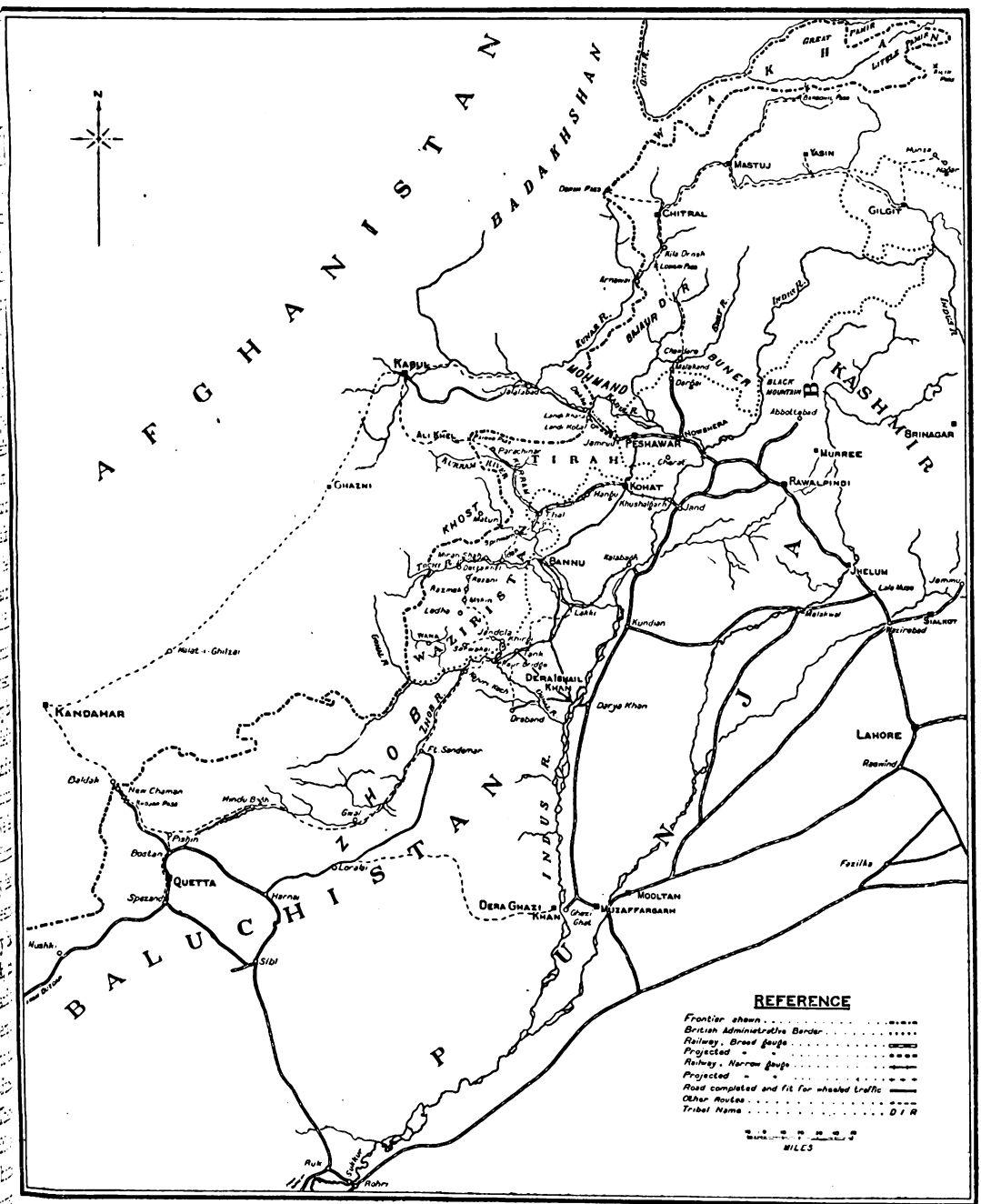

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through the country. If those internal resources can be exploited, then it is the Government's intention, I know, that the results shall go to the tribesmen, and not to the Treasury in India. In fact, our policy there is not a selfish one. What we are trying to do is to help these tribesmen to get a livelihood, and one of the chief means of doing this is to build roads through the country by which its mineral and other dormant wealth can be developed for the good of the tribesmen. From a military point of view, and that is the point of view we are always faced with in India, we were and are constantly being told, "We cannot afford to spend so much money on the army, how are you going to reduce it? Cannot you reduce the number of troops on the frontier?" So long as you have all these tribesmen ready to rise at a moment's notice, whether from fanaticism, or at the instigation of the Amir, or for some other reason, you cannot reduce the number of troops on the frontier. The only way to reduce them is by having good lateral roads the whole way along so that the troops can move about, and the large garrisons on either flank, at Peshawar and Quetta, can be made use of to reinforce the centre. It is really a very simple problem. When we speak of the five fingers that Lord Montagu mentioned, the left one being at Quetta, it simply means that if we have a rising near Bannu or among the Mahsuds, we have to bring troops from Peshawar or elsewhere in India round here [*indicating* Mari Indus and Darya Khan], and up one of these fingers to reinforce them. That is obviously the most extravagant way of doing it. If, on the other hand, you gradually get roads and later on railways running laterally, you can tap the two big garrisons at Peshawar and Quetta, which may enable you to reduce the garrisons at the other places. That is the only way by which the present covering forces can be reduced, and you can get further economy in the army in India. Any other course, such as coming out of Waziristan, will not reduce the expense at all. You cannot come out of the Khyber, the Kurram, the Tochi, Zhob, or Quetta. It is impossible: I do not think anyone suggests it. If you cannot come out of those places you are compelled to occupy part of the tribal territory. That being the case, the only real solution is not to come back out of Waziristan and the other places, but build a lateral road by which you can connect the garrisons, so that they can reinforce each other rapidly in times of emergency. Some people say, moreover, that it is a very dangerous thing to keep our troops so far forward in the tribal territory as it ties up so many troops and that they are dangerous detachments. There is one guiding principle of war about detachments, and that is that a detachment is justified if it engages more than its own number of the enemy. What we maintain is that a garrison at Razmak sits on the heads of thirty or forty thousand potential enemies. So long as it does that it is pulling its weight and is worth it. To sum up, we maintain that this policy of

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roads is economical and logical from every point of view. It will ease the situation on the frontier politically; it will ease it from the military point of view, especially if we have war with Afghanistan, as we shall not have so many potential enemies on our lines of communication. It will ease the situation economically. In fact, it is the only means by which you can reduce the cost of the army in India still further; also it is the only way to help the tribesmen to earn their own living without being compelled to raid the fat bunnia of the plain. (Applause.)

Sir ARMINE DEW then spoke, comparing the frontier and its problems to those which Wade and his colleagues faced so successfully on the Highland border in the eighteenth century. He advocated the road schemes, and urged that as much work as possible should be found for the Pathans. In his opinion they should be employed as much as possible, both as soldiers and as roadmakers.

Sir ARTHUR BARRETT: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen, —I thought from the way in which Sir Armine Dew spoke just now that he was of opinion that the soldiers present took a contrary view from his own. I should like to say that I agree with all that Sir Armine Dew said about the frontier. I understood that he was in favour of the policy of making roads, and that he thought the only way to pacify the tribesmen was to give them some kind of employment which would enable them to earn a living. So far the road policy has done that, but we none of us know what is going to happen when these roads are finished, and when there is no longer that source of income for the tribesmen. Shall we then be in any better position than we were before? That is the point that is doubtful. I am speaking now of the new roads in Waziristan. On the rest of the frontier there is not much that is new, except the extension of the railway from Jamrud, which was a scheme inaugurated by Lord Kitchener a good many years ago, but afterwards abandoned. That scheme has not so much to do with frontier policy as with Afghanistan, with which we are now not concerned. The plan of occupying Waziristan is new, and, of course, we all hope that it will succeed. But I do not know that we are justified in feeling very great confidence in it unless some means can be devised of employing the tribesmen. It has been said that the old frontier policy was a mistake, and that it broke down. No doubt there were drawbacks, and it may be said in one sense that it did break down. But why? Because there was seldom, or never, money available to undertake the necessary measures to make it a success. Of recent years a large sum has been spent on roads and on the maintenance of garrisons in Waziristan. My idea is that if that money had been spent within our own territory —for instance, in harnessing the Gurmal River, and so bringing into cultivation the extensive plain about Tank, which is now more or less a barren waste—we should have found lucrative employment for the

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tribesmen, and brought them more into touch with our own people, and in that way the tendency to commit raids would gradually have been overcome. After all, this question of what has been a failure and what has been a success on the frontier is comparative. I remember, as long ago as 1879, the first year I spent on the frontier, I rode through the hills from Bannu to Thal. I took with me only one tribesman as escort. Anybody could do it in those days, but it is doubtful if it could be done now. The chief item in our defence of the frontier in former times was cavalry. We had a line of outposts, and lateral communications good enough to enable troops to move rapidly to any threatened point. Of course, we now want metalled roads, mechanical transport, wireless communications, armoured cars, aeroplanes, and every kind of modern device. But we want them inside our own frontier, and I cannot see that any advantage is gained by going on beyond. Suppose an expedition is to be undertaken, I do not see that it would be any better off starting from here [*indicating* Razmak *on map*], with a long line of communications, than from here [*indicating* D. I. Khan]. I think General Charles mentioned that the frontier militia broke down in 1919 because they were not adequately supported. That is perfectly true of Waziristan, but it should be remembered that in the Khyber we had troops all up the line, and the militia gave way behind us. That happened to the Khyber Rifles, which were the oldest established and best known, and in some ways the cream, of the frontier militia. Actually we had at the time one or two brigades at Lundi Kotal, which was the militia headquarters. After the outbreak of hostilities with the Afghans, I went to the commander of the militia, and said, "We are going on in a few days; are you game to take your men with us? I would rather have them in the forefront against the Afghans than behind us here." He said, "I cannot make any kind of promise until I have consulted the men. I will let you know in a few days." A few days later he came and said, "Our men are on the go," and they disappeared. I mention that to show that you cannot feel any kind of confidence in what these tribesmen will do. Regarding the Northern Waziristan Militia, I was up there a few weeks before they broke up, and I can assure you they went out of their way to entertain us most hospitably, and within a month they were up against us. I am afraid that my views may be thought reactionary, but I believe that if money is to be spent, it ought to be spent on our own side of the frontier in improving communications, and in providing up-to-date equipment for our troops. Something has been said about the fingers sticking out into a barren country. I am in favour of the clenched fist. I think it is better both for attack and for defence. (Applause.)

Colonel MUSPRATT: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think the ground has been pretty well covered, but there are one or two points I would like to refer to. Sir Arthur Barrett said that if we

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were out of Waziristan we should be in a better position than now, but I think if you are out of a country altogether, the time comes when an expedition is forced upon you, and when you undertake that expedition it becomes an invasion of the country. Say that trouble has been brought on by one small hostile section; you have to make big preparations, and at once the Mullahs raise a cry that the country is in danger. The whole tribe is raised against you straight away, and you have to fight your way into the country in the face of united tribal opposition. But suppose that at Razmak you had a mobile column, it could move out and squash the trouble before it assumed alarming proportions. The same speaker has also asked what advantage the roads are going to be to the tribesmen. Obviously you do not pour out so much money when the road is a *fait accompli* as when it is being built, but you have to keep the roads up. That provides a small but constant flow of money, and the Khassadars also bring in a certain amount of money to the tribe. Indirectly, roads will always add to the wealth of the tribe, because they open up the country, and our experience is that the construction of roads gives a tremendous impetus to trade, even amongst these very uncivilized tribes. I think I can admit Sir Arthur Barrett's main contention that when the road is finished there is less gained by the tribesmen than while it is being built, but still they are better off than if we had never built the road. I might deal with one subject not yet mentioned, that is, to take what appear to be the weak links of our lateral chain along the frontier. Just taking the frontier as a whole, there is not very much we can do at the present moment, north of the Kabul River. The present circumstances I do not think would justify our going much further in the way of road construction. As regards better communications with Chitral, much as we might like them, I do not think the present situation makes construction a practical proposition. I should like to say a word about increasing wireless communication in that part of the frontier. Why we should be at the enormous expense of keeping up the Gilgit-Chitral line I do not know, now that wireless is proved. I think both at Gilgit and Chitral we might very well carry on with wireless. Coming south of the Kabul River, I think the first weak link in our chain is the road between Peshawar and Kohat, where it passes through independent territory in the Kohat Pass. It caused us some inconvenience in the Afghan War of 1919, when we had a very indifferent road, though lorries could get through. Had it not passed through independent territory, the road would certainly have been better than it was in 1919. Our next weak link in the chain is the very narrow gauge railway from Kohat to Thal: it would be a great advantage if we could make that a broad gauge. A road is now being constructed between Thal and Idak: the better we can make that road, the better our position will be. If we can

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ultimately extend the railway in this direction also, I think that will be a still greater improvement. Further south we have another weak link in our lateral communications at Kalabagh. There is no bridge over the Indus here. We have to link up with the Punjab railway system by a ferry, and carry on by a 2 feet 6 inch line to Lakki, with one branch to Bannu and another to Tank. It is very desirable to have a bridge at Kalabagh. It is almost impossible to conceive a permanent bridge from Darya Khan to Dera Ismail Khan. The Indus there is several miles wide. Although we have a bridge in the cold weather, which is a mixture of trestles and pontoons, it has to be dismantled in the summer, and very precarious communication is maintained by a small ferry boat, which in the old days used to take sometimes six or even twelve hours to get across.

Colonel Muspratt indicated other places on the maps where communications could be improved by better roads; Zhob, he said, was a country of big distances, where a railway would be invaluable. He concluded: You may ask, Why am I ignoring the big block of Tirah, where there seems rather a painful lack of communications? It is a most difficult country for road construction, and in the immediate future I do not see much prospect of the development of lateral communications in this area.

These lateral roads I do not think are only required for the tribes. As Sir Archibald Montgomery pointed out, lateral roads lead to an economy of force not only against the tribes, but against the tribes combined with Afghanistan. If we ever have to take on Afghanistan again, we shall not find them bumping their heads against Landi Kotal. Their probable plan will be to use their troops as a nucleus operating through tribal territory. It is a little more than a domestic matter, these roads. So far as I can see at present, there is no prospect of combined Russian and Afghan operations against us, but lateral roads are very important for tribal operations by themselves or against the tribes in combination with Afghanistan.

Sir R. EGERTON: There are two points made by previous speakers on which I should like to comment. Sir A. Montgomery and General Charles both claimed for the completion of the double line of roads and the construction of the railway the credit for the peaceful state of the Khyber Pass which now prevails there. I do not know if they can recall the Afghan War which ended in 1880; at its conclusion the maintenance of an open road through the Khyber was a matter which was arranged for by the Government of the Punjab with the Afridi tribes which command the route. By means of a cash subsidy to the clans concerned, amounting to one lakh of rupees per annum, and the expenditure of another lakh per annum on the maintenance of the Khyber Rifles, the free transit of goods and travellers throughout the route was guaranteed by the Maliks. The Khyber Rifles, in fact, were

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the nominees of the Maliks for the fulfilment of a treaty of obligation; and this obligation was most faithfully fulfilled. In 1888, however, the stability of the agreement received a shock. In that year, for reasons which I need not give, a demand was made on the Khyber Rifles to furnish a contingent for service with an expeditionary force which was operating on the Black Mountain. The Maliks at once protested that the Rifles were maintained by them for the purpose of fulfilling their engagement to keep the Khyber Pass open, and not for general service. If their men were removed, how could they be held responsible for the safety of the Pass? This protest was ignored, and some three or four hundred of the Khyber Rifles were taken for general service. Though nothing serious resulted in the Khyber, there is no doubt that the confidence of the Maliks was seriously shaken. Again, in 1897, the fidelity of the Khyber Rifles, as nominees of their Maliks, received another shock. They were commanded by a British officer, who with his wife was at Landi Kotal with the main portion of the force, and his reserve was at Jamrud. The political control of the Khyber was in the charge of a reliable old Afghan, of a refugee family, who had once been in the Indian Cavalry and afterwards in the Punjab Police. In 1897 trouble broke out at various points on the North-West Frontier —in the Tochi and on the Mohmand Border in the first place. The British officer in command of the Khyber Rifles, foreseeing the possibility of this trouble extending into the Afridi area, took steps to cope with it. He filled up the water tanks in Landi Kotal Fort, and brought up his reserves of ammunition from Jamrud to Landi Kotal and other posts in the Pass, reporting his action to the Political Officer, his immediate superior. For unknown reasons this report was never passed on to the Commissioner at Peshawar. In consequence, when the troubles on the Peshawar border seemed to be extending, the Commissioner, after discussing the military aspects of the situation with the G.O.C. Peshawar, decided that Landi Kotal and the Khyber posts could not be held in the face of an Afridi rising, owing to lack of water and ammunition, and also to the fact that no regular troops were available for their reinforcement. As a first step towards abandonment, he proposed to order the Commandant of the Khyber Rifles to come back to Peshawar, and referred to the Punjab Government for sanction to do this. Sanction was not given, as the Punjab Government were advised that the officer would be justified in refusing to obey an order to desert his men. However, the officer was summoned to Peshawar to confer with the Commissioner and the G.O.C., and went down telling his men that he would return in a day or so. He was never summoned to any conference, and the Khyber Rifles were left to take care of themselves when their fellow-tribesmen rose and attacked the posts after calling on the garrisons to surrender. They put up a good fight for some days, but hearing nothing of reinforcements or of

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any support, one cannot be surprised that eventually they gave over the posts. With the exception of this incident, the Afridi Maliks kept the Khyber an open road from 1880 till 1920.

The other point on which I wish to remark is Colonel Muspratt's explanation of the advantages of maintaining a garrison at Razmak in the heart of Mahsud country as compared with Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. He said that with troops at Razmak, if trouble broke out at Ladha or Makin in Mahsud territory, it could more easily be tackled by that garrison. But what, I would ask you, does trouble at Ladha or Makin matter to us? It would merely mean that Mahsuds were killing Mahsuds, and why should we wish to interfere? We need not maintain a garrison at Razmak to stop Mahsuds raiding Ladha in their own territory. (Sir A. MONTGOMERY: "It all starts there.") What, a raiding party? Who has ever seen a Mahsud raiding party start? It is formed of men from various places, who travel by various roads and converge on their objective, or its vicinity, by some pre-arranged date. You cannot touch it till it reaches its objective; it is intangible, though you may perhaps cut it off on its retirement. But to do this a garrison in Mahsud country is not required.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—there is no occasion to introduce the late Secretary of State for India, Lord Peel. (Applause.)

Lord PEEL: The only reason I get up to make one or two observations is that Sir Armine Dew felt rather nervous as a civilian amongst so many soldiers, and I think that if I, as another civilian, can say a word in support, it will give him confidence. My difficulty in speaking of this subject is that I am in agreement with most of what has been said. One generally rises to controvert the views expressed by a previous speaker, but I am, of course, a convinced supporter of this road policy. I may say that I have just returned from a journey in Morocco, where I have had the opportunity of seeing the faithful way in which the French in that country have been following our policy, and how they have taken up the policy of the driving of main roads through that country, as the one way of civilizing it, reducing it to order, and of developing its great resources. I have not heard anybody referring to one way of controlling the frontier, and that is by aeroplanes. I read some time ago a report, with which you are all familiar, which dealt summarily with the whole position, and seemed to consider that the presence of those who were referred to as ground troops was hardly necessary. With a few aerodromes planted on this side of the Indus, the whole settlement of the frontier could easily be maintained. There are two points I wish to mention. Quite apart from the purely military aspect of the case, by far the most interesting point I think is—and it has been touched upon by every speaker—whether the road system will really have that

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civilizing effect upon those tribes, without which some permanent solution of the raiding difficulty can never be arrived at. I understand that the Mahsuds—I only know personally the northern portion of the frontier, and speak about Mahsuds and Waziris from information of others—I understand they are very good at taking contracts, but not quite so good at carrying them out. They are quite ready to take the money, but the other side of the contract is not always faithfully observed. I argue from this fact that there will always be a considerable amount of work to be done in the repair and renovation of these roads, which will have the effect of keeping a certain number of these people peacefully employed. Another speaker has observed what an amazing effect the construction of the Khyber railway has had. I expressed the opinion the other day in the House of Lords that I wished the railway could never be finished. (Laughter.) I do not know whether any other speaker is going to develop this very interesting point, which has not been alluded to, as to what are the real resources of Waziristan and the country of the Mahsuds, and whether the mining and other development and trade will be such as to give employment to these warlike people, and make them as active in business as the Scotch Highlanders have been since their country was first developed by roads. The only other observation I should like to make is this. This road policy was arrived at after, I should think, more full consideration than perhaps most policies that are carried into action. It was thoroughly examined, of course, by all the authorities in India, military and civilian; it was supported strongly by the Government of India. It was then threshed out in detail, to the verge of tediousness, on the Imperial Defence Committee, where I had the opportunity of hearing the views of all the authorities on the subject, and the only difference of opinion, I think, that arose there was on the question of expense, the usual question in these matters. The soldiers, of course, put forward the view, which they generally do, that this expenditure was the most economical that could be devised. (Laughter.) That is a sort of smoke-screen which from long experience I can aver that soldiers generally do put forward. Anyhow, the promulgation of that scheme had in itself an extraordinarily pacifying effect—at least, on that portion of the frontier. The tribes knew all along the frontier that the Government had decided on a special line of policy. The Mahsuds knew it, and felt that their isolation and security in their own fastnesses was no longer what it had been. I think the matter was going on smoothly, but, unfortunately, there was a momentary set-back. Some eminent men made a tour on the frontier, discussed the question with different officers, military and civilian, and travelled up the road, and the rumour got about the country that the Government of India had changed its mind. The results were most dangerous, and, unfortunately, some good British officers lost their

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lives because of the loss of confidence in the decisions that the Government of India had taken. All I hope is that now this policy has been, after the most minute investigation and care, decided on, that it will be maintained unchanged. Of course, there must be difference of opinion among officers, military and civilian, on the frontier as to the best methods of dealing with the border; but I hope that this policy once accepted will be carried out thoroughly, and that a severe check may be given to raiding, and that the tribes may find raiding an unprofitable thing.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I submit that we have had a most interesting discussion, and I only regret that there were not more people to listen to it. They might have learned something. We have also been very fortunate in inducing a Secretary of State, who has been closely connected with these very questions, to give us his views. I believe it is considered to be the usual duty of a chairman to sum up, but I must do it very shortly, because I see it is now twenty-five minutes to eleven, and a great many people want to catch trains.

General Charles opened the discussion, and he referred to the Curzon policy, what he called the five-finger policy, of holding five lines by means of tribal levies only. That policy was excellent so long as it could be relied on, but unfortunately there was a weak point, which was, that we had no British troops close at hand as spearheads for those five lines on whom the tribal levies could rely for support. It was a point not fully appreciated at the time, and the result was that when trouble came those unfortunate levies saw nothing to back them close at hand, and, naturally, being of the same race as the people who had risen around them, they would not fight alone against them. I believe that, supposing in 1897 when the great tribal war along the whole frontier took place, which was, I may remark, before Lord Curzon became Viceroy, if we had had a small body of regular infantry in Lundi Kotal to back the Afridi levies there—I think they were called the Khyber Rifles at that time—whoever they were, if they had had someone to back them, they would not have gone wrong so easily. The present policy of going to Razmak is a sound policy for the very reason that we now have got British troops close at hand, and the tribal levies know they will be supported. They have a whole brigade on the spot ready to deal with any trouble in that area. Therefore, it is, I think, reasonable to suppose that in future we shall have loyalty from these levies that we have raised, and that they will support us in carrying out the policy of the Government. Therefore, I am all for this policy myself. There is another remark which I would make with reference to General Montgomery's observations. He spoke about the importance of finding employment for the tribesmen, and that has been represented and corroborated

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by nearly everyone who has spoken. But in one way we have rather failed of late in this respect. A few years ago, before the war, we had a very large number of Afridis in our service, and I am one of those who greatly regret that the reduction of the Afridi element was carried to the length it has been, because I am quite sure that the main reason which has kept the Afridis quiet of late years was that so many of their people were employed by us. They were employed on the railways, they were employed in the regiments, they were employed in tribal levies, and thus got plenty of work. Therefore I think our recent policy, of greatly reducing the trans-border element in our Punjab regiments, is unfortunate.

Then Sir Armine Dew contrasted with our frontier policy the employment of Scottish Highlanders in the eighteenth century. We all know that that was a most successful policy. It was a double policy of both roads and Highland regiments, and it was, of course, and indeed always has been, an extraordinarily successful policy throughout the history of the world. It is no new thing. Whenever warlike tribes have been given employment they settle down, and trade develops owing to the roads thus made, but it may be carried too far. I have lately been reading up my old history books, and particularly a good deal about the invasions of Alaric and Attila, and people like that, fifteen hundred years ago, and I have been impressed by the fact that there is a danger in employing too many of such men as soldiers in our army. There is also some danger in the road system. The reason why those invasions of the Roman Empire were so easy and so fatal to it was because a very large proportion of the frontier tribes, the Ostrogoths and Visigoths and Vandals and Franks, were employed in the Roman legions and knew all about Roman warfare and understood the business of invading those settled countries, and, moreover, they had the most splendid roads which made invasion easy for them. All that, I think, bears on questions of road and employment. You must not go too far in these matters. You must not make it too easy to invade your own territory. You must not have too many of such men in your ranks, men who are thoroughly *au fait* with your methods and just as good soldiers as yourselves. But that is only a question of proportion.

Sir Arthur Barrett was the next speaker. I am afraid I rather disagree with the views of Sir Arthur Barrett, and I am very sorry to do so, because I am proud to say he was one of my brigadiers in years gone by. But I disagree with him when he says he has no trust in these militias. I think that the militia, if supported by troops, can be relied upon! However, I have already commented on that point.

I myself agree with nearly all that Colonel Muspratt had to say, and also with many of the remarks of General Sir Raleigh Egerton, although the views of those two speakers rather conflicted with each other,

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but still, there were good points in both of them which can be reconciled. I do not presume to act the part of a judge between such high authorities, nor, indeed, is there time to do so.

Of course, I shall not comment on the very interesting and instructive remarks that we had from the late Secretary of State for India, as only a few weeks ago I was one of his subordinates. (Applause.)

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OBITUARIES

THE RIGHT HON. SIR MORTIMER DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

THE death of Sir Mortimer Durand removes from among us one who played a leading part on the stage of India and Central Asia. He held high posts in Europe and America, but this review will deal with his achievements in Asia. He was the most distinguished member of his generation in the Foreign Department of the Government of India. Lord Dufferin realized his remarkable capacity and character, and promoted him to the Secretaryship at the early age of thirty-five. Before that he had served Lord Roberts as Political Secretary in the Afghan War, and, although a civilian, had taken a leading part in a successful dash to save a battery of artillery, which feat won him a mention in despatches for gallantry. He thus knew a great deal about Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier of India, and many years of hard work resulted in the formation of the Durand Line, which will keep his memory green for ever on the frontier. Incidentally it will also be kept alive by his gift of a silver football, which is annually competed for in India, for Sir Mortimer Durand was a man of many parts, and among other things was a good Rugby football player.

In 1893 he was appointed chief of a mission to Amir Abdur Rahman, the grim ruler of Afghanistan, and after a while the two strong men became great friends, the Amir insisting on creating a decoration to honour the British representative, just as Fath Ali Shah did in the case of Sir John Malcolm. This Mission was most successful, and British influence in Afghanistan was placed on a far more satisfactory footing than it had been for many years.

In 1894 Durand was appointed Minister at Tehran. There was hardly scope in the post for a man of his capacity, as Great Britain took little interest in Persia at that period. At the same time he made many valuable recommendations on Persian policy, and, owing to his deep knowledge of and insight into Oriental character, he was able to carry through various difficult questions, including a boundary commission which delimitated the division between British and Persian Baluchistan. Persia was the original home of polo, which

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had, however, ceased to be played there, and when the writer of this notice revived the game at Tehran, the Minister became a keen player and kept up the game for many years.

He was at this time the leading authority on Central Asia, and it was a great pity that his services were not utilized as Viceroy of India, a post for which he was eminently suited, but his modesty stood in the way, and he never pushed his claims.

After his retirement Sir Mortimer Durand devoted himself to literature, and served as Director of the Royal Asiatic Society, and from 1914–1917 as Chairman of the Central Asian Society, where his dignity, courtesy, and knowledge were of great value.

To conclude, Sir Mortimer Durand was a model public servant, whose achievements and accomplishments were remarkable, but those who served under him will never forget that he was the best of friends, the most chivalrous of men, and, to sum it all up, a great English gentleman.

P. M. Sykes.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR G. K. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.I.E.

George Kenneth Scott-Moncrieff was born in India, the country where so much of his service was to be spent, on October 3, 1855. He was the younger son of Major Alexander Pringle Scott-Moncrieff, of the 44th Bengal Infantry and of Elizabeth Hastie, younger daughter of the Rev. George Coventry of Shanwell, Kinross-shire. He had his first experience of active service as a child, for during the Indian Mutiny his mother escaped with him and two other young children from Perulia to Calcutta, his father being absent on duty. After the death of his father in 1865 his mother settled in the family dower house, Elie Castle, in Fife, where she lived till 1913.

Scott-Moncrieff was gazetted Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers on September 11, 1873. His career in India began in 1878 as Assistant Engineer in the Public Works Department, and very soon afterwards he saw active service in the Second Afghan War, where he was present at the capture of Ali Musjid and in operations near Kabul. In 1886 he returned home, and from 1893 to 1898 he served as an Instructor in Construction at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham. In this capacity he made the acquaintance of numerous batches of young officers, and his personal knowledge of so many of his juniors must have been of great value to him in later years when he was required to make selections for particular appointments. He then returned to the Public Works Department in the Punjab, and in 1900 went to China as C.R.E. of the China Expeditionary Force, taking part in the actions of Peitsang and Yangtsoun and in the

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relief of Peking. For his services in this campaign he received the C.I.E. On returning to India he was appointed Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, and served in the Waziristan Expedition in 1901-1902. In 1904 he returned to England and served as C.R.E. at the Curragh. In the autumn of 1906 he was appointed Assistant Director of Fortifications and Works, and in the following year was awarded the C.B. In 1909 he was given the important appointment of Chief Engineer at Aldershot, and in 1911 was made Director of Fortifications and Works at the War Office, thus becoming the administrative head of his corps. He served in this capacity till April 1, 1918, when he was retired. He had been promoted to Major-General in October, 1912. In 1915 he received the K.C.B., and three years later the K.C.M.G. After his retirement he became a director of the firm of Donald Gibbs and Co., and worked on the development of the shale oilfields in the neighbourhood of King's Lynn and various other engineering projects.

In 1886 he had married Helen Morin, youngest daughter of Robert Mowbray, of Naemoor, by whom he had six daughters. His wife died in 1916 after a long illness caused by being knocked over by a motor-car, and after a companionship of so many years he was left saddened and lonely.

On June 4 he died suddenly of heart failure at Deutschen, in Poland, whither he had gone in company with the Rev. C. H. Gill.

Scott-Moncrieff's was a life of untiring industry and continuous employment. The work he did in India, where he was a worthy successor of Alexander Taylor and "Buster" Brown, still lives to-day, and the roads he made on the North-West Frontier are the pioneers of the more elaborate highways now being constructed through the heart of Waziristan. Great though his services were in Asia, his presence as Director of Fortifications and Works at the War Office at the outbreak of the Great War was of inestimable value. Scott-Moncrieff was no amateur engineer, but an engineer by instinct, training, and experience. He wrote a book on structural design which was for many years the textbook for young officers studying at the School of Military Engineering. He had been made an Honorary Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers. At the outbreak of the war he was faced by a position which might have staggered the hardest head, but Scott-Moncrieff's quick brain and cool judgment were equal to the occasion. Fortunately he had as chief a brother officer of his corps, Lord Kitchener. They understood each other and could work in harmony. It was Scott-Moncrieff's task, amongst many others, to arrange for the construction of hutted camps all over the country for the vast numbers of men who were being recruited. By enlisting the aid of civilian firms of contractors this apparently impossible task was successfully carried out. At the same time he had to provide for the

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supply of the immense quantities of engineer war material required on the various fronts.

Scott-Moncrieff was a writer of no mean ability, and he has himself recorded in a series of articles in *The Times Engineering Supplement* an account of the work done by the Royal Engineers in combination with the civil engineers of the country during the war. He was for many years a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine* of articles of military interest; several of his later articles have dealt with his experiences at the War Office as Director of Fortifications and Works, and his last article, which appeared in the June number, on the roads of the North-West Frontier of India, is one of considerable interest, and might be read with profit by any politician. Scott-Moncrieff was a frequent contributor to the journal of his corps, where his name was always a guarantee of an article of genuine interest and value.

A notice of Scott-Moncrieff would be incomplete without a reference to his deeply religious nature. Brought up in the Presbyterian Church, he developed strong evangelical tendencies and took great interest in foreign missions, being Vice-President of the Church Missionary Society; yet he was essentially broad-minded and tolerant, and never forced his religious views on an unwilling hearer. From the human standpoint it is safe to say that all who came in close contact with him regarded him with something more than mere liking and respect. His nature was indeed a lovable one. He was "straight" to the backbone, a firm and loyal friend, intolerant of slackness or indifference, appreciative of well-meant effort, a good talker with a real sense of humour, quick-witted, fond of riding and the open air, always ready to help anyone, a truly charitable man.

Ever since its formation he took a great interest and an active part in the Royal Engineers Old Comrades' Association, and the success of this movement must be largely due to his influence.

And now another old comrade has gone.

A. H. B.

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REVIEWS

A Consul in the East. By A. C. Wratislaw, C.B., C.M.G. Blackwood and Sons, London. 15s. net.

Entertaining hours, certainly not lacking in instruction, may be enjoyed in perusing Mr. A. C. Wratislaw's reminiscences of his career as a consular officer in the Near and Middle East. Though dwelling preferentially on the lighter aspects of life in those regions—the traits of character displayed by his chiefs and companions, adventures gun in hand by flood and field, strange happenings in his varied intercourse with Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, and Persians—his narrative throws light on much of the intricate and often troubled history between the year 1883, when he took up his studies as a student interpreter under the eye of the Embassy at Constantinople, and the post-war period which brought his honourable career to a close, and to what he terms, one hopes mistakenly, the shelf, as Consul-General at Beyrut in 1920. Everywhere he kept his eyes open, and, as all who know him are aware, he exemplified in many posts the best characteristics of the British official in the foreign service of his country.

Six years were spent at Philippopolis, and Mr. Wratislaw tells again, with many personal touches, how Prince Ferdinand strove, with Stambuloff, to maintain himself in power against the sullen ill-will of Russia, how Stambuloff was finally sacrificed to a band of assassins, and how the complete conciliation of Russia was only in the end secured by means of the reception of Prince Boris, regardless of Roman thunders, into the Orthodox Church.

Then we have a brief spell at Constantinople, during which occurred the gruesome Armenian massacres of 1896. He proceeds thence to Basra, and, in 1903, as Consul-General, to Tabriz. The Persian chapters (x.-xii.) cannot fail to be of special interest to the Central Asian Society. They vividly record the principal events witnessed by the author, including the Russo-British understanding of 1907, the partition of Persia into the respective spheres of influence, the birth throes of the constitution extorted from the reluctant Shah, and the siege and ultimate reduction of Tabriz by the Shah's forces—a brief triumph to be immediately followed by the revolutionary movement on Teheran successfully undertaken by combined Nationalist forces closing in on the capital from north and south in 1909. The story is graphically told, with its extremes of comedy and tragedy, recalling again and again the classic pages of Hadji Baba. It illustrates the perennial feuds of

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Kurd and Armenian, rendering so entirely futile the well-meant efforts of Britain and Russia to draw a definite frontier between the territories in this region of Turkey and Russia.

Only the briefest reference can here be made to the interesting closing chapters recording Mr. Wratislaw's experiences, first in Crete, and finally, during the war period, in Salonica. In Crete he acted as British representative on the Board of Delegates of the Great Powers (except Germany and Austria) which held the island in trust for the Suzerain Sultan, while its inhabitants were bent on expelling the Mussulman population and drawing ever closer the ties by which they felt themselves to be bound to Greece. At Salonica he came in close contact with M. Venizelos, to whom he had the satisfaction of announcing British recognition of the latter's Provisional Government, soon after, on the dismissal of Constantine, to develop into the government of allied Greece as a whole. The arrival of 200,000 British troops involved, of course, much additional labour to the Consular Staff, and the pages of Mr. Wratislaw's book afford clear evidence of the happy relations unbrokenly maintained between navy, army, and the civil authority. Sad details are given of the sufferings of our men in their unhealthy quarters at the Doiran front, over against the Bulgarians in their mountain fastnesses. There, at the cost of severe losses to our troops, the enemy was successfully held during the gallant Franco-Serbian attack further west, and Mr. Wratislaw shows how materially this British effort contributed to the recovery of Serbia, the knockout of Bulgaria, and so to the final disintegration and defeat of the enemy Powers.

MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY. INDIA. By Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I., M.A. Edited by John Buchan. Hodder and Stoughton. 15s. net.

As a "nation of to-day" India, or rather the heterogeneous peoples of that sub-continent, must be regarded as an embryo not yet ripe for birth. Sir Verney Lovett has given a clear and accurate account of the kaleidoscopic series of births, deaths, and re-incarnations of independent Kingdoms and Empires which form its history from undated ages down to the nineteenth century of our era. Throughout these struggles there appears only one attempt to establish a semblance of national unity; and even that was the imposition of an autocratic ruler, the Great Akbar; and so slightly did the principle appeal to the people themselves that all traces of it were quickly obliterated very soon after his death, and the relapse into chaos was dramatically speedy. Under the mild influence of early Aryan (Hindu) invaders these parturitions had been fairly peacefully and painlessly conducted, and the great cult of Hinduism, under a Brahminical supremacy practically embraced the whole country. The arrival of Islam soon

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broke into fragments such unity of ideals as existed, and apart from Akbar's efforts to weld the fragments together there has never been a genuine attempt on the part of the great components (Hindu and Muslim) to achieve unity.

The British Administration indeed fostered a sense of equality among all classes and creeds, and attained to a measure of success such as Akbar had perhaps dreamed of and striven after. But that amount of success was altogether dependent on the maintenance of a supreme impartial power, and did not really effect a fusion of the conflicting ambitions of the two great religious creeds, which apparently can never dwell together in unity by themselves.

Macaulay's fatal educational policy and its subsequent extensions have only served to accentuate these differences. The more subtle brain of the Aryan Hindu, as represented by the Brahman oligarchy, has assimilated Western knowledge and political catchwords more profitably for its own purposes than has been the case with the less progressive Muslim minds of its rivals. Metcalfe's repeal of the Press Act resulted in an abuse of freedom, more largely taken advantage of by the Hindu. The Morley-Minto reforms were, again, yet further concessions to Hindu rather than to Muslim agitation. And the latest surrender of Montagu to the same pernicious pressure might almost lead one to the conclusion that the letter "M" (Murder, Mutiny, Massacre!) exercises a malignant influence on the course of Indian development.

Sir Verney Lovett's concluding words are worth quotation: "Without the presence in Indian self-government of a partner not only sympathetic, but strong enough to co-ordinate and harmonize the interests and ambitions of races and classes, the vision of prosperous and abiding unity will never be realized." The truth of this assertion needs no emphasis.

As regards the historical value of the book, there can be no question. The main vicissitudes through which India has passed are clearly set forth. The story of the Sikhs is one of great interest to any student of Indian problems—very much so at the present time—and it is a pity that it has been divided into two widely separated portions, with no cross-reference to guide the reader, from p. 33 to p. 103.

Among the reasons assigned for the mutiny of the Bengal army the following does not appear in this nor, it is believed, in any other book on the subject—namely, the appalling state of indebtedness of all ranks of that army to the regimental *shroffs*. If the stories of the outbreaks of the several regiments which mutinied are read, it will be found that practically invariably the first act of the mutineers was to burn the account books of their regimental *banniahs*. The whole credit of many regiments, their pay for months and even years in advance, had been pledged and anticipated, and there is no doubt that many, both

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officers and men, who survived the catastrophe were thereby saved from financial ruin.

No allusion is made to the efforts of the seditionists in 1907 to engineer a repetition, or "jubilee celebration," of the Mutiny. In the few preceding years these malcontents had captured the Arya Samaj (which, by the way, does not appear to be mentioned at all), which, though in itself a quite harmless attempt at Hindu Reform, was found by them to be a well-organized instrument for their purpose. Their primary move was to have been an outbreak at Meerut, to be carried out by the cavalry regiment then in occupation of the very lines which the Light Cavalry at that station had occupied in 1857, where the first outbreak on the part of the army occurred in May that year. An infantry battalion in the same garrison had similarly been tampered with. It will suffice here to say that the plot failed because the principal native officers concerned, probably fearful of the risk involved to their so-nearly attained pensions, flinched at the last moment from carrying out the terrible task which had been imposed upon them by Lajpat Rai and others, his associates.

In chapter xix., describing the decade before the war, the reader's attention may well be called to the quotation given from a farewell speech by Sir J. Hewett on relinquishing the Lieutenant-Governorship of the United Provinces, in which the progress of India under British rule is moderately and lucidly set forth (see pp. 168 *et seq.*):

The history is brought to a conclusion in part iv., which will naturally command most attention, for it deals with the period commencing with the outbreak of the Great War and ends with the year 1923. The apparently spontaneous and universal ebullition of loyalty to Britain which was displayed on the announcement of our entry into the great struggle is described with satisfaction. Doubtless these practically unanimous expressions of approval by the Indian Press, of all colours and politics, were regarded as genuine. But some of us know that at the backs of the minds of many of those who wrote thus, urging India's whole-hearted participation, there existed a very sinister motive. Attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian troops, as well as with that of the police, had by no means ceased at that time. And the conspirators behind this may well have thought, and undoubtedly did think, that here was an opportunity to test the value of the Indian soldier as an instrument to overthrow British rule and to prove his valour for the furtherance of their designs. Nobly as the Indian soldiers fulfilled the expectations of the officers who had trained and led them, the result by no means proved that they could achieve the same results without that guidance. But the agitators were not dismayed by the failure in attaining their object. For it was "India's effort in the War," as exemplified by the conduct of the fighting men, which furnished the excuse for further extravagant demands for inde-

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pendence on the part of those who had done nothing beyond chatter during the terrible crisis of those four years. Truly the desired instrument has been used for an ignoble purpose. Lacking the stimulus and driving-power of its British Administration, India, under indigenous rule, could have done little towards the maintenance of our armies in the field. Bengal, the most forward of the Provinces in its demands for reward, furnished with difficulty one battalion for service abroad. The story of that battalion has never been published. On one occasion only was blood shed by its soldiers, but it was that of its own Bengali officers. And when at length some justification for its maintenance in the fighting army was sought for, its military efficiency could not be proved, and a medical examination showed that its physical efficiency was undermined by so horrible a disease as cannot be mentioned in print. In fact, the Bengali was proved useless as a defender of the Empire.

Time alone can prove the wisdom or folly of the concessions to clamour so hastily and inopportunely effected; they might well have been deferred till the country had settled down to more normal conditions. But the same hasty methods were being enacted at home, and there is little wonder that the evil example spread. Our statesmen allowed themselves to be influenced by the catchwords and pedantic phrases of a Yankee professor—"self-determination," which too often degenerates into an abuse, was the most pernicious of them—and the results are seen in Ireland, Egypt and India. We need not, however, despair, for in spite of their now being obscured by baser motives of alien origin, there still exist in the British race that genius for expansion and that high sense of duty towards civilization which have actuated the national conscience since the "spacious days of great Elizabeth" and furnished us with far stronger "mandates" than any which can be conferred by a "League of Nations."

The value of the book is enhanced by the articles on Economics and by the inclusion of five good maps. In the former sufficient data are given to enable the student to acquire a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the agricultural, commercial, financial and other possibilities of India. And the General Introduction by Mr. John Buchan will serve the most useful purpose of stimulating a study of history and the true purposes for which such a study should be undertaken.

R. G. E.

WONDERS OF THE HIMALAYA. By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. London: John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.

In the hot weather of 1883 I found myself at Simla, and there met Major Douglas-Willan of the King's Dragoon Guards, who very kindly invited me to visit him at Meerut when I left Simla. The morning

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after my arrival at Meerut I was taken by my host to the King's Dragoon Guards' swimming-bath, and there for the first time I met Lieutenant F. E. Younghusband. He was perched above the water on a small bar of wood suspended by ropes from the roof of the bath. We were introduced to each other.

The period covered by the book now under review commences a few months later—viz., in April, 1884—and at Rawal Pindi instead of Meerut. I did not divine in the well-knit figure which I saw in that swimming-bath the spirit which enabled its possessor to face perils the story of which I followed a few years later breathlessly in "The Heart of a Continent." Sir Francis repeats the story in the book under review, but if the reader wishes to share to the full my feelings as I first read it, let me advise him to turn to chapter viii. of "The Heart of a Continent."

In his earliest travels Sir Francis was associated with two men with whom I, too, during the course of their lives, have been brought a good deal in contact—viz., Colonel Mark Bell, R.E., V.C., and Sir Evan James. Under the former I served in 1886 in the Intelligence Division at Simla, and with the Commissioner in Sind an officer of a Baluch battalion could not but be familiar. In 1890 Colonel Mark Bell kindly sent me a copy of "The Great Central Asian Trade Route from Peking to Kashgaria," in which he describes his share of the journey from Peking to India, which he carried out in 1887 in collaboration with Lieutenant F. E. Younghusband. This article appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for February, 1890; and the theme is further elaborated in "China in Central Asia" in the April, 1890, number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

However, I will not allow my memory and the records of some forty years of travel and study to tempt me further from direct attention to the book the review of which has been entrusted to me. I will merely quote one passage from "China in Central Asia," which emphasizes in the clearest language the change which thirty-five years has wrought in the political relations of Europe and Asia. This passage, written in 1890, is this: "The prestige of the Empress of India alone in the East, as the inheritrix of the Mogul Empire, can compare with that of the Czar of Russia as the successor to the kingdom of Ghenghiz." I may well leave the individual to make his own mental comments on this paragraph, so pregnant in 1890, and fallen so short of its promise.

The two thrilling chapters of this book, "Wonders of the Himalaya," are in my opinion the fourth and the eighth, devoted the one to the perilous passage of the Mustagh Pass, and the other to the almost equally perilous search for the Saltoro Pass. And then, again, our thoughts are weaned away from those perils to the surprising picture of the guide Wali, who, fearless on the ice-slope and the rocks

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trembles with terror when he has to cross a chasm on a rope bridge. In this book you are frequently brought face to face with quite unexpected scenes. At Shigar on the Indus we came upon a "crude kind of telegraph line" and a Hindu telegraph clerk, who entertained Lieutenant Younghusband to dinner, and played to him on "a stringed instrument, more or less resembling a violin." This carries me back to the days (in 1903) when I was the guest of the Amir of Kabul in his garden-bungalow at Spin Baldak, and was after dinner invited to come and hear an accomplished player of the rabāb. It was a most interesting and enjoyable experience.

The return of the traveller to his regiment, the King's Dragoon Guards, on November 4, 1887, has at once its halo of honour and its touch of humour. At Srinagar already a congratulatory telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, had met him. At Rawal Pindi he "was warmly greeted by the Colonel"; *but* "from my fellow subalterns I got just the kind of welcome subalterns would give to one of their number who had been away for nearly twenty months while they had to do his duty for him." I have a more or less clear recollection of Sir Alexander Burnes's account of his reception in London society on his return from his Central Asian tour in the years 1831-33. His seemed to be an unadulterated social triumph; whereas Sir Francis notes that he "came back to India (from London) feeling positively guilty at the thoughts of his many sins of omission. Geologists wanted to know if he had observed the rocks; botanists, if he had collected flowers; glaciologists, if he had observed the motions of the glaciers; anthropologists, if he had measured the people's skulls; ethnologists, if he had studied their languages; cartographers, if he had mapped the mountains. . . . So he returned to India full of good resolutions for the future, and deeply repentant of his omissions." We may regard all this as a step in the education of a man who was destined to become President of the Royal Geographical Society.

But it was in a camp on a spur just below Murree, while marching with his regiment, that he encounters a storm not to be forgotten. "Officers and men had to turn out in the howling wind and drenching rain to make the tents secure." This reminds me of a night I spent with the 1st Baluchis on a hillside outside Kandahar. A terrific storm of rain flooded out our village to a depth of several feet (shortly before or after Christmas), and drove the whole regiment to pitch tents hurriedly on a hillside contiguous. We had a very poor time of it that night.

Having had my own experience of the lack of encouragement accorded, or, I might more justly say, the obstruction offered, by British official authority to Britons bent on travel in little-known regions, I am moved to quote Sir Francis's résumé of a conversation between himself and Captain Grombtchevsky: "He explained to me that

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it was very unusual with Russians to care for exploring, and anyone who did care for it was made a great deal of. For instance, the Czar himself had sent for him before each of his expeditions and made him explain all his plans. Unless some such encouragement were given, no Russian would think of exploring. I told him that with us it was exactly the other way round. Every obstruction was put in the way of exploration. . . . Not even the Viceroy had asked to see me before either of my journeys." Well! after all, despite obstruction, which maybe adds savour to success, we do achieve something, and Sir Francis can at least recall that telegram from Sir Frederick Roberts and the warm support of Sir Mortimer Durand.

In conclusion, I quote a passage (p. 173) which Englishmen or Britons (*not* Britishers) may note:- "That I was able to do what I did was *mainly* due to the fact that I was an Englishman, that I stood for the British Empire, and I had at my disposal not only the authority but the good name which England during long centuries had established. . . . For that occasion and to those people I was the representative. I was unconsciously making manifest to those people the spirit of England. I could feel England expecting me to bear myself in a manner worthy of her. I knew, too, that all these men, and especially the Hunzamen, were eyeing me minutely, and through a thousand little ways were forming their opinion of England."

To-day, when all the Asiatic races whom we have trained and made are arrogating to themselves equality with the British, we need to remember all that we stand for. A. C. YATE.

EAST PERSIA: A BACKWATER OF THE GREAT WAR. By Brigadier-General W. E. R. Dickson, C.M.G., C.I.E. Edward Arnold and Co., London. 15s. net.

This book opens with a vivid description of the country in which General Dickson was employed while Inspector-General of Communications in East Persia, and the difficulties with which he had to contend. It relates the steps that were taken to surmount these difficulties, and contains an account of the author's personal experiences and relations with the people of the country. Finally, events subsequent to the Armistice are dealt with, and the concluding chapter discusses East Persia as a field for Indian trade. The whole forms an interesting volume which is a valuable contribution to current literature, not only as a record of important and difficult work admirably carried out, but because it relates to a locality which was little known and seldom visited before the Great War. The journey from Meshed to Indian limits, which until 1918 occupied from two to three weeks, has since been accomplished with perfect comfort, thanks to the work of General Dickson's force, in five or six days.

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The author details the circumstances which, in his view, necessitated British intervention in East Persia in the first instance. His account of Anglo-Persian and Russo-Persian relations before the war is correct; but the bombardment of the Meshed Shrine by the Russians in May, 1912, mentioned on page 28, had no excuse, inasmuch as it was not carried out as a sequel to an anti-Russian outbreak. No such outbreak had occurred in Khurasan, and the measure seems to have been conceived with the definite object of causing a disturbance of a sufficiently grave nature to make it necessary for the Russian officials on the spot to take over the government of the Province. Although, as General Dickson observes, the Persians felt most deeply this insult to their shrine, the local people were not able to offer resistance; the scheme therefore failed.

General Dickson remarks upon the dangerous situation that would have been produced by the arrival in Afghanistan of a force hostile to the Allies. We had no idea at that time what success had attended the efforts of the Turko-German Mission to the Amir, and it was not until after the Armistice that this information came into our possession. It appears that His late Majesty agreed that if the Central Powers could cause a force of a certain strength to arrive at a certain spot within a certain time he would join forces with it and invade India. This was a very natural piece of oriental diplomacy, and no weakening of the Amir's friendship for us was indicated. He knew perfectly well that there was small likelihood of the force specified ever arriving at the placed named, and also that, if our enemies did manage to bring off this wonderful performance, he would in his own interests have no option but to join them.

The story of how the transportation problem was solved is intensely interesting to experts in such matters; and if the general reader finds this chapter a little technical, he will be amply compensated by a perusal of those in which the author relates his experiences with the people of the country. Being well acquainted with the Persian language, and having had previous contact with Persian manners and customs, General Dickson was able not only to appreciate the many amusing situations in which he found himself from time to time, but to relate them accordingly. In consequence, some of his anecdotes, notably that of the Deputy-Governor of Gunabad's afternoon tea-party, are unsurpassed even by those of the immortal "Haji Baba of Isfahan" itself.

We have always thought that too much was said about the expenditure in East Persia during the war, and have had much sympathy with those upon whom the blame fell—more especially with General Dickson himself. The latter states clearly and accurately the reasons for which it was necessary to have the troops well housed; and only those who know the country, the transport and supplies difficulties, the

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cost of labour, etc., are in a position to criticize fairly. We see now that it might have been better to delay or suspend the building work at Meshed after the Armistice until a clear idea could be formed as to how long our troops would have to be kept in East Persia; but the position then was most obscure, and in any case General Dickson can scarcely be blamed for this error of judgment if such it was. That the buildings were necessary in other places as they stood, we have no doubt from personal experience and observation, and they were throughout of the simplest possible description.

It may be the case, as General Dickson suggests, that the Bolsheviks made no attempt to penetrate into north-eastern Persia after the occupation of Askabad through respect for our Indian troops who had a short time before so bravely opposed them in Trans-Caspia; but we have never been able to see what the Soviet Government could have gained by such an altogether unjustifiable proceeding. Their object in undertaking it could only have been to take revenge upon us, or to provide employment or nourishment for the large number of troops they had at the time under arms in this region; and neither of these would have been a sufficient inducement to act in contravention of the sentiments of regard and sympathy so recently expressed for Persia. The descent upon Enzeli was a different matter, and had a special object connected with Russian domestic affairs.

General Dickson deserves warm credit for the conduct of his troops while in East Persia. Whereas before their arrival the Persian inhabitants of Meshed (for example) had strongly protested against their coming, nothing but regret was expressed at their departure by all sections of the community. It is doubtful whether any force has ever occupied neutral territory in time of war with so little discomfort to the inhabitants, and with so few incidents which could disturb friendly relations. The telegram received by the General from Teheran, which conveyed the appreciation of the Persian Government for the assistance and co-operation that the local officials in East Persia had received from the troops, was well deserved.

We congratulate General Dickson on his admirable book, and the Government on having at its disposal an officer so well qualified as he for the peculiarly important work in which he was engaged, and the specially delicate circumstances in which much of it was carried out.

W. G. G.

EARLY ARCHITECTURE IN WESTERN ASIA. By Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1924.

Mr. Edward Bell has added another volume to his series of convenient studies on the origins of architecture, in which volumes on Egyptian and Hellenic art have already appeared. It deals, as the publisher's description says, with Babylonian (we prefer this to their

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word "Chaldæan," which to an ancient historian has a special and restricted connotation), Hittite, Assyrian, and Persian architecture, and embodies the results of recent exploration in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. The interdependent relations of these several phases of art are traced, and their effect on the general architectural tradition indicated. The book is fully illustrated, containing 110 illustrations, maps, and plans.

Mr. Bell must be congratulated on having produced so very handy a study of a most interesting and important subject. It might seem presumption on the part of one who is not an architect to review a book by an architect on ancient architecture, but the study of ancient art and archæology is so closely bound up with that of architecture that an ancient historian and archæologist may perhaps be permitted to record his comment on a book of this kind. He is the more able to do so since he possesses a deeper knowledge than the architect can have of the history and ways of the peoples whose architecture is being described, and also of the country. Mr. Bell is probably not very well acquainted with the languages, ancient and modern, of Western Asia; or, at least, we could gather this from a crucial instance: he has allowed his printer to deform his transcription of Arabic words containing the letter ق by transliterating it as *q, followed by u!* This, to us of the Central Asian Society, and to all other Orientalists, is a terrible solecism, more terrible than Mr. Bell is, perhaps, aware of. To see Tell Muqayyar turned into "Muquayar," not once, but several times, makes one very unhappy, and it argues absence of first-hand knowledge of place and people. All the more, therefore, is Mr. Bell to be congratulated on having triumphed so signally over his presumed absence of personal experience of Dar ul-Islam (or, at any rate, of its characteristic language) as to give us so very acceptable a description of its ancient buildings as he has. For autopsy counts for much in these matters; it is difficult to get the spirit of things, ancient or modern, without it. "Nebi Junas," too, on p. 147, for Nebi Yunas, is misleading.

Mr. Bell tells us all that there is to be known of the development of architecture in Western Asia up to Achæmenid times within a small and handy compass, and with abundant and well-chosen illustrations. He is up to date, and has evidently taken very great pains to be so. When the process of disinterring the ancient East is going on day by day during the winter months every year as it is at present, and new discoveries are constantly being made that force us to revise our ideas every few months, even before the ink is dry on our pages, it is inevitable that even the most painstaking observer of the process may here and there be left behind by the march of discovery when his book appears. Thus, on the subject of Kish (el-Oheimir), on p. 10, we do not find a reference to the excavations of Mr. Mackay for the Weld-

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Blundell expedition in 1923, though they are mentioned on p. 193. The excavations of the present year under Professor Langdon, Mr. Mackay, and Colonel Lane, could naturally not be included. Colonel Lane's recent speculations on the site of Opis probably appeared too late to be mentioned in the footnote on p. 10. On the other hand, Mr. Bell mentions Mr. C. J. Gadd's recent discovery of the true date of the fall of Nineveh—612, not 606 B.C. (p. 118). I am sorry, personally, that Mr. Bell quotes only the second (1913) reprint of my "Ancient History of the Near East" instead of the fifth (1920), as in that he would have found the account of Babylonian history considerably corrected, and in places re-written. He would then probably have avoided the old rendering Tukulti-Ninib for the name of a famous Assyrian king: it is now known to be Tukulti-Enurta, or Tukulti-Ninurta, the true reading of the god's name, *NIN-IB*, having now been discovered. Had Mr. Bell been sufficiently up to date as to know that the late Sumerian king's name, Ur-Engur, is now read Ur-Nammu (as that of Dungi is now read Shulgi), I should, indeed, have had reason to congratulate him on his close watch on Assyriological development! But that he could not be expected to have noted, and it is remarkable that he is so up to date as he is. Rawlinson's "Urukh of Hur" (on p. 45) is, of course, definitely known to be the same as Ur-Engur or Ur-Nammu of Ur: "Urukh" is merely the old reading of the name. In a second edition Mr. Bell should notice that the date of Hammurabi is now again put back a couple of centuries by several writers, almost to the date originally maintained by the late Professor King, in the twenty-second century B.C. The recent study of the Hittite cuneiform tablets from Boghaz Keui by Hrozny and Forrer will enable Mr. Bell to amplify considerably his account of early Hittite history, and he should note that, as Messerschmidt long ago showed, it is not altogether correct to speak of Sindjirli and Saktjegözü as examples of "Hittite" art proper: they are Aramæan, and at most only "Syro-Hittite." There is Hittite influence in their style—that is all. Mr. Bell can also rest assured that the warrior figure in relief on the gate of Boghaz Keui is not an "Amazon" or a woman at all. It is not at all "now generally supposed," as he says (p. 77, note), that the figure represents an Amazon. This was the suggestion of an enthusiastic lady who presumably thought she had discovered a Hittite suffragette, and she was unluckily backed up in this unfounded idea by Professor Sayce. There can be no doubt as to the sex of the figure, which is male, though the pronouncedly narrow, Minoan-like waist (an interesting connection, perhaps, here, by the way) possibly gives a feminine appearance to the hips and chest.

Mr. Bell notes the early appearance of the column in Babylonia which has been revealed by the recent excavations at Ur and el-Obeid, and his confirmation of the generally accepted view that the Ionic

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capital is derived from Assyria is to be noted in view of the rather fantastic theory recently advanced by Professor Olmstead in his "History of Assyria," that the influence was the other way about—a view which argues defective appreciation of the chronology of Hellenic architecture on the part of the distinguished American professor. Mr. Bell's estimate of Assyrian art and views as to its origin are worthy of close attention. His accounts of Boghaz Keui and Babylon are accurate and detailed, and his chapter on Achæmenian Persian architecture and art is very good. We may, however, doubt if, on p. 234, he permits enough Egyptian influence at Persepolis. We must remember that Darius was a most conscientious and interested king of Egypt as well as Persia, that he actively interested himself in Egyptian buildings, as at el-Kharga, and that in his time the stele of Shaluf shows that an eclectic Perso-Egyptian artistic style was invented *ad hoc*, so that the cavetto cornices of Persepolis may well be derived directly from Egypt, as they were at Petra. Mr. Bell notes, on p. 217, as an instance of the Persian development of Assyrian art, that the absurd fifth leg of the Assyrian *lamassê*, or winged human-handed bulls (added so that the beast should look right whether from the front or from the side) has disappeared in Persia. This may also be due to Egyptian influence.

One notices a few misprints, such as "Narbonidus" on p. 23, "Tarmossos" (for Tamassos) on p. 184, and "Dieulefoy" on p. 206 and *passim*. M. Dieulafoy would not be likely to give the word "foy" the wrong gender in his name.

The book can be cordially recommended as a useful and capable discussion of the subject. H. R. Hall.

Servant of Sahibs. By Rassul Galwan, Aksakal of Leh. With an Introduction by Sir Francis Younghusband. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons. 9s. net.

This book ought to be particularly interesting to anyone who has travelled and camped in the East and has lived for months at a time in close touch with the servants. Such an one may sometimes have wondered how his followers regarded him and his strange ways, and this narrative is more or less an answer to these questions.

Rassul appealed in a special way to me, as much of my comfort and, indeed, on occasion my safety, during my travels in Chinese Turkistan and the Pamirs, depended on a Ladaki, faithful and devoted as he was.

Lord Dunmore and Mr. Church have published an account of their respective adventures in the Pamirs and Chinese Turkistan, and it is amusing to read Rassul's comments on the doings of the Lord Sahib and the Major Sahib and the "young Sahibs," taken from an entirely different point of view. But yet more interesting is his narrative of the intrepid attempt of the Littledale party to reach Lhasa. I remember how

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stirred I was when I met them on the Black Sea on the eve of their great adventure, and their doings were brought again to my mind when I was at Khotan in 1915, Mrs. Littledale having been the first Englishwoman to enter that town.

Her strong personality comes out again and again in Rassul's book. He describes her doings in camp with pride, and narrates how she astonished the Tibetans by holding up her waterproof skirt and making her servant pour water into the impromptu basin. Tanny, her talented fox-terrier, is mentioned as getting angry if Rassul asked it to perform, the dog making him understand that, "You are a servant of ours," as the Ladaki puts it.

In spite of all the hardships, Rassul, like most Orientals, loved the adventure and excitement of the "open road." But the book is not concerned only with his travels with the various Sahibs whom he served. We get a picture of his childhood, happy though poverty-stricken, of his thirst for knowledge, of his mother who must have been hard to live with, and of his two marriages—the second one being a real love match. Rassul's frankness comes out strongly in his tale. He tells how he takes too much of the brandy of the "young Sahibs," and as a result leaves them without food and camp equipment for a night; how he breaks the "Major Sahib's" drinking-cup, and excuses himself with "lie matter"; how he quarrels with the other servants, or how he fears that the parting gifts of his Sahibs may not come up to his expectations. He is a type of the best kind of servant, and I can well understand that his various employers became attached to him.

He himself was specially devoted to the "poor Sahib" with whom he travelled during two years, and who taught him his quaint English, and had the happy thought of making him write his reminiscences. But it needed the reassurance of his mother, and two remarkable dreams before Rassul understood that this Sahib, however unconventional he might be in his dress, his habits, and his manner of travel, was a "big Sahib" in spite of appearances.

ELLA C. SYKES.

A SURVEY OF THE FAUNA OF IRAQ. Made by Members of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, 1915–19. Bombay Natural History Society, Bombay. Rs. 7.8.

When the War broke out the Bombay Natural History Society was engaged in carrying out a survey of the Mammalia of India, Burma, and Ceylon. The four trained European collectors all joined up, and the mammal survey had for a time to stop; but the Society quickly realized that other important work was close at hand; and when military operations were commenced in Iraq—or Mesopotamia as it was then called—the Society set to work to enlist members and

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others who were ordered to these parts, to endeavour to collect information and specimens of the fauna of the country. The results of this work were published in the Society's journal, and the book now under reference is a compilation of these papers on the collections of mammals, birds, reptiles, crustacea and insects, etc., made by the members of the Expeditionary Force "D" and others from 1915 to 1919.

In 1915, Captain N. B. Kinnear—then curator of the Bombay Museum, and now assistant in the Bird Room of the British Museum (Natural History)—wrote a small pamphlet, published by the Bombay Natural History Society, entitled "Notes on the Mammals, Birds, and Reptiles of Mesopotamia," and this small work proved of the greatest assistance to the members of the Expeditionary Force, and others who happened to be interested in Natural History, by providing them with some record and guidance as to the little that was known of the fauna of this country, and what specimens it was desirable to look out for. As Mr. Kinnear said in this pamphlet, "There are not many opportunities for securing specimens in a modern campaign, but any specimens will be most gratefully received, and the officials of the Society will only be too pleased to assist in the identifying of specimens obtained or seen." As a result, the Society received a large number of specimens, all of which were duly acknowledged and named as far as possible, and when hostilities were over all the material was sent to England, where some ninety-three species new to science were discovered and are described in this book, in addition to a great deal of valuable information as to the habits and localities of the various species. When one thinks of the difficulties under which collecting was done—the trying heat, the flies, and the many other plagues of a tropical climate—one is filled with admiration at the enthusiasm shown by all who contributed.

As an instance of the enthusiasm which fired so many to help, it is recorded that Captain C. Pitman, who was in charge of the Regimental Scouts, trained his men to look out for specimens at the same time that they were looking out for the enemy, and in consequence a steady stream of animals, birds, etc., was continually reaching the museum in Bombay. Many of the specimens were collected very close to the enemy's lines, and some must have been skinned within range of his guns. Some specimens were actually obtained in the firing-line itself, Colonel Magrath having "caught and skinned a Lesser Shrew—an animal not 2 inches long—in the trenches in front of Kut, notwithstanding the flies and the Turkish shells."

Major Cheesman does not apparently believe in the stories of ancient Mesopotamian forests having existed, and there is no real forest land in the country. The building of the huge canals at least four thousand years ago points, he thinks, to the land being desert then

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and not a region capable of sustaining natural forests. Patches of thick jungle occur locally in the large bends of the rivers and grow a tangle of dwarf tamarisk and Euphrates poplar, and in these jungles wild pig are found, although it has not been settled yet to which species they actually belong. In 1876 Sir Oliver St. John described lions "as being very numerous in the reedy swamps bordering the Tigris and the Euphrates," but no trace of them was discovered, and they have probably ceased to exist in Mesopotamia.

In regard to the birds of Mesopotamia it was found that one feature was the very small number of resident species in contrast to the long list of migrants and winter visitors, since Mesopotomia lies in one of the great migration centres of the Palæarctic birds. Wild fowl are exceedingly abundant in all rivers, swamps and lakes in the winter. Few arrive before mid-August or early September; most leave in March, although plenty may be seen in April and even May. The goliath heron—which is so curiously distributed—is evidently a resident bird, and Sir Percy Cox obtained several young ones from the Kurna marshes and sent them alive to Bombay, where they lived for some time in the Victoria Gardens. The large pin-tailed sand-grouse is *the* sand-grouse of Mesopotamia; it is widely distributed, resident, and in most places excessively abundant. Pitman found many nests towards the end of April and in May, but the birds were much worried by the presence of troops on what was probably their old breeding-grounds and by the incessant firing of field guns and howitzers. "There must have been thousands of pairs in a few square miles of country, and not a few of them were nesting between our lines and the Sinn position." An interesting plate is given, with photographs of chicks of the large pin-tailed sand-grouse in comparison with chicks of the spotted sand-grouse. Many other illustrations of nests and localities of birds are given in this book, and also a beautiful coloured plate of some new forms of lepidoptera from Mesopotamia and North-West Persia, illustrating an article on the "Butterflies of Mesopotamia," by Colonel H. D. Peile.

It is impossible in this short notice to give credit to all those who helped in the making of this survey, but particular mention should be made of the assistance given by Major-General Sir Percy Cox, Major R. E. Cheesman, Lieut.-Colonel Sir A. T. Wilson, and Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, I.C.S., who assisted the Society financially as well as in many other ways. Also of Colonel Wall, I.M.S., an authority on snakes, who as soon as he arrived in Basra covered the palm trees with posters advertising a reward for all snakes brought or sent to him. Dr. P. A. Buxton, Dr. C. B. Ticehurst, Captain C. M. Ingoldby, Lieut.-Colonel F. M. Bailey, and many others also who, by their labours and love for this branch of science, have contributed so largely in making this valuable record.

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The papers appear to have been bound up in this book in sequence of the date when published in the Journal, and it might perhaps have been handier for reference if they had been bound so that the mammal, bird papers, etc., would have been together instead of being separated as at present, but this is a trifling criticism in the face of what constitutes a truly wonderful record of the manner in which a zoological collection was made and much valuable scientific information obtained by amateur soldier naturalists in an enemy's country during active warfare.

W. S. M.

MEMOIR ON MAPS ON CHINESE TURKISTAN AND KANSU, FROM THE SURVEYS MADE DURING SIR AUREL STEIN'S EXPLORATIONS, 1900-1, 1906-8, 1913-15. By Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. Dehra Dun: Trigonometrical Survey Office. 1923.

Sir Aurel Stein made three journeys whilst exploring in Central Asia, and the results brought back by him have been described in a series of masterly works, such as "Ancient Khotan," "Ruins of Desert Cathay," and "Serindia"—works which contain not only a record of his marvellous archæological discoveries, but also descriptive accounts of large, and before him unexplored, areas of Central Asia. Though a mass of geographical information may be gleaned from these publications, yet the data, scattered as they necessarily are among other matters, may not be readily accessible to anyone in search of any particular piece of geographical information. The "Memoir," and the maps which it explains, will therefore be welcomed as a complementary work, wherein the results of Sir Aurel Stein's explorations are assembled from the specialized point of view of topography: undoubtedly the author's modest hope will be realized that his maps "will for some time to come serve as a main source of cartographical reference for an important portion of Central Asia which—by the physical conditions of its present, and by its great rôle in the past, as the meeting-place of the ancient civilizations of India, China, and the West—is attracting more and more interest, both from the geographer and the historical student."

In the publication of the "Memoir" and maps—indeed, in all his explorations—it is only right to say that Sir Aurel Stein had been powerfully assisted by the Survey of India. The topographical assistants he had—Rai Sahib Ram Singh and Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, who carried on the plane-tabling under his supervision—were, both of them, men lent by that Government Department; and on Sir Aurel Stein's return from his successive journeys, it was that Department also that compiled his maps, computed his triangulations, etc.; and now the Trigonometrical Survey at Dehra Dun has piloted the "Memoir" through the Press. It is a befitting tribute, therefore, that

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Sir Aurel Stein should have dedicated the record of his labours to Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, late Surveyor-General of India.

The "Memoir" deals with the materials, and the compilation of an atlas of 47 sheets, on the scale of 1/500,000. It is divided into four chapters, two appendices, and two indices (one for local names and one for general reference).

Chapter I. explains the general character of the topographical work done during the three expeditions of 1900–1, 1906–8, and 1913–15, and the methods of survey adopted, which, generally, were on the same lines as those used by the Survey of India for "reconnaissance survey" work. In Chapter II. brief indications are given of the physical features of each of the surveyed regions, classified under seven sections—viz.: (1) The Tarim Basin and its mountain ramparts; (2) The Taklamakan Desert; (3) The Oases of the Tarim Basin; (4) The terminal depression of Lob and the Turfan Basin; (5) The Su-lo-ho Basin; (6) From the Central Nan-shan to the Etsin-gol Basin; and (7) the Pei-shan and the easternmost Tien-shan. The determining physical features of the ground of each of these seven sections are drawn with remarkable fidelity; and although Sir Aurel Stein disclaims for his indications as being a systematic treatment of the geography of the country surveyed by him, yet these are so clear and so characteristically true that they not only lend vividness to the maps, but are a sure source of inspiration to future geographers dealing with Central Asia. Chapter III. is devoted to technical points connected with the compilation of the maps and the representation of physical details, and with symbols and the spelling of local names; whilst Chapter IV. is given up to notes on each of the 47 map sheets. There should be 5,000 to 6,000 place-names on the maps: these are all arranged alphabetically in an index, and are followed by the number of the map sheet and section in which they occur, so that the position of any place can be readily determined. Major K. Mason, R.E., and Dr. J. de Graaff Hunter, both of the Indian Survey, are the writers of the appendices, in which are given a discussion of the merits of the points triangulated, and a list of latitudes, longitudes, and heights taken in the course of the three expeditions.

The country covered by the surveys is, in extent, enormous, being no less than the whole length and breadth of Chinese Turkistan, as comprised between the Tien-shan and the Kun-lun Ranges, and a part of westernmost Inner China as well; in other words, practically all territory enclosed between the 75th and the 102nd degrees of longitude and the 35th and the 44th degrees of latitude has been mapped out anew.

And what shall be said of the master-mind, of the driving force, that alone made such a stupendous task possible? The book, in which results are recorded, is certainly before us. But, in the comfort of our

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civilized surroundings, how difficult it is for us to realize what these results have meant in terms of hardships undergone, of dangers incurred, and, above all, of diplomacy called into action! Sir Aurel Stein says little on such matters; and it is characteristic of his placid and self-reliant nature that he dismisses lightly, with a few words on "threatened Chinese obstruction," the unfriendly attitude adopted towards him in 1913 by the revolutionary authorities in Hsin-chiang—an attitude which might easily have wrecked his third expedition, and which I know—for I was then in charge of the Kashgar Consulate—nothing but his tact, joined with the firm support of Sir John Jordan, our late Minister in Peking, could have disarmed.

GEORGE MACARTNEY.

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NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Professor H. M. Léon for "The Life and Poems of Sheikh Haroun Abdullah," translated by himself.

Reviews.—The following books have been sent for review:

"Wonders of the Himalaya," by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. (London: John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

"A Consul in the East," by A. C. Wratislaw, C.B., C.M G., C.B.E. (London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 15s. net.)

"Early Architecture in Western Asia," by E. Bell, M.A., F.S.A. (London: G. Bell and Sons. 10s. net.)

"India," by Sir H. Verney Lovett. Nations of To-day Series. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 15s. net.)

"A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary," by A. A. McDonnell. (Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 30s. net.)

"East Persia: A Backwater of the Great War," by Brigadier-General W. E. R. Dickson, C.M.G., C.I.E. (London: Edward Arnold and Co. 15s. net.)

"Memoir on Maps of Chinese Turkistan and Kashmir" (Survey of India, vol. xvii.), by Sir A. Stein, K.C.I.E. (Dehra Doon: Trigonometrical Survey Office.)

"The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, and Practice," by A. Berriedale Keith, D.Litt. (Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 21s. net.)

"The Bombay City Police, 1872–1916," by C. M. Edwards, C.S.I., C.V.O. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 10s. 6d. net.)

"India: A Bird's-Eye View," by the Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (London: Constable and Co. 18s. net.)

"Priyadarsika: A Sanskrit Drama," by Harsha, translated by A. K. Nariman, A. V. Williams Jackson, and C. J. Ogden. (New York: Columbia University Press. 9s. net.)

Journal.—Cases are made to hold eight numbers of the *Journal* by the bookbinding department, Mudie's Library, 30-34, New Oxford Street, W.C., price 4s. 7d.

Members are asked to send changes of address to the Secretary, 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

Members only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal.*

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1923

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance of Current Account, January 1, 1923	£30 12 9	
„ Deposit	50 0 0	
„ Petty Cash	2 4 0	
		82 16 9
675 subscriptions at £1	675 0 0	
9 „ in arrears	9 0 0	
23 „ in advance ...	23 0 0	
	707 0 0	
Less subscriptions overpaid and returned	8 0 0	
		699 0 0
Journal subscriptions	7 1 8	
Journal sales	9 6 1	
		16 7 9
Received from Dinner Club Account ...	4 3 8	
Sundries	1 9 4½	
		5 13 0½
Interest on War Stock	5 0 0	
„ Deposit	3 7 11	
		8 7 11
		£812 5 5½

In addition to the National Savings Certificates mentioned in the above account, the Society holds £100 5 per cent. War Loan. A letter from the Society's bankers stating that they hold the certificates has been produced to us.

We have examined the above statement with the books and vouchers, and certify it to be in accordance therewith.

E. BONHAM-CARTER.
W. M. THOMSON, MAJOR-GENERAL.
E. PENTON (*Hon. Treasurer*).

April 11, 1924.

PAYMENTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Rent and Water Rate	40 14 0	
Rates	27 15 3	
Salary	100 0 0	
		168 9 3
Journal: Printing	256 1 11	
Reporting	40 2 6	
Postage	19 12 5	
		315 16 10
Lectures: Rooms	38 6 6	
Lantern	19 6 0	
Slides	6 5 6	
Printing	20 7 3	
		84 5 3
Office Furnishing: Cupboard	2 8 6	
Typewriter	15 0 0	
Duplicator	4 0 0	
		21 8 6
Library		4 15 0
Office: Telephone	11 1 8	
Postage	34 18 1½	
Dinner Club Postage	3 13 1½	
Stationery	5 18 11	
Office Assistant	8 6 6	
Sundries	24 7 3½	
		88 5 7½
Expenses in connection with Annual Dinner		4 12 3
Bank charges		0 13 8
Purchase of National Savings Certificates ...		80 0 0
Balance at bank, December 31, 1923 ...	58 7 6	
Less cheque outstanding and since paid ...	20 14 0	
		37 13 6
Balance of petty cash		6 5 7
		£812 5 5½

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XI.

1924

PART IV.

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

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NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Miss Bell for a copy of "From Amurath to Amurath"; Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate for autograph copies of "The Life of Colonel John Haughton" and "The Afghan Boundary Commission," and for "The Autobiography of General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., G.C.B.," and "The Knights of St. John in England," by Colonel King, C.M.G.; Captain Staveley for Marshman's "History of India"; and Sir Thomas Arnold for his book on the Caliphate, which will be reviewed in the next number of the *Journal.*

Received for Review:

"The Home of an Eastern Clan: A Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States," by Mrs. Leslie Milne. (Clarendon Press, 16s. net.)

"Tales from Turkistan," by "Stor-Løb." (Messrs. Blackwood and Sons. 6s. net.)

"Designation of Human Types," translated by Bimala Charan Law, M.A., B.L. (Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press. 10s. net.)

"The Religion of the Rigveda," by H. D. Griswold, M.A., Ph.D. (Cornell), D.D. (Union). (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

India of To-day Series, Vol. V.: "Indian Emigration," by "Emigrant." (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 3s. net.)

"History of the Nayaks of Madura," by Sathyanatha Aiyar, M.A., L.T. Madras University Historical Series, II. (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

Members are asked to notify the Secretary of changes of address.

The following members' *Journals* have been returned marked as "gone away": W. P. Barton, Esq., Colonel R. A. E. Benn, Lieut.-Colonel A. B. Carey, D. S. Hadow, Esq., E. G. Marklew, Esq., Mrs. Noble, A. Rose, Esq.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

THE Twenty-third Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, June 12, 1924, the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will ask the Hon. Secretary, Sir Raleigh Egerton, to be kind enough to read his report for the year.

The HON. SECRETARY: I am glad to be able to report that the Society continues to progress as regards numbers, though on a reduced scale, I fear.

During the past year, that is since the last Anniversary Meeting, we have recruited 114 new members, as compared with 156 the previous year. We have lost 27 members by resignation, as compared with 13 last year, and 8 by death, as compared with 6 last year. In addition we must strike off the names of 21 more who have not paid their subscriptions for the past two years. (In this connection may I remind members of the great advantage and convenience which are ensured by the use of bankers' orders for payment of subscriptions and urge all to resort to that method.) Our nett gain in membership amounts to only 55, as compared with 137 in 1922-1923. Our present roll stands at 763.

The eight casualties by death include several distinguished names: Sir Mortimer Durand, who was Chairman of the Council from 1914-1917, and Colonel "Algy" Durand, who was one of its first members, Sir Evan James, Sir George Scott-Moncrieff, Brigadier-General Bailward, Mr. A. B. Taylor, Lady Raines, and Mrs. Carver. Some of these names have been household words not only in this Society but in the wider spheres of politics, administration, and exploration.

The yearly session began as usual in October, and since then we have had eleven lectures, all followed by interesting discussions, except in one case, when, as time for discussion was not available immediately after the lecture, a subsidiary meeting was held a few weeks later at 74, Grosvenor Street, at which a very representative number of members and others took part in a discussion on "The Influence of Communications on Policy on the North-West Frontier of India." We have yet two more lectures in prospect, that which you will hear to-day and another on June 26, when Mr. Woolley will enlighten us further on the excavations which are being carried out in Iraq.

As regards our *Journal*, we hope to increase its popularity and

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usefulness by including reviews of articles and books which are published in French and other languages.

May I be allowed to invite members to offer original articles on countries in which we are interested and with which they themselves are acquainted, but about which they are unable to offer to give lectures. Such articles would be welcomed by the Journal Committee, who would always endeavour to find space for their publication. Perhaps some of the older members of the Society could lay their hands on old diaries, the contents of which have not been made public, and give us some interesting reminiscences of travel and exploration.

There have been useful additions to the Library, mostly through gifts, and we are gradually amassing a body of literature on all subjects in which the Society is interested, which will be found useful by students and even by desultory readers.

I will conclude by urging our members to join the officers of the Society in their recruiting campaign. Our present numbers are a credit to my predecessor, Colonel Yate, and to my colleague, Mr. Stephenson, who is as indefatigable as ever, but we shall welcome assistance from all members towards our goal of a membership of 1,000.

The CHAIRMAN: Although the rapid advances which we were in the habit of looking forward to from year to year in our membership have not been entirely kept up, for reasons which have been given, we have kept our head well above water. The Society, I think it may be said without boasting, holds a very high place in the estimation of those interested in Asia, as is proved by the demand for our *Journal*, which is increasingly read. It is now drawn up in such a way as to include reviews of books, and we hope in future to include reviews of some foreign books as well. The *Journal* is a matter of great concern and interest to the Society, and I think helps to keep our name before the world.

The Library, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Moon, Sir Edward Penton, and to other members who have given books to us, is doing well.

The Dinner Club has had some interesting meetings, and may be congratulated on quite a good session. Our thanks are due to the members of the Committee, Sir Edmund Barrow and Colonel Muspratt, and to the hon. officers, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Edward Penton, and Mr. Stephenson. I cannot let this occasion go by without congratulating Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the successful way in which he has repelled a most unjustifiable accusation; he has the sympathy and goodwill of the whole Society. (Applause.)

With regard to our special business to-day, which has to be got through before the lecture begins, it falls to me as Chairman to propose to you certain changes that have to be made in the usual course of

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events. I propose to you for election for the following year: as Vice-Presidents, myself, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and Mr. Moon; as Members of the Council, Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, Sir John Maffey, and Major-General Sir William Thomson. With regard to these changes, the new Members of Council, of course, are all very well known to us. Sir Neill Malcolm, as you know, has been commanding in the Straits Settlements since 1921, Sir John Maffey has been Chief Commissioner for the North-West Frontier, and Sir William Thomson we shall be very glad to have on the Council, if you elect him. He has been extremely active throughout the year, since he took the place of Sir Charles Monro in assisting the work of the Council; we are very glad to look forward to his being confirmed as a Member of the Council. Now I have also to mention changes that are about to take place. The most important of all is that, as my year of Chairmanship has come to an end, I have the privilege of proposing to you a new Chairman for the new session. As regards myself, I wish to take this opportunity of thanking all those with whom I have been associated in the Society—the Council and members—for their kind co-operation in all matters, which has made my year of Chairmanship for me a very happy one. I have felt it a great honour to be the Chairman of the Society for the past year, when so many interesting lectures have taken place, and so much opportunity has been afforded me of seeing in detail what the work of the Society is. So I beg to offer my hearty thanks to all, and very especially to Sir Raleigh Egerton, on whom the mantle of Colonel Yate has descended, and who, if he will allow me to say so, has carried out the work of his office with extreme diligence and efficiency; and also to Mr. Stephenson, who has been unflagging and unremitting in his labours. I should like also to mention Miss Kennedy.

So much for myself and the thanks I owe to all those who have co-operated with me. Now I have the great pleasure of suggesting as Chairman for the coming year the name of one of our really distinguished public men, who has kindly consented to take it—Viscount Peel. (Applause.) His name is, of course, well known to all of us. It would take a long time to enumerate all the posts of public trust that he has filled, culminating in the high position of Secretary of State for India, which has so very specially qualified him, if even nothing else did, for the post of Chairman of this Council. The Secretary of State for India has indeed to deal with the most complicated and intricate problems extending over the whole of Asia, and Viscount Peel has made a very special study of these questions. He is himself a traveller, and he has a most delightful gift of putting his thoughts into language, which I hope we shall often profit by. It is a matter of very great regret to all of us that Viscount Peel is detained in Paris at the present moment, so that he cannot be present to take

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over from me as Chairman this afternoon, but I hope to be able to hand to him your approval of his accession to the Chairmanship, and as I know he has never filled any position without increasing its well-being and efficiency, so I feel certain that the same will happen to our Society, and that the year of his Chairmanship will prove to be one of great prosperity to us. Therefore, with all confidence, I suggest him as the Chairman. (Hear, hear.) As Hon. Treasurer we are still, I hope, to look forward to having Sir Edward Penton, who has the whole of our financial system at his fingers' ends. I do not know that it is very complicated, but at all events we may feel that it is thoroughly well handled. The financial condition depends, of course, very much on membership, and this has not greatly increased; but for all that, our financial position is by no means bad. We have a small investment, which we used not to have; and in fact I may say that our heads have been kept above water very successfully, thanks to the financial administration of Sir Edward Penton. It only remains for me formally to put before you the names I have already mentioned: the three Vice-Presidents, myself, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and Mr. Moon; the new Members of Council, Sir Neill Malcolm, Sir John Maffey, and Sir William Thomson; and the Hon. Officers—as Chairman, Viscount Peel, and as Hon. Treasurer, Sir Edward Penton. Will those who are in favour of those appointments signify their consent in the usual way?

The list of appointments as proposed was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I have also to bring before you certain amendments in the rules, not intelligible, perhaps, without some explanation. An addition is required to Rule 18: "(18*a*) The Hon. Librarian shall be responsible for the Library, and shall recommend to the Council such books as he considers the Society should acquire, and such as shall be reviewed in the Society's *Journal*." It is really a definition of the Librarian's duties, of which there was no definition before. That is all that it amounts to, and I feel sure that it will meet with your approval, as we wish so much to develop the *Journal* and the Library.

The other is only to put our rules in accordance with the fact. The rules only mention one Hon. Secretary, and there are two Hon. Secretaries. I think I may assume your agreement with these few verbal and necessary alterations.

The proposed additions and alterations to rules were unanimously agreed to.*

* To Rule 18. (18*a*). The Hon. Librarian shall be responsible for the Library, and shall recommend to the Council such books as he considers the Society should acquire, and such as shall be reviewed in the Society's *Journal*.

To Rule 11 (5). The Hon. Secretary (or Secretaries); (6) the Hon. Librarian.

To Rule 13*a*. The Hon. Treasurer, the Hon. Secretary (or Secretaries) and the Hon. Librarian shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, etc.

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Sir CHARLES YATE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will like to join with me in passing a very hearty and cordial vote of thanks to Sir Maurice de Bunsen for what he has done for us during the last year, while he has held the office of Chairman of our Council. You have heard the Report and seen how the Society has got certain investments in money. Its finances are in a sound position. Our Library is increasing, and thanks to Sir Maurice de Bunsen and all the work he has put in for us, our Society is in a most flourishing position. I hope it will continue to grow in membership as time goes on. The time for our lecture is almost due, and I will not detain you longer. Sir Maurice de Bunsen desires to retire at the end of his year of office. Whether one year is the best time for the Chairman of our Council, or three years, I will not enter into at present. Some societies like to have their chairman for three years, and I think myself when a man takes over the charge of a society like this, it is as a rule very beneficial when he is able to carry it on for about three years. However, our rule is that our Chairman is to be elected every year, and as Sir Maurice de Bunsen has told us, Lord Peel has kindly consented to take the chair for the coming year.

Lord RAGLAN seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you very much. I have nothing more to say except that I have felt it to be a great honour to be Chairman, and that my interest in the Society and all its doings will be in no way diminished by my leaving the post of Chairman. I wish the Society all prosperity, and anything I can do in any way to contribute towards that shall be done. (Applause.)

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TRANS-JORDAN

By H. St. J. B. Philby, C.I.E.

The Chairman in introducing the lecturer said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Mr. Philby is already well known to all of us; three years ago he gave an extremely interesting lecture on "The Highways of Central Arabia" to the Society; to-day he is speaking on "Trans-Jordan," a subject about which he probably knows more than any man in England. I have sometimes felt very sorry for Mr. Philby. Once, when Ibn Saud's son was visiting this country, it fell to me at a dinner at which he was present to propose his health. This I did in what, I am afraid, was a rather elaborate speech, and I could not help feeling very sorry for Mr. Philby, who had to translate it into classical Arabic, but he did so, and it gave great satisfaction to the visitor. Mr. Philby is one of the people competent to do that kind of thing. He is a great authority on all Arabian affairs, and he has been until now the principal British representative with the Amir Abdullah: we are extremely fortunate in having him here to-day to lecture to us.

Mr. Philby: You have done me a great honour in asking me to address you on this occasion of your Anniversary Meeting—a meeting that marks the completion of another stage in the progress of the Central Asian Society from its first small beginnings in the wilderness towards its destined goal. Under the conditions of the modern world imperial expansion is no longer fashionable as the avowed aim of diplomacy and war, and we talk more politely of mandates and spheres of influence. But this rather transparent modification of the meanings of words is as yet but a straw in the wind. Governments, with all the bureaucratic paraphernalia with which they are inevitably encumbered, lag exasperatingly behind the advance of public opinion, which is reflected partly in the Press, but more particularly in societies such as this, where men and women gather together for the purpose of exchanging information and views on matters of public concern. The day will surely come when such societies will be in a position to exercise a more direct influence on the conduct of affairs, and, when that day is come, the Central Asian Society will, I am sure, find itself leading British opinion to a proper understanding of the function of the British nation in the vast and rapidly changing continent of Asia, just as Moses found himself, after long study of the woes of the Children of Israel, inspired to lead them to their Promised Land. There was a time, not so long ago, when the position of Great Britain in the East was almost beyond challenge. The German Empire

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challenged it to its own undoing, but I think we have to admit that, owing to mistakes of policy perpetrated since and during the consummation of our victory, our position in Asia is less satisfactory at the present time than it was at any time up to a decade ago. This is more particularly the case in the Near East, where Persia and Turkey, at any rate, are showing that they are capable of making a gallant effort to make good without the advice and guidance of ourselves and other European nations. Egypt, after a long quarrel with Great Britain, has secured the right to try and do the same. India is already at the parting of the ways. And the Arabian states are watching askance our not very successful efforts to reconcile irreconcilable elements and aims; while Iraq has within the last few days shattered certain illusions which some of us have cherished for some time in defiance of the facts.

But I must pass on from the general to the particular. I propose to talk to you to-day about Trans-Jordan, one of the least and youngest of the states that have been born of the travail of war in Asia, and, in order to do so, I propose to conduct you in the spirit as Moses was conducted in the flesh more than three thousand years ago to Mount Nebo to survey the Promised Land. I do not propose to talk about Palestine, and you may wonder why I drag in mention of the Promised Land in connection with Trans-Jordan. You will perhaps understand better if you turn to the description of what Moses saw and of what Moses understood by the Promised Land in the first three verses of the thirty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, which run as follows: "And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan; and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar."

A few months ago I had the pleasure of paying a visit to the same spot. A good deal of the scene so described cannot, of course, be viewed by human eyes from Nebo—the sea, for instance—but the author does quite correctly give pride of place to the land of Gilead, which is indeed the outstanding and a remarkably beautiful feature of that landscape. And the land of Gilead, as doubtless you all know, is Trans-Jordan, or the northern half of it. Of Palestine one sees but little, and that little the forbidding barrier of the barren Judean hills, a corner of the Dead Sea, and the valley of Jericho—a city now more famous for its orange-trees than for its palms—and a mere glimpse of the heights about Nablus.

At any rate, it was the land of Gilead that stood out in that scene, and that fact was well brought out by the children of Reuben and the children of Gad, who, as the senior tribes of the Israelite community,

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insisted on having a concession for that area, "when they saw the land of Jazer, and the land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for cattle." So they came before Moses, saying: "Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Shebam, and Nebo, and Beon, even the country which the Lord smote before the congregation of Israel, is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle: wherefore, said they, if we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession, and bring us not over Jordan."

The years rolled on, and in due course the children of Israel lost their interest in cattle and developed a passion for electricity, but the same general considerations still held good as regards the comparative merits of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. And it was doubtless with due regard for the historical justice of his claim that His Majesty's Government allowed Mr. Rutenberg a concession for the sole right of the use of all water flowing into the Jordan for the purpose of developing electric power. Needless to say, the great bulk of such water entering the Jordan after its exit from the Lake of Galilee comes from the territories of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh—that is to say, from Trans-Jordan. The amount entering it from Palestine proper is negligible.

Unfortunately, however, the British Government appears to have lost sight of this important factor in its attempt to reconcile ancient and modern history, perhaps I should say ancient and modern promises. The promises of the Lord to Moses, made, I believe, in the year 1451 B.C. or thereabouts, were less difficult to ignore than the promises of His Majesty's Government to King Husain in A.D. 1916. It was, of course, somewhat inconvenient that Mr. Balfour had specifically renewed the promises of the Lord in 1917, but the matter had to be adjusted as best it could, and a White Paper issued by Mr. Winston Churchill in 1922 contained an authoritative solution. The British Government had secured a mandate for the administration of Palestine from the League of Nations, but the League of Nations, not being quite up to date in its geography, adopted a definition of that country which Moses, and more particularly Reuben and Gad, could have approved without any qualms of conscience—one, that is, which included Trans-Jordan. But King Husain claimed the whole country in virtue of the promises of 1916, and the Zionists, pointing to the 1917 promises, claimed no less. A compromise was dictated by Mr. Churchill after a little juggling with certain troublesome geographical facts, and it was laid down that, while Palestine for the purposes of the Balfour Declaration meant only approximately half of Palestine as understood by the Lord, by Moses, and by the League of Nations, at the same time that half, though in geographical fact it lies well to the south of Syria, should be deemed for the purposes of all discussions with King Husain to lie to the west of that country.

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So the problem was solved. Neither the Arabs nor the Jews are or can reasonably be expected to be convinced or satisfied. I doubt if the British Government itself is satisfied that such a solution is either final or even desirable. But it roughly represents the position as it has been throughout the past three years, whose history, in so far as it relates to Trans-Jordan, I propose to sketch briefly for your information. Before doing so, however, I hope I may be permitted in all seriousness to dispel the notion that I am in any sense hostile to the ideals of Zionism. In the first place, I genuinely respect and admire the spirit which inspires the Jews in their communities scattered over the face of the earth to return to the land of their ancestors with the object of building up therein a national home—I would rather say a national life. In the second place, I firmly believe that the advent of the Jews to the scenes of their fathers' exploits will be advantageous both to themselves and to their Arab neighbours, not only in Palestine but in Trans-Jordan—their record in Syria and Mesopotamia and in the Yaman justifies such a belief. And, finally, I would say this—Palestine having been freed from the domination of the Turk by the Allied forces, the right of immigration into it is open to all persons and classes without distinction, subject only to the capacity of the country to receive and absorb them. The Jews share that right with, but not to the exclusion of, all others. For the Jews particularly that right is guaranteed by international engagements. It is therefore for the Jews themselves to decide the extent to which they will avail themselves of that right. Apart from the question of the capacity of the country to receive them, which would indeed be unlimited if Palestine were given the wider interpretation to which I have referred by the inclusion of Trans-Jordan, the only condition governing their immigration is that they should in no way adversely affect the equal rights and interests of the population already resident in the country or of their fellow-immigrants. Those rights and interests include political rights and interests created by the invocation of the spirit of nationalism to which we and our Allies had recourse during the war. That is the trouble—owing, perhaps, to a lack of mutual confidence between the parties primarily concerned; and for that we must blame the ill-advised use of propaganda by the Zionists immediately after the Armistice, and also to a great extent our own failure to satisfy Arab aspirations founded on our promises. It is my firm belief, however, that this difficulty can be overcome if we were to encourage the Jews and Arabs to come to an agreement in their mutual interests; and I am convinced that the grant of full political rights to the population of Palestine in the larger sense of the word on the lines already adopted in Mesopotamia is an essential condition to the successful evolution of the ideals of Zionism.

The Arabs do not come to the conference table empty-handed. They offer to throw in Trans-Jordan with Palestine in return for the

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acceptance by the Jews of the principle of a common national administration for the combined area. The Jews in their own ultimate interests would do well to accept that offer, and the mandatory power would have less difficulty in ensuring the observance of such a bargain by both parties than it has in propping up artificially a unilateral arrangement which cuts across the basic principle of the unity of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, and crowds twelve tribes into a space designed to accommodate only nine and a half. Our blindness to these salient facts of the situation gave rise to Trans-Jordan as a separate political unit in April, 1921. It was not a healthy child at birth; later on, for a short time, it seemed to show signs of growing vitality; but it was subsequently neglected, or, perhaps I should say, spoiled by its nurse, and at the present time its prospects of life give much cause for anxiety.

From the time of the Armistice until August, 1920, when Faisal lost the throne of Syria, the present districts of Trans-Jordan formed part of the Kingdom of Syria. Their history during this period was a subordinate one and calls for no remark. From August, 1920, to March, 1921, they underwent an interregnum, which was not without its amusing episodes. Each of the present three districts enjoyed or endured a period of semi-autonomy under the guidance of British officers. The name of Somerset will survive the vicissitudes of fortune in many a household for years to come; Peake Bey began in this period the labours in connection with the formation of a local gendarmerie which have brought him promotion to the dignity of Pasha, a well-deserved reputation, and, what is more satisfactory perhaps to himself, the gratitude of several hundreds of thousands of human beings, who before his day certainly never could sow without a doubt as to who would reap. But I shall leave this period with a mention only of two amusing incidents connected with the independent state of Moab, whose headquarters were at Karak. A certain Captain Kirkbride was in effect the last King of Moab, ruling his country with the aid of a council and with a commendable contempt for all superior authority. His first clash—as the story goes—was with the Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Palestine, who refused to recognize the stamps of the Government of Moab. King Kirkbride parried this blow by refusing to recognize the stamps of the Palestine Government, and the sequel to the dispute would doubtless have been entertaining if the Government of Moab had not solved the problem by ceasing to exist. His next exploit was in the field of concession-granting. A certain concession-hunter sought a concession for the right of exploiting the vast mineral resources of Moab; and it so happened that the Government of Moab, or, I should rather say, the members of the council of that state, were experiencing a period of financial stringency—a common experience in those days for most countries and most people. The

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matter was easily arranged. The concession-hunter paid 500 gold sovereigns over to the Council of Moab in return for a document authenticated by the signatures of all the members of the council and countersigned by the King, who, being a British officer, was the only signatory who pocketed no share of the gold. Months afterwards, long after the Kingdom of Moab had ceased to exist, the concession-holder sought to operate his concession, but had to be informed that its validity had lapsed with the extinction of the Government which had granted it. His money, of course, was gone beyond recall. I will content myself with these specimens of the events of those glorious, almost prehistoric, days, and pass on to the modern history of Trans-Jordan.

The curtain rises at Cairo in the days of full-dress conferences. Mr. Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, is foregathered in semi-regal state at the Semiramis Hotel, on the banks of the Nile, with so many advisers that even his fertile brain can think of nothing better to do with them than shut them up in little groups in different rooms to play at being sub-committees and to prepare schemes. Meanwhile, along the long derelict southern section of the Hijaz Railway, the Amir Abdullah is hastening northward with a motley force, sworn to drive the French out of Syria into the sea. He arrives first at Maan and then at Amman, and a nervous Palestine telegraphs the news of this development to Cairo, where a sub-committee immediately sits to digest the situation. It is unanimously agreed that Abdullah must be ejected. It is pointed out that, desirable as such a course is, it cannot be effected without troops, and that there are no troops available, and that, if there were troops, it would be out of the question to start another war just yet. Abdullah, therefore, for the moment holds the trump cards, and Mr. Churchill finally decides that the simplest course would be to pay him liberally to keep quiet.

These events occurred in March, 1921, and Abdullah became ruler of Trans-Jordan as from April 1, with a monthly salary of £5,000, payable by the British tax-payer. The arrangement was admittedly experimental, and limited to a period of six months in the first instance. The Palestine Government provided a staff of six or seven political officers to guide Abdullah in the right way by supervising the administration at Amman, his new capital, and at the provincial head-quarters. A cabinet was formed to conduct the administration. But, as was only to be expected, a scheme so hurriedly devised and put into operation did not work as smoothly as was desired, and four occurrences of some importance deserve to be recorded. In July General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner for Syria, was ambushed near a place called Kunaitra, in Syrian territory, by a party of brigands from Abdullah's northern district, and a French officer was killed. About the same time the Jewish colony of Manahimiya, on the Jordan,

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was raided by a Trans-Jordan tribe and deprived of all its livestock—some 600 head of cattle and numerous sheep. A detachment of the Trans-Jordan Reserve Force, operating in the Kura district against the brigands who had been responsible for the attack on General Gouraud's party, was ambushed and badly cut up. And finally a Syrian outlaw, wanted by the French but safely resident at Amman, was allowed to proceed to Palestine territory with a safe conduct from the Chief British Representative, and was there arrested by the Palestine police and handed over to the French. It was lucky for Mr. Abrahamson, the Chief British Representative, that he was not at Amman when the news arrived. An infuriated crowd, seeking somebody to devour, lighted on Peake Bey sauntering innocently through the bazaar, and Peake Bey had to undergo a period of unpleasant incarceration, listening at intervals to rival suggestions as to the best method of disposing of him.

This last occurrence was in September, 1921, by which time it was fairly obvious that something was wrong. It was suggested that the best way to solve the problem would be to get rid of Abdullah, but the same obvious difficulties cropped up as before, and it was always possible that there was an alternative explanation of the trouble. Be that as it may, Mr. Churchill hit upon the happy idea of sending Lawrence out to survey the situation and suggest a remedy. His first step seems to have been to turn out not Abdullah but the whole of the British staff engaged on advising him except Peake. He then settled down to direct affairs himself, but, not wanting to spend the rest of his days in Trans-Jordan, suggested that I, being then out of work, might be appointed to relieve him. By the time I arrived, towards the end of November, 1921, he had got the situation entirely in hand. There was no longer any question of deposing Abdullah, who was all smiles; the principle of allowing Trans-Jordan to be an independent Arab state was triumphant; such British staff as was required in Trans-Jordan was to be independent of the Palestine Government, though under the general control of the High Commissioner; an ample supply of money was placed at my disposal; and, above all, Lawrence had either burned or otherwise disposed of all the office records, with the result that my style was not cramped by the ghosts of my predecessors. The important point was that the principle of the independence of Trans-Jordan and its divorce from the Palestine administration was admitted to afford the only hope of making a success of Trans-Jordan. After all, the only serious British interest in that country was, and still is, that it should not be a nuisance to its neighbours. Certain Zionist elements, official and unofficial, doubtless regretted the passing from them of the heritage of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, but for the time being their views remained unheeded, and for the time being Trans-Jordan enjoyed a period of progress.

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The Karak district, which at this time was in a state of anarchic chaos, was in February, 1922, brought under effective control by Peake's reorganized gendarmerie, and, in July, the turbulent Kura district was reduced to submission with the assistance of the Royal Air Force Detachment, to whose services in general I would take this opportunity of paying a warm tribute of gratitude and admiration. It was recently stated in Parliament that the uninterrupted maintenance of the air route to Baghdad is one of the material benefits accruing to Great Britain from the presence of the Amir Abdullah in Trans-Jordan. From that opinion I dissent with all respect, but absolutely. It is, on the contrary, to the Royal Air Force that the Amir Abdullah owes his presence in Trans-Jordan to-day, and that force has shown itself quite capable of maintaining itself and the air route in Trans-Jordan by its own efforts, and, not only that, but of sparing much surplus energy for the task of maintaining the regime which we have set up in that country. To suggest anything else is not only not in accordance with facts, but deprives a very gallant and efficient force of the credit which is due to it for the work it has done under conditions the reverse of cheerful.

Be that as it may, matters developed so steadily according to programme—Lawrence's programme—that in April—that is to say, about four months after I had taken charge—Mr. Churchill had to remind me that His Majesty's Government would like to have a progress report, even if it was only to record that all was well.

By the end of July the whole country from north to south was well in hand; Peake's gendarmerie was up to strength, and beginning to get in the taxes with some regularity. Minor defects there doubtless were in the administration—it was not by any means the only administration in which minor defects were to be found—but even the shock of a sudden bolt from the blue in the shape of an attack by Ibn Saud's Wahhabi followers on a village twenty miles from Amman in August failed to interrupt the general progress. So well, indeed, was that progress maintained that Mr. Churchill deemed it time to give effect to a step which his policy had always envisaged, and Abdullah and his Prime Minister were invited to London to discuss the terms on which the independent status of Trans-Jordan might be recognized by His Majesty's Government.

Unfortunately, the mission arrived in London only a day or two before the political crisis which removed Mr. Churchill from office, and from that day to this things have gone ill with Trans-Jordan, which has slowly but surely declined. But what I would like to impress upon you is this: that the period whose history I have briefly sketched—that is to say, from the time when Lawrence rescued Trans-Jordan from the abyss to the time of Mr. Churchill's fall from office—was a period of definite progress in the direction desired by its

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authors and, strangely enough, on lines entirely consistent with all our pledges, and that that fact at that time received the recognition of all the authorities concerned—namely, myself, the High Commissioner for Palestine, and His Majesty's Government—with such unanimity that the next step in the evolution of Trans-Jordan followed naturally.

So in October, 1922, Abdullah came to London to receive the prize of independence promised him in return for good work. The judgment of the outgoing Government was too securely entrenched behind facts to be revised by its successor, and Abdullah duly received the prize, which was formally presented to him on behalf of His Majesty's Government by Sir Herbert Samuel in May, 1923, at Amman. The formula of presentation recorded that His Majesty's Government, subject to the approval of the League of Nations, recognized the existence in Trans-Jordan of an independent administration under the Amir Abdullah, provided that such administration should be conducted on democratic and constitutional lines, and should, by an agreement to be negotiated thereafter, place His Majesty's Government in a position to discharge its international obligations in respect of the territory in question. In a word, the *de facto* position of 1922, which had proved so satisfactory, was given *de jure* recognition. Abdullah was placed in an impregnable position, and was promised a grant in aid of £150,000 to consolidate that position. He has only himself and perhaps a too-indulgent British Government to thank for the fact that his position to-day is less satisfactory, and, indeed, rather precarious. But it is necessary to understand that the Colonial Office, under Mr. Churchill's successor, who, I fear, took but little interest in so unimportant an issue as Trans-Jordan, was already beginning to envisage a change of policy, and Abdullah most obligingly dismantled all his defences against the threatened attack.

My position as Chief British Representative remained nominally as before, with no specific functions beyond that of tendering advice and offering criticism. The British grant in aid was, it is true, paid through me, and the fiction was retained that it was actually administered by the Trans-Jordan Government. Such a fiction was harmless so long as it remained a fiction; it became dangerous as soon as it began to transform itself into fact.

My advice to Abdullah and his Government was that, in their own ultimate interests, they should proceed without delay to convene a representative assembly as provided for in the declaration of independence. This advice was not only in accordance with the condition laid down by His Majesty's Government, but coincided with the known desires of the Trans-Jordan people. But Abdullah was rather enjoying his autocratic power, and had no desire to seek its curtailment; while his ministers and officials, who were mostly drawn from foreign elements—Syrian, Palestinian, and even Iraqian—feared that home

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rule would result in their elimination from lucrative posts. The project of convening a representative assembly remained in abeyance, and the Amir's administration began to gather momentum in its downward course.

I remained as patient as I could in the circumstances, while Abdullah and his associates indulged in an orgy of maladministration. The treasury was robbed right and left, essential services were allowed to suffer by non-payment of the salaries of their personnel, Government lands were distributed among the Amir's favourite shaikhs without any corresponding advantage to the public exchequer; even private owners were expropriated for the benefit of those who coveted their holdings. Badawin shaikhs were allowed to remain, in fact, immune from the payment of due taxes, while the poorer agricultural classes—and some of them are very poor indeed—were forced to pay not only current taxation, but all uncollected arrears of taxation dating back to 1918. Taking as a basis for comparison the taxes payable by these people under the Turkish regime, I calculated that the equivalent of nine and a half years' normal taxation was wrung out of the peasantry by the Amir in the course of three years, in many cases in the course of only two.

It is clear that the Amir was developing a theory of independence not quite in accordance with my own views, but I was wedded to the principle of non-interference in the internal administration of an independent country for several reasons. In the first place, interference would merely have exasperated the Amir and his Government without doing any good to the people, unless, of course, I was in a position to use British military force—which I was not. In the second place, I did not think that the people were entitled to independence if they were unable to achieve it by their own efforts and at a little sacrifice of their personal comfort. And, finally, the collapse of Abdullah's administration seemed to be bound to lead to the reimposition of Palestine control, which I regarded as disastrous.

Anyway, right or wrong, I did not interfere between Abdullah and his people. Nevertheless, I watched for an opportunity of checking his stupid and reckless course on more general grounds, and the opportunity presented itself in June. It was reported to me that the ruins of a Byzantine basilica at Amman were being dismantled by the Amir's orders. I immediately went out to see the damage, and found that only a fragment of the ruin remained. I then expressed my opinion of his atrocity in writing to the Amir, called upon him to desist from further damage to the ruin, and warned him that his deliberate destruction of a monument which had withstood the ravages of time and human neglect for fifteen centuries would prove but the prelude to his own fall unless he based his administration on the surer foundations of justice and democracy. He immediately sent his secretary to

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complain to the High Commissioner of my wanton interference with his independence, and levelled the rest of the ruin with the ground. That was my first quarrel with the Amir. The High Commissioner intervened in his favour, but it was not till some ten days later that I resumed ordinary relations with Abdullah, on receiving from him a letter of regret for what he had done, a condition on which I insisted. But he had damaged the foundation of his state as irreparably as he had wrecked the old basilica. The Palestine Government saw, and took skilful advantage of, the rift in the lute, and from that moment I had no doubt in my mind that Abdullah and I were inevitably doomed to part company. It was not quite so clear at that time whether I should leave Trans-Jordan first or he. But for the moment it is, perhaps, sufficient to record that the Palestine department of antiquities assumed practical supervision of the antiquities administration of Trans-Jordan, without the necessary funds to do so effectively, with the result that the destruction of antiquities, for which we have assumed a special mandatory responsibility, proceeds apace.

The first round of sparring thus resulted in the triumph of the proverbial *tertius gaudens*, and Abdullah, still disregarding my constantly repeated advice that a representative assembly should be set up, continued his reckless career of irresponsibility on the lines already indicated. He knew that I would not interfere again in a hurry, and he was quite right; for I knew that another breach between myself and the recognized administration would only open the door wider to an expectant Palestine.

As a matter of fact, the next time I intervened in the drama was actually to save Abdullah on his tottering throne. The Adwan rebellion, which had the sympathy of a great part of the country, groaning as it was under a reckless tyranny, threatened once and for all to eliminate Abdullah from the scene last September. Its success would have been as disastrous to Trans-Jordan independence as its failure has eventually proved to be, and, though I sometimes regret the course I pursued, I think I was right to save Abdullah. I could not countenance open rebellion, and, when the leader of the rebellion, Sultan ibn Adwan, sent me an ultimatum, threatening that, if I intervened in Abdullah's favour, he would report me to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, there was, of course, no alternative. I replied that if his forces had not disbanded by a certain hour he would be attacked with all the forces available. That night Abdullah did not sleep. He sat up booted and spurred, ready for instant flight—doubtless not forgetful of the time when he escaped in his night-shirt from a Wahhabi attack at Turaba in 1919. The following morning the rebels obligingly advanced on Amman along the only road fit for heavy motor vehicles; the armoured cars of the Royal Air Force carried out a brilliant little operation, and in half an hour had crushed the revolution.

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Abdullah once more breathed, but it was typical of him that he not only made a vindictive use of the victory we had won for him, but failed to recognize the fact that, if he did not introduce long-needed reforms into the administration, he was only paving the way for ultimate disaster. He continued the oppression of the poor, who were now terrorized by the knowledge that they could not expect British sympathy in any stand for justice. Abdullah's inquisitors roamed through the land in search of money, and particularly of horses—for the Amir and his Arabian henchmen were above all lovers of horses—and many a man was thrown into jail on the charge of complicity in the Adwan rebellion for no other reason than that he possessed a mare or a horse which the Amir coveted and could not come by except by attachment. The lot of those who made the acquaintance of the inside of the prisons was far from enviable—the prison at Aqaba, for instance, where some of the ringleaders of the movement spent a month or two on their way to exile in the Hijaz, was in very truth a black hole—a square stone-walled dungeon with a ponderous timber door and no other aperture, whose floor was a thick layer of rotted vegetable matter, once probably straw, and whose only article of furniture was a heavy wooden stock laid on the floor and pierced with five holes, designed to secure the right legs of five victims. There they lay in gloom and misery, with just enough bread and water to keep them alive—a living or, I should rather say, a moribund protest against the British mandatory system!

By the end of October, that is to say, within the first seven months of the financial year, Abdullah had run through rather more than his Civil List provision for the whole year. He had spent £37,000, not counting money received from his father and from the disposal of property confiscated after the rebellion. The position was becoming steadily more and more impossible, and I had to inform the Trans-Jordan Government that, if it paid any further sums to Abdullah out of state funds, I should exercise my discretion to discontinue the payment of instalments of the grant in aid. They appealed to Cæsar, namely the High Commissioner, with the result which I expected. It was held quite reasonably that Abdullah could not live on nothing, so my ruling was vetoed, and Abdullah continued to live in regal style at the public expense. I estimate that his total personal expenditure during the last financial year amounted to close on £100,000, of which £60,000 was provided by the Exchequer, and the balance represented gifts from King Husain and borrowings or purchases on credit.

Things had reached such a pass that the British Treasury quite rightly decided on discontinuing the British grant in aid to Trans-Jordan, with effect from the following April. By January, when King Husain arrived in Trans-Jordan to visit his erring son, it was clear that the crash must come soon, unless King Husain himself could devise a

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satisfactory solution of the dilemma. As a matter of fact, he did most decidedly stop the rot. He, in fact if not in name, assumed the direction of affairs in Trans-Jordan, and Abdullah took a back seat, while the people of the country poured in, deputation after deputation, representing all classes of opinion, to make quite clear to his father that they had had enough and more than enough of the son's regime. Abdullah was promoted by his father to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the Arab army, and it was confidently believed that he was designated to command the forces at Madina to check Wahhabi encroachments in that direction. Ali, the eldest son of King Husain, was to succeed him as ruler of Trans-Jordan, and Ali duly arrived at Amman to the satisfaction of everybody. But whether he thought that Trans-Jordan alone was not a sufficiently important or attractive charge, or genuinely desired to avoid a rift in the family lute which his supersession of Abdullah might have occasioned, he declined to fall in with the suggested arrangement, and no other solution had been found by the time that the expulsion of the Caliph from Turkey placed the Caliphate within the grasp of King Husain, and he, having secured nomination from the Arabs of Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan, put away from himself all thought of the difficulties of Trans-Jordan, and hastily returned to Mecca to develop his new position.

Thus Abdullah and the people of Trans-Jordan were again left alone to work out their salvation. According to Abdullah's ideas, the resources of Trans-Jordan alone were not sufficient to maintain the state; on the other hand, the British Government declined to assist financially. I was always convinced, and still am, that the resources of Trans-Jordan alone are amply sufficient to maintain an efficient administration if the conditions on which the British recognition of its independence was made were fulfilled by the election of a representative assembly to control Abdullah. But Palestine was more concerned to bring Trans-Jordan back into its orbit, and, the Palestine view having, to all intents and purposes, prevailed before King Husain's visit, I had sent in my resignation early in January.

King Husain's presence in Trans-Jordan had, of course, temporarily stymied any progress in the direction contemplated by the Colonial Office, but his departure left the way clear once more. I left Trans-Jordan and the new regime entered on its course. The new financial year opened without any attempt having been made to balance a budget which showed an estimated deficit of £120,000, while His Majesty's Government had, as already stated, definitely decided not to continue its grant in aid. But the Palestine Government had won its point. The long struggle for the independence of Trans-Jordan was over; Lawrence's scheme had been defeated at last. Henceforth the British representative and his staff would be appointed, as before Lawrence's visit, from the cadre of the Palestine Government, and

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would therefore look to that Government for continued employment and promotion. So far so good; but how was the financial difficulty to be got over? Palestine would have trouble with the Trans-Jordan administration unless it could keep the Amir quiet, so it was arranged that Palestine, which is itself getting a grant in aid of £1,000,000 from the British Government, should divert £60,000 as a grant in aid to Trans-Jordan, on the condition that it accepted a position of financial and political subordination. The British Treasury thinks it is not subsidizing Trans-Jordan, but does not realize that it is obviously subsidizing Palestine on an unnecessarily generous scale, as Palestine is using part of the money to keep Trans-Jordan, to which we promised independence, in subjection. Does our right hand know what our left hand is doing?

I have attempted to sketch in brief outline the history of Trans-Jordan during the past three years, and in doing so I have restricted myself to setting out in some sort of intelligible sequence facts within the knowledge of all who read the newspapers. This is not an occasion to talk politics, but I would like to draw your attention to the fact that throughout the history of this period there runs the motif of the clamour of the children of Reuben and Gad: "Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Shebam, and Nebo, and Beon, even the country which the Lord smote before the congregation of Israel, is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle: wherefore, said they, if we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession, and bring us not over Jordan." Surely, indeed, have they found favour in the eyes of His Majesty's Government, but, apart from the insight I have gained into some branches of high policy and the experience I have had of a country which is not without beauty and full of interest, I cannot help rather regretting that it should have taken me two and a half years to realize that the game was not worth the candle, and that, too, after a somewhat similar experience in another country. I severed my connection with Mesopotamia three years ago owing to a difference of opinion with the authorities of the time as to what the people of Iraq wanted, and within the last week the Iraq National Assembly has only repeated in the most unmistakable manner what I urged then. Can we hope that it will take as long as three years for Trans-Jordan to justify my resignation?

I am fully conscious that the history of Trans-Jordan, as I have given it you to-day, is a record of personal failure. I have failed, and can only say that circumstances proved to be altogether too strong for me when first Lawrence and then Mr. Churchill himself vanished from the scene. But my experience in Mesopotamia and Trans-Jordan has taught me one thing which will give me peace of mind, I hope, for the rest of my life. I have learned that Government service—if I may

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quote a passage from the report of the recent committee on the taxation of betting—"is not inaptly described as 'a mug's game' . . . it is a foolish occupation or habit." Therefore I have decided to give it up, and I will not detain you further to-day except to show you a few slides illustrative of the country whose history I have just sketched. I owe them to the kindness of Sir A. Kennedy, and I owe you apologies for the fact that my own photographs are not available, as my luggage has not yet arrived from Palestine.

Lord RAGLAN: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I find I have a good deal in common with Mr. Philby. The first fact in my career that coincides with his is that I also spent two and a half years in Trans-Jordan, and also left at the end of it because I did not think the game was worth the candle.

A few weeks ago I asked in the House of Lords if they were aware that the Amir's government in Trans-Jordan was tyrannical, inefficient, and unpopular. I was told by Lord Arnold, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, that, although the situation was not quite satisfactory, there was nothing whatever to justify the language I had used. I had not had the benefit of hearing Mr. Philby then. If I had, my language would have been stronger than it was. I also suggested to the Government that the High Commissioner of Palestine had not done all that he might have done to improve the state of affairs in Trans-Jordan. That also is borne out by what Mr. Philby has told us. What is going to happen there in the future none of us can say, but I agree with Mr. Philby that it must be joined to Palestine. I think it will be so joined, though whether to an Arab or a Jewish Palestine remains to be seen; but the connection between Trans-Jordan and Palestine is too great for them to be separated. It is absurd to have a little place like that independent, with only three thousand or four thousand square miles of habitable territory and a population of about two hundred thousand. It is really absurd to have all these little states with their little populations, and without economic coherence or strategic frontiers. They will have to disappear. Mr. Philby said something about there being room for Jews in Trans-Jordan. There is a lot of room there, but the reason why is the same as why there is room in a great part of Syria and Palestine—because there has never been a Government which would give security to the cultivators. Constant attempts are made along the frontier. There comes a period when the range of cultivation extends itself owing to good government, and then there is a period of bad government and the range of cultivation goes back. That has been going on ever since the dawn of history. In the last fifty years of Turkish rule there was a slight increase. Since the war, under the government of Abdullah, there has been a decrease, and if the government of Abdullah goes on there will be a further decrease. Trans-Jordan should be joined to Palestine, for Palestine

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alone can give a government that will keep back the Badawins and allow the country to be developed.

Sir CHARLES YATE: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say I have no personal acquaintance with Palestine or Trans-Jordan, and I am rather diffident at giving an opinion on the subject, but I cannot help thinking there should not be two Governments in such a small country, divided into two simply by a small river like the Jordan. The valley of the Jordan must be, I should think, under one Government. I cannot see how it can well thrive under two separate Governments. I should in that respect like to support what Lord Raglan has said, and I agree with him that one Government for the whole would be the better for the country.

Sir ARNOLD WILSON: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I did not expect to be called upon to speak to you upon a subject of which I really personally know nothing. I can only express my general concurrence with what Mr. Philby and Lord Raglan have said; I think, however, we ought to feel some sympathy with the position of His Majesty's Government in the matter: it appears from Mr. Philby's remarks that for the last three years their advisers on the spot have been permanently at loggerheads with each other. That is a very difficult position for any office which has to decide matters in the light of advice from men on the spot. I think we should all in this Society feel easier in our minds if the Class A mandated territories were restored to the Foreign Office, which is handling questions arising in the neighbouring states of Persia, Turkey, and Egypt. Had the matters discussed by Mr. Philby been dealt with by the Foreign Office, I cannot help thinking we should have seen other and less drastic solutions. As regards the questions of the air mail route, the position to-day is that that route is no longer required. There is a more reliable motor-car service running from Baghdad to Damascus, which carries the mail much more regularly, and passengers also. The air mail route can never be used for passengers, for, apart from everything else, it is £130 a trip from Baghdad to Cairo, against £30 from Baghdad to Beirut by the Nairn Transport Company. It cannot conveniently be used by the mails, because it is only fortnightly, and not very regular at that, and under no circumstances can it be commercially developed for goods or passengers. The Damascus route leads to the Mediterranean, and such affinities as Mesopotamia has with the Arab world are with Syria, and not with Trans-Jordan or Palestine. As far as politics are concerned, there seems to be no reason why the air mail should not be discontinued forthwith. It has been stated in some quarters that the air mail is helpful because it helps to train pilots, but the Air Force hold, I believe, very different views, particularly in the junior ranks. When I went across the route in 1922, I saw the wreckage of half a dozen machines lying about.

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The CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Philby for his remarkably interesting and able lecture, which had enabled his hearers to judge of a question almost unknown in its detail to most of them. There had been a remarkable unanimity amongst those speakers whose knowledge was greatest that the system devised by our Government was not a good one, and that first Colonel Lawrence and then Mr. Philby had been called upon to put into force a scheme which was from the outset unworkable. He asked if Mr. Philby would like to make any further remarks, as the result of what had been said by subsequent speakers, and asked him to accept the thanks of the audience for his lecture. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: I have nothing to say beyond this, that everybody seems to agree that these two countries are essentially one. I do not know whether I have myself adequately brought out, or whether the speakers who have followed me have brought out the essential condition that the policy adopted in the combined territories must be the right one. What we have done is to separate a naturally single territory into three parts—namely, Palestine, Syria, and Trans-Jordan. In two we have adopted a wrong system, in one we have allowed the right system to have a trial. We must change the policy in the other two and make them all one.

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UR AND TEL EL-OBEID

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, London, S.W., on Thursday, June 26, 1924, when Mr. Woolley lectured on the recent excavations and archæological discoveries at Ur and Tel el-Obeid. In the absence of Lord Peel, Sir Maurice de Bunsen presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Our Chairman (Lord Peel) is not able to be present here to-day on account of duties in the House of Lords, and I am taking his place with your permission. The subject of our lecture to-day is one that has deeply interested this Society for a considerable time back, and readers of our *Journal* are aware that in the number for 1922 we had a very interesting lecture on the excavations at Ur by Dr. Hall, while in the following year we have the record of Mr. Woolley's admirable lecture, which will be in the memory of many of you. Mr. Woolley has been at work again since he addressed us last year, and it is of the results of his more recent work that he is going to speak to us to-day. We give him a very hearty welcome back amongst us, because our Society is interested not only in the modern and more recent history, for it knows very well that in order to understand present conditions we must dig back into the past, and learn what has happened in past centuries and half-forgotten eras. In this Mr. Woolley is going to help us; I will not detain you, but will ask him to begin.

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I had the honour of talking to you last year about the results obtained in the first season's work of the joint expedition sent out to Mesopotamia by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. We have now had a second season, and the results have been no less satisfactory and in some ways more sensational than those of our first year. When we originally started work upon the site, the programme which we carried out was to trace as far as possible the outline of the Temenos or sacred enclosure of the City of Ur, a great walled rectangle within which lay the principal temples, probably the palace, and the ziggurat of the ancient town. We traced the greater part of that enclosure in outline, and towards the northern end unearthed a building which we were able to identify as the Temple of the Moon God and his consort. Further than that, in the extreme west angle there were quite plain the ruins of the ziggurat or stage tower—

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one of those towers which were conspicuous in every ancient city of Babylonia, whose mounds still litter the great plain of the river valley, but whose character and original appearance were practically unknown to us, in spite of many conjectures and a certain amount of excavation. When we started this year the main item of our programme was to excavate this ziggurat. A little work had been done on it already by Dr. Hall, work which was extremely useful because he had dug down on part of one end right to the foundations of the building, and had shown us what amount of labour was required to complete the excavation of the whole. We felt that without a complete excavation we should not be in a position to say much about the building, and I must say that one was rather afraid of the prospect before one when one looked at the enormous mass of material, broken brick, brickdust, blown sand, and so on, that had to be cleared away before we could expose the ancient walls. I do not know exactly how much stuff we did move; something between seventy-five and one hundred thousand tons of rubbish. It was all, of course, originally moved in small baskets, and one of the problems that faced us at the outset was the place where we could dump the material so moved. Obviously it was unwise to put it down where one subsequently would have to excavate; equally obviously it was uneconomical to carry it further away from the work than was absolutely necessary. When thinking about this we noticed there was a large low-lying piece of ground close to the south-east face of the ziggurat and just north of the Temple of the Moon God and his consort, excavated by us last year. It was so low-lying that I jumped to the conclusion that there was nothing there worth digging up; though, undoubtedly, the site had been occupied by buildings, it looked as if watercourses and torrents had swept away anything that might be of interest, and I had practically made up my mind to put my dump heaps there when prudence got the better of me, and I said, "We will run trenches across and see what there is." We ran trenches across, and within a foot or two came upon walls, and presently found we were in the middle of the biggest building we had yet found on the site of Ur. It was so large that, as it did not form part of the regular programme of the season, we could not excavate it entirely; but as we wanted to make things look nice, and as we had with us Mr. Newton, whose experience on the architectural side of archæology is unrivalled, it seemed a pity not to take advantage of his presence. What we could not excavate of the building we traced out, with the result that we have nearly filled in the plan of one end of the Temenos or sacred enclosure. This plan shows the northern end, where we have been carrying on excavations. The Temenos wall bounds the excavated area, its line broken on the north-west and north-east sides by gaps where it had been badly destroyed; on the south-west side is the Nabonidus gate. At the bottom of the plan

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is seen the north end of the temple which we excavated last year, 1922-23; in the west corner is the ziggurat, which in our previously published plan we were only able to show in outline and then quite incorrectly, whereas it is now correctly planned; and north-east of it is the great building which we discovered by accident. As I said, it lay very low, and the reason for that was that it was practically one great courtyard. This courtyard, which is 100 yards long, was entirely paved with brick, and was surrounded by chambers. On three sides there is only a single row of chambers, but on the north-east—this part was not excavated, but only traced—the building is clearly composed of three or four separate residences, communicating suites of chambers each having its own doorways. There can be little doubt, I think, that here we have the great courtyard attached to the Temple of the Moon and the dwelling-house of the priests attached to it. The levels are very different. This courtyard here is some 6 or 8 feet lower than that narrow courtyard which lies along the north-west of the E-nun-makh shrine; between the two there was a doorway with steps leading up to the higher level, though as a matter of fact we could not find those steps this year because a very solid brick drain built by Nebuchadnezzar ran over the steps. Nebuchadnezzar had reconstructed the building on a higher level. It is too early to say much about this building. We know that in its present form it dates back to about 1600 B.C., and was built by King Kuri-Galzu; but undoubtedly he built over earlier work—in fact, traces of such were visible in many places, though whether the earlier work was on the same lines or not we do not know. The courtyard of Kuri-Galzu was repaired and restored by various kings, but about 650 B.C. the place was obviously in a bad state, and Sin-balatsu-ikbi, who under the Assyrian king was Governor of Ur, went in for wholesale restorations, but still observing very faithfully in almost every detail the ground-plan and the general appearance of the older work. That building continued to exist until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, who, finding it in ruins, put down a new floor about 6 feet above the old, and rebuilt the old walls at a higher level. So we know something of the history of the building, but until we have excavated all the rooms, which at present are still full of earth, we shall not know anything very definite about its character. To show how very wrong I was in thinking practically nothing would be found below the surface of what seemed such low-lying ground, I must tell you that though the courtyard is actually 6 feet or 8 feet below the foundations of the very much older E-nun-makh Temple, yet this courtyard is itself a raised platform: we dug down against the outside of the wall and found our floor level—a paved street or court level—5 feet below the courtyard pavement. But what was most surprising to us and most interesting was the character of the wall

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which on the ziggurat side bounded the paved court. Instead of the shallow square buttresses which are the common type in Mesopotamian buildings, we found here a decoration of half columns, each relieved by a T-shaped groove running down its centre; there were flat panels at intervals, but the greater part of the wall-face was composed of a series of curves representing attached columns. The thing was built in burnt brick below and mud brick above, mud-washed and whitewashed: it was an extraordinary thing when we first unearthed it to see the whitewash still in tolerably good condition, quite as good as one sees on many native houses at the present time, and to think that it had been put on about 650 B.C. It was an excellent advertisement of the quality of the whitewash used by the Assyrian Governor. In this photograph you will get the general effect as seen from the far side of the courtyard. Why I show you this view is that I want to point out that the columned wall is an essential feature of the ziggurat building itself. That great ziggurat behind rests on a terrace raised high above the surrounding plain, and above most of the buildings in its own neighbourhood. The platform courtyard was upheld by the back wall of the range of chambers bounding the courtyard, but to the spectator from the courtyard the apparent retaining wall of the ziggurat platform would be the columned wall, which alone was visible, and therefore seen from here the columned wall would be an essential part of the general scheme of the ziggurat. This is a point to which I shall refer later, because it is quite necessary to understand that in order to get any conception at all of what the ziggurat looked like when it was originally built. Turning back to the plan, I will just point out what the ground-plan of the ziggurat was like. It was a great rectangular structure about 80 yards long, standing some 50 to 60 feet high. The main rectangle lies, as you see, close up to the wall of the Temenos on the south-west side, and not very far from it on the north-west side. There were certainly buildings quite close here. Therefore, the ziggurat was only meant to be seen from the north-east side. The plan that you see is virtually that of the ground-floor, the lowest stage, but against the north-east are built the staircases which lead up to the summit, the central staircase coming right forward on to the terrace, and one staircase on each side plastered against the wall of the original building. In the angles between those staircases are solid square towers which were perhaps originally decorated with statues. *That* is the main façade, the north-east side. The tower was solid throughout. It went up three stages, and on the topmost stage was a temple. The fact is that the ziggurat is simply an artificial hill. People coming, as the Sumerians apparently did, from a hilly country, had always, like all mountain people, been accustomed to put up temples and sacred groves on a high hill, and when they came down to the flat valley of the Euphrates they built hills on which they could put

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shrines. That is why they built ziggurats and why these are solid, and because they are solid they have been so largely preserved. This ziggurat was first constructed by Ur-Engur, of the Third Dynasty of Ur, about 2500 B.C., and we knew from foundation tablets and cylinders discovered in this building sixty years ago that some, at any rate, of Ur-Engur's work was still extant in the sixth century before Christ; then the upper part was repaired by King Nabonidus, the last King of Babylon, and the records of his work were left for Dr. Taylor to discover: we found some duplicates this year, but the main facts about the building were already known. One thing we wanted to find out was the original plan of the ziggurat built in the third millennium before Christ, and the character and extent of the work done on that building by Nabonidus in the sixth century. In that we have been successful. *Here* you see the ziggurat standing up against the sky. This wall is quite cleared, and you can see traces of the upper stages, most of which have been destroyed. Another view shows the front of the ziggurat as it appeared when finally excavated. Here you have the great central staircase leading up to the top of the building, with the side stairs converging on the same central landing, and in the corners are these solid square buttresses, which were probably decorated by statues. The whole of the work that is seen there, with the exception of the scanty ruins at the very top, was built by Ur-Engur about two thousand three hundred years before Christ. It has survived in that condition until the present time. It is extremely well built with fine burnt brick, very fine, some with stamps bearing the King's name. These formed the face of the building; the core was of mud brick, solid, and all right so long as protected from the weather; the face was adorned with shallow buttresses, and there were two main drains running down the side. Here is a reconstruction of the face you have just seen. Mr. Newton has been able to work this out with practical certainty in every detail except, perhaps, for the actual crenellations along the sky-line, which are probable, but of which we have no evidence. The staircase leading up the centre met the other stairs, and they joined together in a doorway which took you on to a landing or platform of the second stage. From there you walked along to the left behind the parapet, went down a flight of stairs and found yourself on the lowest stage of the building, from which a central staircase cut through the edges of the terraces led you up to a doorway in the south-east face of the temple. On the north-east face another flight of steps, continuing the central flight of the first stage, led you to a second doorway in this side of the temple. If, instead of turning to the left, you turned to the right on reaching the main stairhead, a small flight of stairs there took you up to the next stage, along which you could walk round the building. It is an extraordinarily impressive structure. You have to imagine in the first place that it was coloured,

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and in the second place that, standing on its own terrace, it would only be seen to advantage with the columned wall in front of it—that is, if you saw it from the courtyard which we excavated, you would have rising from the ground the columned wall, pure white, then above that the whole of the structure, up to the top stage but one, was absolutely black, covered with a coating of bitumen, put on with a brush: the top stage was brilliant red, and the little temple which crowned the whole thing was built of bricks, glazed and coloured sky-blue. So that you had your horizontal bands of colour going up in a conventional and, I suppose, mystical order, and at the same time you had a very skilful architectural scheme of lines: at the base the vertical lines of your colonnade, above that the main lines of the staircase converging to a central point and standing in contrast to the less abrupt contour of the building. Everything points from the whole breadth of the ground level to a central point, and at that central point you have your vertical lines of the gateway leading up to the most brilliant part of the whole structure—namely, the outstanding blue shrine. It is an architectural unity of a very fine order.

The lowest stage with its three staircases is Ur-Engur's; what remains of the upper stages of the temple is all due to Nabonidus. The work of tracing this out was extremely difficult, and I do not think anybody but Mr. Newton could have done it. One small item was of rather dramatic interest. We were much puzzled by some work in the east corner, and could not make out to whom to assign one particular piece of wall and one particular piece of paving. On pulling up a bit of pavement carefully we found the bricks stamped with the name of Nabonidus, and therefore there was no doubt about who put the pavement down. Underneath it the wall ran down a considerable depth, and the bricks bore the name of Ur-Engur; but underneath the pavement level there was a great breach in the wall, where the whole masonry had been attacked, the bricks pulled out, and not put back. This was clearly the hole made by Nabonidus's workmen, when at the King's orders they were looking for the foundation tablet put in the corner of the building by Ur-Engur; they found it, and did not fill up the hole they had made. It was an admirable confirmation of the King's statement.

This work on the ziggurat, whatever it did produce, did not give much in the way of small objects, such as museums value, but was not wholly barren in small things. We found a fair number of inscribed gate stones with royal inscriptions, a few inscriptions of other sorts, and an outlying part of the site where there had been a graveyard of about 2000 B.C. The graves were almost completely destroyed by weather, but this graveyard produced a number of important objects—beads of all sorts in stone faience and gold, clay pots and vases, a few bronze objects, as well as very many cylinder seals with inscriptions

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and figures engraved upon them, and a whole series of terra-cotta reliefs of very great interest. I illustrate only a few here, but I think in the exhibition which we hope to open in about ten days in the Museum I shall be exhibiting about fifty. They give types of deities sometimes familiar, often not. Here you have the familiar figure of the god holding the vase from which ran the two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates; or the mother goddess holding a child; or a priestess, very much of the type of one found by us last year in the form of a gold figure on the top of a pin; or you have the seated Moon Goddess, a god and goddess seated together, or, again, a pair of standing deities. The whole of the types really want a great deal of working out, and they are, and will prove, of quite remarkable interest. I only put up this one slide to show you that in small objects Ur has not proved altogether disappointing. The work on the ziggurat took us the whole of the season with 200 men and sometimes more. It was extraordinarily dull work a great deal of it, especially the earlier part, when you were simply removing dirt, and I was exceedingly grateful to Mr. Gadd and Mr. FitzGerald that they took upon themselves this drudgery, and left me free to devote myself to the infinitely more exciting work at another place. We were carrying on two excavations at the same time. In 1919 Dr. Hall had made an excursion out into the desert, and hit upon a small isolated mound about five miles from the ruins of Ur, where he proceeded to excavate, and found objects of the most extraordinary interest and importance. He discovered a building there, of which part of the outline was traced by him, and against one wall face he came upon a hoard of objects, many of them in copper, some in stone and some in mosaic, of which the most important were reliefs and statues made of copper, in a very bad condition, but still of unique interest, and showing a very high style of art going back to a very remote period. Clearly a work like that begun by the British Museum had to be continued. This year I took a small force of men—about sixty—and set to work at Tel el-Obeid. The building, as subsequently unearthed, was what you see here, but all this is really only a platform, upon which the original building stood; it is, like the ziggurat, an artificial pedestal for a temple. It is a rectangle, built of burned brick, with a filling of mud brick, having on one side a projection of mud bricks only, up which ran a narrow flight of stone steps; at the back there was a drain, and on the main façade we find the remains of a broad flight of very fine stone steps made of great blocks of stone. Dr. Hall starting from the smaller flight of steps, which he found, had worked all round the building, and it was down in the angle between the south-east wall and the main stairway that he came upon the wonderful hoard of objects now in the British Museum.

We in many cases deepened Dr. Hall's work on the chance of find-

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ing something more, but did not find anything except details of construction and such things as bits of pavement. We traced as well as could be the south-west projection, and found a most remarkable drain leading from it, built upon quite up-to-date principles; but when we came to work on the south-east face, between the south corner and the steps, we came on a hoard of copper and other objects, similar in character to those found by Dr. Hall, and not of less interest. As I said, this that we found was only a platform; originally there stood upon it a small building, occupying merely the south corner of the platform. The steps led to a doorway in the shrine, and the whole of the remainder was an open courtyard. The curious thing was that when we came to dig along the façade we found the objects tumbled together apparently in hopeless confusion, but as one worked on them more and more carefully, one realized that the position occupied by every object, its precise distance from the wall, the angle at which it lay, and the line of fall traceable in the rubbish above and below, all were of extreme importance; because by putting two and two together we were able on paper to reconstruct the building as it was when actually standing up. There was not a single brick left, but we knew with tolerable certainty what this temple was like. The staircase led to the door of the temple. That door was in a tower, which projected slightly over the ramp. Beyond the line of the main platform wall and in front of the doorway there was a pair of columns holding up a penthouse roof. The whole façade was extraordinarily ornate. The door was flanked by columns of mosaic, and the actual entry was flanked by copper statues of lions. Most of the objects from the actual doorway had fallen on the east side of the staircase. The building did not extend much east of the tower, so that most of the objects adorned the wall of the building on the west side of the steps, where they were found, and we can put them back practically in their places. You have to imagine the platform wall considerably higher than at the present time; it was built of bricks squared and shaped like a bun on top, and above the burnt brick the wall went up in mud brick, which may have been whitewashed. Along the top stood a row of copper statues of oxen; mixed up more or less with these oxen, but at a slightly lower level, there was a row of artificial flowers. A single slide will show how, as the excavations went on, this corner by the stairs was found to be simply full of fallen objects; one on the top of the other are the remains of four statues of oxen, made of sheets of copper hammered out over a wooden core. Two have been recovered, but the other two are hopeless. Here are columns of roofing beams of palmwood overlaid with sheets of copper made fast with copper rivets. That white patch is merely a layer of medical muslin bandages dipped in paraffin wax, but underneath those are the very good remains of mosaic columns: here is a copper relief of a bull

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which has been moved from its position, backed up with wax and glue and so on, and is ready for transport; here is another similar one lying face downwards, showing still the copper holdfasts that made it secure in the wall; that has not been touched at all. Here is a copper bull enveloped in glued canvas being prepared for removal, and there is the loose head of a copper bull; a black oblong is the back part of a mosaic frieze. Practically the whole area was one litter of architectural remains. The bulls and lions I cannot show photographs of, because they are not in a condition yet to be photographed, but here is one of the mosaic columns which flanked the doorway of the temple. There were two of these columns, and we got them both out in tolerable condition; they stand about 7 feet 6 inches high. Here are some of the artificial flowers that formed the meadow amongst which stood our copper bulls. There was a row of them. The stem, pointed below, is made of clay, and the cup-shaped calyx is also clay; the petals are arranged in a cruciform fashion, four white, two red, and two black. Near the base of each stem is a hole running right through it, and just under the calyx is a nick made in the wet clay; the fact is that the flowers stood upright, held in position by wires, and waved about in the wind. Immediately above the row of copper bulls and flowers was a frieze running the whole length of the building, formed of copper bulls lying down, hammered out of thin sheets of copper, with heads cast separately and attached; the photograph shows one that has not been properly cleaned, and is not looking its best. I may say that the wooden core has entirely disappeared and been replaced by infiltered mud. The metal, originally copper, had decayed altogether. It was not only split and cracked into thousands of pieces, but had no copper left in it; it was pure oxide. We had to solidify and fasten together the fragments *in situ* before they could be moved, and case them in plaster or glued canvas or something; it was a work of extreme delicacy, and we could not do much out there to make them fit for illustration.

A MEMBER: What is the actual size?

The LECTURER: They are 22 centimetres high and 60 long. We found a dozen of them altogether. Above this frieze of copper bulls was another frieze of quite different character. The borders were of copper above and below, the field of mosaic. In this case the animals, a procession of bulls, are fitted together from fragments of carved shell, most exquisitely carved and very fairly life-like, all the animals slightly different one from another. Naturally the joints show far more to-day than they ought to do: one has to remember that these are extremely ancient things, that they were lying under some 15 feet of mud brick, so that they have been pressed out of shape, and that there was absolutely nothing to hold them together; the wood had gone to nothing, and the bitumen by which they were attached to the wood

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had gone to dust: one found these mosaic fragments lying in position, and one had to fix them together, lift them up in one piece, and form a new background to put them down to. The photograph shows a panel as found, before any restoration was attempted on it. Another piece of it was much more interesting, though unfortunately in this case the figures were not in shell but limestone, and the surface has therefore suffered much more. Here you have cows being milked by men who are squatting under their tails and milking into long vases. The cows are properly muzzled so that they shall not get a look in at the milk. In the centre is a cowshed, out of the door of which are coming two heifers; the building itself is clearly put up of reeds fastened together by rope binding. On the left of the byre are four men engaged in the domestic operation of straining and storing the clarified butter—presumably it is clarified butter, for that is what one naturally does store in the East. Here is a man dipping his hand into a great jar; here a companion is pouring the contents through a sieve held by another man into a receptacle on the ground; and here a man is holding in position a great store-jar which is to contain the substance. As an illustration of agricultural life in the remote past it is a unique thing. The relief is 22 centimetres high. From the same frieze, or a similar one, comes a curious mythological piece in strong contrast to the character of the central part I have shown you. This human-headed bull with a lion-headed eagle on his back has clearly some religious significance, but we do not know much about it. All these are in still greater contrast artistically with a very rude and primitive piece of carving, which cannot have come from the façade, but was found just below it. It is the upper part of a limestone wellhead. One point of interest about it is that we found a fragment of a stone vessel, on which was an inscription stating that a man had made and dedicated a wellhead to the goddess Nin-Khursag for the life of the King. One likes to think ours is the wellhead in question, and that we have what might be called a signed work of art from the earliest Sumerian times. When one talks of the earliest Sumerian times one naturally wants to know the grounds on which we claim such remote antiquity for objects which do not show anything very primitive in their artistic qualities. We found a small marble tablet which gave just the historical point we wanted. It said that "A-an-ni-pad-da, King of Ur, son of Mes-an-ni-pad-da, King of Ur, has built this place for Nin-Khursag." We know something of Nin-Khursag as a Goddess of Creation. A-an-ni-pad-da was entirely new, but his father's name was known from the Sumerian dynastic lists. These lists begin with enormous dynasties that are obviously mythological, but with the third dynasty after the Flood we come to something that looks a little bit more like the truth: the third dynasty after the Flood is the first dynasty of Ur, and the first king is Mes-an-ni-pad-da. He is

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given a reign of eighty years, which sounds too much for a man who starts a dynasty, for he probably had to fight before he got the position, but if when he died he left a son, A-an-ni-pad-da—a name easily confused with that of his father—who did, in fact, become King of Ur, then we have only to insert his name in the king list, and the whole thing takes on a more historical air. There is no doubt the builder of our temple is the second king of the first dynasty of Ur, but the date of that dynasty is a problem on which experts differ. Professor Langdon, in the Cambridge *Ancient History*, brought out last autumn, put the first dynasty of Ur at 4216 B.C.; he has since seen reason to reduce that date to 4000 B.C., but does not think it can come later. Mr. Gadd on various grounds, chiefly epigraphical, is inclined to bring the date down to the second half of the fourth millennium. It is still, then, a matter of dispute precisely when King A-an-ni-pad-da came to the throne, but we can say that his little foundation tablet is the oldest dated historical monument in the world, and the record of a very much older king than we have hitherto been able to obtain from Babylonia. It carries us back, in any case, many hundreds—perhaps a thousand or more years. One is putting history back with a vengeance. That being so, and the temple being as ancient as it is, it is most fortunate that we have so many of these scattered ruins preserved for us, and extraordinarily interesting for us that we can in a measure put them together and reconstruct, as I hope to do, the actual appearance of the original building. There is no other building of anything approaching its age whose appearance we can expect at all to recover.

The temple which I have been describing did not stand alone. Close by is a large cemetery, of which we dug out a considerable part. This cemetery was, for the most part, contemporaneous with the temple: it produced graves of several types, chiefly with bodies in contracted positions, and large numbers of clay pots; there were also stone vessels, stone implements, occasionally copper pots, tools, beads, and odds and ends, and some of the skulls and bodies were extraordinarily well preserved. Many of them were undoubtedly contemporary with the first dynasty of Ur; some of them came considerably later. Here you get a view of a couple of graves, more or less of that period, between 3000 and 4000 B.C. The pots are arranged in order, and there is generally one small vase put close to the mouth of the deceased, very often held in his hand. The objects in these graves are very numerous and very important; here you see a few of them. Here is a copper dagger that must be contemporaneous with our temple or roughly so; here is a copper adze. When one comes to stone implements, one naturally thinks such must go back to an earlier period, but actually they occurred sometimes in the same graves as metal objects. Particularly interesting is a scraper, an

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imitation in clay of the stone tool found beside it; even the stones had to be imported in Ur, and I suppose a poor person rather grudged putting so valuable a thing in the tomb of somebody he did not care very much about, and so made a clay substitute for the stone, or for a copper original. There is certainly excellent reason for attributing the earliest of the burials to the first dynasty, but we were not content with going back as far as A-an-ni-pad-da, and we got some things a great deal earlier. In this case the pottery is painted. When we started digging we found fragments of painted pottery all about the surface: when we dug down we failed to find it or graves containing it. There had been such graves, but when the people of the first dynasty of Ur made their graves they had forgotten the existence of the older graves and cared nothing about them. They came across the older burials and threw out the contents; and therefore the earlier pottery was broken and found above the later. Only one grave of this very early period was found intact, and for the most part we had to be content with broken pieces; this slide shows a few examples, mostly restored from fragments of pottery to which we can assign no date at all; we can only say that by about 4000 B.C. the people who produced this beautifully painted hand-made pottery had been forgotten and dishonoured.

I have kept you a very long time before sitting down, but I want to add one thing: I could not describe an extremely successful season such as we have had without saying how much of that success was due to the efficiency of my staff. Nobody knows as much as Mr. Newton about the architectural side of archæology. I need not say anything here about Mr. Gadd's knowledge on the cuneiform side; apart from that, he was ready to turn his hand to anything, and so, too, was Mr. FitzGerald, the volunteer of the party. I could not have had more able assistants or more uncomplaining, even when I gave them the dullest of dull jobs, and I feel that a very great part of the success was due to the spirit in which the work was done. Not only for the ability of the people who formed the staff, great as that ability was, but also for the loyal collaboration they were good enough to give me, I want very much to thank them before taking my seat. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The last time we had the advantage of hearing Mr. Woolley Sir Frederick Kenyon, the head of the British Museum, was here; I wish he had been able to be present to-day. I remember his telling us that the interest of all these great investigations is that we really try and find out something more than we already know about the origin of our race—where the earliest people of whom any records exist came from—and how by slow degrees facts are emerging which enable us to get nearer to our goal of finding out something about the very earliest ages of humanity. We have to-day Dr. Hall, who preceded Mr. Woolley in these investigations. He

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has followed this matter in detail, and we shall be very glad indeed if Dr. Hall will kindly address us.

Dr. HALL: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am equally sorry with Sir Maurice that Sir Frederick Kenyon has not been able to come. Last year we had some very pertinent comments from him, not only on Mr. Woolley's actual excavations, but also on the general meaning of archæology, its use to the world, and why we should be interested in it and support the efforts of the archæologist and the historian to find out, as Sir Maurice has said, the beginnings of civilization, of mankind, and of the world. I am not going to detain you more than a few minutes. First of all, I wish again to congratulate my successor, Mr. Woolley, on the very great success of his work, both at Ur and Tel el-'Obeid. (Hear, hear.) He has shown you slides which have been of extreme interest to me, because I have not been able to go out to Mesopotamia since I was digging there in 1919, and it is very curious to see the work which one began oneself developing in the hands of someone else, and to see how buildings, which one perhaps saw the beginning of, or which one had not the slightest inkling were there, have come out of the sand, and are beginning to take shape under the hands of the excavator and his most accomplished architect, Mr. Newton. It is very interesting indeed to me to see what that ziggurat is like now. The lowest steps on one of those staircases which Mr. Woolley has described as plastered against the base of the ziggurat were found by me in 1919, in the course of that clearance of one of the faces of the ziggurat to which Mr. Woolley has alluded. There was a good deal of dispute as to whether it was a staircase or not, whether or not it had been previously found by Taylor, and how it led up to the side of the ziggurat. I do not think that any of us, until the excavations of this year, had any inkling that it was going to develop into a triple staircase, with that very fine effect of the central way up the middle, and the two side ways up the side of the ziggurat. Turning to Tel el-'Obeid, it seems to be my fate to be associated with the excavation of buildings which are placed upon a central platform with a ramp going up the middle of one of the faces and a colonnade on either side, because that is exactly the type of building I found at Deir el-bahri in Egypt in 1903, when working with M. Naville for the Egypt Exploration Fund. This building of Tel el-'Obeid is planned apparently on very much the same lines as the temple of King Mentuhotep III. Not that I want you to imagine I am making any comparison other than the simple resemblance of the outward shape. The countries are widely apart from one another, and there is no relation between the two designs so far as one knows; but it is curious to see that in both countries people liked to design a building, an important holy building—whether funerary or one in which the gods were worshipped—with this fine central staircase or

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ramp and with colonnades of figures of sacred animals on either side, and here probably with a tower at the top of the ramp, leading into the building beyond.

Something you should specially note in Mr. Woolley's description of his digging is the admirable way in which he has conserved and brought back these copper objects which he discovered at Tel el-'Obeid. He did not describe in detail—he had not the time—the way in which he, so to speak, embalmed these bulls in order to bring them home, and how they are gradually being exhumed out of their mummy wrappings of wax and glue in which they have been brought back; but I wish that in 1919, when I was there, I had been able to avail myself of the amount of wax and canvas and so on which he had at his disposal. But I worked under war conditions, which gave me plenty of motor-cars, but little else. Mr. Woolley is possibly right in thinking that the lions which had tumbled down into the part of the colonnade, if I may so call it, which I excavated, were originally placed on the top of the staircase leading up the centre of the building, and I hope he will be able later on with Mr. Newton to make us some kind of drawing of what he thinks this building actually looked like when it was in its prime, with its life-size lions, some of which you see in the British Museum, and those extraordinarily life-like figures of the bulls, of which Mr. Woolley has shown you photographs to-day.

I was very glad to hear Mr. Woolley speaking so highly of the help of his assistants. I wish I had had some assistants! He had, as he says, a most efficient staff. Mr. Newton is with us to-night, and, I believe, Mr. Gadd also: Mr. Gadd's knowledge of cuneiform writing must, as Mr. Woolley says, have been of the very greatest use, and when Mr. Gadd deciphered that tablet of A-annipadda and announced it as the oldest record of a Babylonian king that had ever been found, I am sure that Mr. Woolley and the whole of the camp must have felt that they had really obtained an important historical result, which amply justified the expenditure on the expedition by the two museums concerned, British and American. I do not think I have anything more to say except again to congratulate Mr. Woolley on his successful completion of this work which I began. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then closed the meeting; he commented on the wonderfully interesting character of the discoveries, and, as he thanked Mr. Woolley on behalf of the Society, said he much hoped to have the pleasure of hearing him another year, and assured him of a very hearty welcome. (Applause.)

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ANNUAL DINNER

THE annual dinner of the Central Asian Society was held in the King Edward VII. Rooms, Hotel Victoria, on July 3, under the chairmanship of the President, the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Earl Winterton, M.P., proposed the toast of the Society, coupled with the name of Lord Curzon. He said he felt rather like a boy in the lower forms at school proposing the health of the sixth form, for though he had been in a mild sense a traveller in Asia, Africa, America, and elsewhere, he saw before him many very distinguished travellers whose experiences had been far wider than his own, and whose names were known throughout the world for their exploits in that direction. Further, he felt some hesitation in proposing the toast, for though he was for a short time Under-Secretary for India, he must confess to finding Africa a far more interesting continent than Asia. (Laughter and cheers.) He was one of those deplorable and undesirable individuals who owned a large area of land in Africa for the purpose of exploiting it, and to get what he could out of its wretched inhabitants. (Laughter.) He felt it would become increasingly the case that the eyes of the people of this country would be turned more toward Africa than Asia.

The Central Asian Society did a great deal of good, however, in endeavouring to keep awake the interest in Asia and in Asian problems. He was sorry that in this country the number of those who were interested in overseas problems was so very small compared with the area and importance of those problems. In London one could hear lectures and discussions by experts in relation to every part of the world and to the Empire in particular. But when they came to look at the people in this country who, after all, were their masters, the electorate, they found that the number of them interested in these problems was regrettably limited, and he was not sure as time went on that it got really larger. The longer he was in politics (and he had been in them twenty years), the more appalled he was at the tremendous ignorance of the huge mass in this country of the overseas problems in which they had an ultimately deciding voice.

He coupled with the toast the name of Lord Curzon with much pleasure, because their President had won great distinction in the many high offices he had held, and also because he had enjoyed his friendship for many years. Most of those present had probably read his recent delightful book of travels, and he thought few of them who had travelled had failed to read it with pleasure, and had not found in it at any rate some experiences similar to those which they themselves

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had undergone in different parts of the world. In his political life Lord Curzon had set a very fine example to those of his own generation by setting himself the task at the earliest possible time of acquainting himself by personal observation on the spot with those problems of other lands with which as a politician and statesman he had later to deal. (Cheers.) His example was not followed to the extent that it might have been by his own generation, but it was satisfactory that the younger generation to which he (the speaker) belonged had done much more in respect to that example. It was a fact that in the Conservative Government in office last year, amongst the senior members Lord Curzon was almost the only one who had much first-hand knowledge of India and other parts of the Overseas Empire. But the great majority of the younger members of the Administration had travelled in different parts of the world, and especially in different parts of the Empire. He was sure that was all to the good. The older he got, the more convinced he was that travel was one of the greatest delights and benefits which life could confer. Personally, when the war came and he took such part as he could in it, he could not sufficiently congratulate himself on having been a traveller, especially in such countries as the Sudan and different parts of Africa, for this was a great advantage to anyone partaking in war service overseas.

He must confess that he took a rather gloomy view about the attitude of this country towards overseas problems. He was afraid that until the great mass of the voters could be induced to take an interest in these problems a great deal of work now being done would not bear fruition. As the guest of the Society, he would like to ask if there were any steps that could be taken to educate the public at large on these subjects, and particularly respecting the problems with which we had to deal, especially in Asia. If the Society could contribute to this end, it would confer a very great benefit upon the Empire. Unless something of the kind was done, he failed to see how we could get decisions in the political sense favourable to the continued existence of our great commitments in different parts of the world. There was danger of a growing divorcement between those whose business it was to administer abroad and those who were administering at home, unless they realized the real power of the voters and their representatives. It was to be remembered that some of those who were the representatives of this country in His Majesty's Government were quite recently amongst the least instructed and most ignorant of our public men on these problems. (Cheers.)

The Marquess Curzon, who was received with enthusiasm, while thanking Lord Winterton for his personal references, said he must enter an immediate and emphatic caveat on his declaration that Africa was not only of equal but of superior interest to Asia. That such a heresy should be preached by a sensible and competent man was to

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him incredible. (Laughter.) What was Africa? A country of sands and deserts (laughter), plentifully peopled with black men; an arena, no doubt, of great historical antiquity in the north, and splendid British endeavour in the south and round the circumference. But it could not be compared with Asia—the great continent from which all religions, all ideas, all great achievements had sprung; the fountain-head of everything great that had come into the world from immemorial times; the birthplace of the most striking vicissitudes which had ever been witnessed by man; the scene of the greatest events in history; still the fertile source of inspiration and ideas. That a guest of the Central Asian Society should get up to propose the toast of the Society and to couple his (the President's) name with it and then to deride the subject of the toast, was an unbelievable atrocity. (Laughter.) The explanation made it no better, for from it they learned that it was based on sordid material interests. Asia had never brought the noble lord a rupee, and therefore he wiped out Asia and explained to them his attachment to the miserable continent of which he had truly said that the inhabitants were wretched. (Loud laughter.)

I, at any rate (continued Lord Curzon), will be no party to such a heresy. I am here to speak of Central Asia, which is to me and many of those in this room the scene of recollections that charm almost more than anything else in the world. What is Central Asia? It is a part of the world which for hundreds of years has appealed to the traveller, to the archæologist, to the man of affairs, to the writer, to anybody with an idea above the commonplace. Central Asia holds us by the magnificence of its surroundings and by the splendour of its surface. What is the exact appeal that it makes? It appeals in the first place to the spirit of enterprise and adventure. For centuries the ablest pioneers have selected Central Asia as the field of their exploration, whether they went for discovery or for trade. It has also appealed strongly to the interests of religion, as witness the devotion of the friars of the Middle Ages. The call was heard for purposes of trade by our own pioneers; at a later date it came to those in the service of Government. The adventure and enterprise of which Central Asia is the scene have been one of the moving agencies in the history of mankind.

Look at the long struggle for more than a century to unveil the mysterious land of Tibet, a work at last accomplished by Sir Francis Younghusband (cheers), whom I am glad to see here, in a mission under my auspices. Then, again, look at the appeal that Central Asia has always made to the sense of beauty that exists in all of us. There is the communion with nature that we achieve when we wander over those distant lands and view the great spaces, the mighty peaks, the solid glaciers, the rushing rivers, and all the other splendours of nature in its manifold forms. Nobody has realized that to the same extent

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or expressed it so vividly as Sir Francis Younghusband in at least two of his books, one on the Himalayas recently published, and the other entitled "The Heart of a Continent." You will find in those works the communion with nature which travel in Central Asia has enabled him to acquire, in penetrating to the core and centre of things.

Then there is the appeal that Central Asia has always made, and continues to make, to the scientist, the naturalist, the ethnologist, and the antiquarian. I see before me Sir Aurel Stein. (Cheers.) Central Asia has made him deservedly famous in the history of travel and science. I am proud to have been the means of sending him out on the first of the great missions in which he has rendered so much service to Central Asia, and in which he has unfolded so many of its mysteries. Central Asia makes a further appeal, which will strike home to many of us even more closely—the appeal to the spirit of service and of duty. I am proud as an Englishman when I think of the services which have been rendered by our countrymen in these remote parts of the world, not only our officers serving on the actual frontiers of India, introducing peace and keeping order among the tribes, but also by those who have sustained the great name of England, very often in circumstances of isolation and remoteness, and made it respected among the people of even more distant regions. For instance, Sir Charles Bell, who recently spent some time at Lhasa, achieved successes which would have been incredible a few years ago, while similarly remarkable work spread over many years was done by Sir George Macartney at Kashgar. Such men, often having occasion to doubt whether they were upheld by the Government at home, have kept steadily on doing their work, and sustaining the honour and glory of our Empire. (Cheers.)

The fact is that Central Asia appeals to the sense of service and of duty more than any corresponding area on the globe. But when I talk of Central Asia I am not confining myself to the strict geographical limits of that term. If you look at the map you will see that geographically Central Asia comprises Russian Turkistan, Chinese Turkistan, the Pamirs, Tibet, and Mongolia; but when we talk of Central Asia I think we mean something of very much wider application than that. For instance, you might argue that Turkey and the Turkish dominions are in a sense a European and Western problem. Constantinople has long been a great question of the Near East; but as you go eastwards you find that the Turkish question is an Asian question, which overspreads the whole of Asia Minor and flows into Persia and Afghanistan, and has exercised a vital influence during the last ten or twenty years in India. Therefore you find that Turkey, although in the region of its former capital a European power, has been a great Central Asian power and force.

So also China, associated in the popular conception with Japan as

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forming the Far East, is a great Central Asian power and force. When you go into Central Asia you find in vast stretches Chinese rule and Chinese subjects. Just as on the one side you find Turkey, so on the other you find China somehow or other forcing itself into Central Asia and becoming a part of the Central Asian problem. Thus to-night I am not talking of a relatively narrow geographical area, but I am talking about the real centre of the Asian Continent, embracing at least half the peoples who inhabit the whole of that immense area. I was looking to-day at the last issue of your excellent *Journal*, and I find that you emphatically recognize the wide implications of the term "Asia." You have articles in this issue about Tibet, Persia, the downfall of the Caliphate, and the Indian Frontier. You would make a very great mistake if in the *Journal* you confined yourselves to the geographical Central Asia, for your purpose is to deal with the political Central Asia, and I hope that the editor and the *Journal* will always bear that cardinal point in mind and will not restrict the wide area over which your activities have hitherto been spread. I think, if I may say so in passing, that your *Journal* is a splendid production. I never take up a number and read its papers without recognizing that they are written by experts, and that they contain information which could not be found anywhere else in the world. There is an atmosphere of seriousness about them which renders them invaluable contributions to human knowledge; and if this Society existed only for its *Journal*, if it never gave a dinner, it seems to me that its existence would be justified by this publication.

Here let me say a word about another journal which I wish to commend. It is the paper called *The Near East*. Just as I said it is difficult to define Central Asia, so is it difficult to define the Near East, and I am glad to find in the weekly journal which bears that name articles about all parts of the Asiatic problem which are to my mind of the greatest value, and I hope that the editor and proprietors will long continue to give them to the world. (Cheers.)

In dealing with the Central Asian problem, the first thought that occurs to me is that of the astounding changes that have come over Central Asia during the last quarter of a century. I take the changes of that time because it is convenient to begin with the dawn of the century, and because my own experience of responsibility in dealing with any of these problems synchronizes with the close of the nineteenth century. Just imagine the difference in the situation about the year 1900 and the present time. Turkey then had a sovereign, who was both Sultan and Caliph, who combined spiritual and temporal power, which had been hereditary from almost immemorial times in the possession of one branch or another of the Turkish family. Turkey, no doubt, was not a great Power, though she thought herself so, but her possession of Constantinople and her great position in Europe enabled

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her to exercise a most potent influence throughout the whole of the Eastern world.

At that time Russia had a Tsar and an imperial system believed to be deeply rooted in the affections of the Russian people. She spread abroad an influence and a power largely based upon military force, which was certainly from the material point of view one of the most tremendous agencies that ever existed in the world, and was a source of constant anxiety to ourselves. You had, then, in the perimeter of the Russian Empire, large states in the Caucasus absorbed into her system, but still retaining some measure of individual life. You had small monarchies, filled by princes at Khiva and Bokhara under Russian influence, but still presenting some traces of their old resplendence and glory. Persia was held up between the rival arms of Russia and Great Britain, while Afghanistan at that time was ruled by a singularly powerful and capable sovereign.

Further East you had the Empire of China with an Emperor at Peking, still shrouded in the mystery of the Forbidden City and surrounded by the almost unbelievable conservatism of its people. At one moment you were shocked by the weakness of China, and at another moment appalled by its strength and by the influence which it exerted by reason of the vast populations under the rule of the Emperor. China at that time was so powerful that, even in her feebleness, you had men of imagination who thought and spoke of the Yellow Peril as calculated to confront and overwhelm the Western world.

That was the situation twenty-five years ago. What is the situation now? There have never been twenty-five years in the history of the world in which such a tremendous change has been produced in the state of affairs of a great continent. Take Turkey: the Sultan gone, the Caliph gone, a sort of sham republic set up which is merely a disguise for military despotism. Under this system she is making experiments of independence and hostility to the outside world by which she and she alone will be the sufferer. The old Turkey has gone, irremediably gone, and whereas twenty-five years ago anybody who touched the Caliph or the spiritual and temporal power of the Sultan would have been almost immediately swept out of existence, that change has been effected with scarcely a murmur in the Mohammedan world. Look at Russia: the Tsar, the Imperial family, and the whole system of Imperialism has gone with all its great state and with its huge military force. It has crumbled away into a multiple collection of furtive republics, more or less bound together under the ægis of the Soviet Government at Moscow. That is not only an immense change, but a deplorable disaster, because whether we approved of the Russian Empire or not, at any rate there was stability, cohesion, and strength, whereas now there are a number of jarring atoms called democracies, crushed under the heel of a relentless despotism, masquerading in the disguise of a republic.

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Then take Persia, which exists for the moment, held together by the hand of a rather strong man, but with an absentee sovereign whom she does not seem particularly desirous to welcome back to the country, sinking deeper and deeper into the mire of destitution and feebleness. Khiva has gone, Bokhara has gone; Afghanistan, it is true, still exists as a kingdom, but with a dynasty liable, as you all know, to great personal vicissitudes. And what is now the former great Empire of China? It is neither an empire nor a republic; it is nothing more than a great splash on the map—an amorphous collection of human beings without government, without cohesion, without solidity, and with nothing except their huge numbers. China is split up into a series of small independent governorships under military dictators, who collect the taxes, amuse themselves, flout the central government, and do exactly what they will.

That is the condition to which Central Asia has been reduced in the last twenty-five years, and whereas a quarter of a century ago you would have said that that continent was the quarter of the globe where the most deeply embedded conservatism prevailed, where ancient monarchies were more firmly established than elsewhere, you will find to-day in the whole of the East only three kings—the Shah of Persia, the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the King of Siam. There are, it is true, other kings dotted about here and there, but they are merely linnets singing in gilded cages. The whole of that vast organization which seemed to be so firmly founded has been swept into space.

What is all this due to? I think it has been due in the main to two causes. In the first place, it is due to the existence of the grotesque illusion that parliamentary institutions, which are essentially the outcome of Western thought and ideas, are suitable to Eastern peoples. (Hear, hear.) The decay of Asia began on the very day which saw the introduction of parliamentary institutions. It is not an exaggeration; it is a profound truth that I speak. Take the National Assembly at Angora —a body which affects to be not only a legislative assembly, but also to have executive powers, but which is being very properly put in its place by Kemal Pasha. The Persian Mejliss has had a history of lamentable vicissitudes. The Parliament of China only exists because it never meets (laughter), although you will see it gravely referred to in any work of reference as a part of the constitution of the country. The Legislative Assemblies with which we have recently endowed India cannot be said to have brought peace in their train. These Eastern nations have adopted experiments of Western origin, based on Western experience, and they have been, and will be, deplorable failures.

In the second place, the decay of Asia is due to an aggressive spirit of nationalism, which has received a great impetus from the war, partly racial in its origin, partly religious, and partly political, which has led these people to believe that they are not only as good as we,

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but better. They have seen in their contact with Western civilization its weaknesses, its foibles, its troubles, its disasters, and there has arisen in them the idea, based partly on a mistaken reading of their own history and partly on ignorance of world conditions, that they are capable of resuming the position they held in antiquity, and to recover for themselves the supremacy which they once enjoyed.

These are, I believe, the two main explanations of the terrible and lamentable collapse of Central Asia in the last quarter of a century. But here I come to the application of my reflections. Is there any hope for the future of Central Asia? I cannot make a confident prediction any more than anyone else at this table. Prophesying in Asia has always been a dangerous thing. (Laughter.) According as the Hebrew prophets prophesied on a larger or a smaller scale, so they were known as major or minor prophets. Both made mistakes, and to-night I am not going to array myself in the robe of either a major or a minor prophet. I cannot say how things are going to work out in the future, except that I think that, for the time being at any rate, the process will be downwards, not upwards. But in this area of chaos and dissolution there is yet one great dominion still intact, with its frontiers still untouched, one great Empire still, I believe, capable of exhibiting those virtues and setting that example which may help, if not to stay, at any rate to arrest the decline of Central Asia. I allude to the Indian Empire of Great Britain. (Cheers.) Here you still have British rule, although shaken, supreme; still you have the frontiers of India untouched by external invasion; still you have Englishmen devoting to their great work in the East the strength and substance of their lives. The duty imposed on us from on high still lies on the British race. Let us not take our hands from the plough.

Lord Winterton spoke despondingly about the work of England abroad and about the ignorance of these matters at home. There may have been some truth in his remarks. At the same time I should be reluctant to proclaim myself a pessimist in these matters. I see that things in India are not what they were. I see feelings, ambitions, and aspirations rising amongst the people that it will be difficult to satisfy without some sacrifice of our position and our greatness. I see the services which have brought about such astounding progress in India to some extent disheartened and discouraged. But now, ladies and gentlemen, is the time to brace ourselves together before it is too late. Believe me, no Englishman can perform a greater service now to his country than to devote himself to the re-establishment in Asia of that influence which has built up our strength and our reputation in the world. Let there be no dealing with unclean things in our work in that continent. Let us preserve our frontiers, keep our armies sufficiently strong to maintain the peace; let us support our services; let us teach our people that it is still worth while to go out there to labour, to struggle, to fight to maintain the high traditions of the

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British services in those parts of the world. In doing so you are not merely keeping the flag flying, and sustaining the honour and glory of England, but you are making a contribution to the stability of Asia, and to the restitution of a state of strength which seems almost for the time being to have disappeared.

I suppose I have not been making exactly an after-dinner speech except for the few remarks with which I began. But you must pardon me, because to me Central Asia and Asia generally mean much more than anything else in the world. I have devoted the greater part of my life to Asia, and it is a subject ever in my thoughts. I have written about little else than Asia, and you must forgive me if, even on a festive occasion, I have tried to convey to you the thoughts which are moving in my mind, and to get you to understand that Asia is not merely a continent where strong men make hazardous journeys under difficult conditions, but a focus of moral duty and responsibility. The work of the recovery of Asia rests upon us and upon our people, and we must attack it so that the blame for any failure may not be with us. It has given me the greater pleasure to have said so much about India as the pivot from which recovery can be made because of the presence of Sir George Lloyd (loud cheers), just back from Bombay. He is one of those young Englishmen who in every phase of public life have shown a keen interest in the external responsibilities of Great Britain, for which I have been pleading to-night. He is an intrepid traveller, a great authority on the East, and his heart is full of the ideas which I have been presenting. There came to him while still young the great opportunity to go out to Bombay, where, with the assistance, if I may say so, of his charming wife, Lady Lloyd (cheers), he enjoyed a popularity which has not been exceeded by any of his predecessors. In the sphere of administration he showed not only imagination but courage, and it is a great thing in the Government of India for the English administrator to have courage. He always stood for high ideals, and was prepared to sacrifice much for them. (Cheers.)

Sir George Lloyd, who was received with great applause, said: There can be no one in this room who will not sympathize with me upon having to speak immediately after the extraordinarily eloquent speech to which we have just listened. (Cheers.) Only in one respect can I withhold my support to what Lord Curzon said. My belief is that Lord Winterton was completely insincere in all he said as to Africa being of superior interest to Asia. (Laughter.) His own war exploits in Arabia are a telling refutation of what Lord Curzon termed his heresy. Lord Winterton has devoted keen attention to the problems of the Middle East and of India, and they have been the topic of many conversations I have had with him since my return to this country. There are no aspects of these problems in which he is not keenly interested, and it is only his provocative nature which led him to make the remarks Lord Curzon has criticized to-night.

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We are very fortunate in having Lord Curzon in the chair, for no one who has been closely identified with Indian administration will doubt that in that long and illustrious chain of statesmen who have held the viceroyalty of India, Lord Curzon still stands pre-eminent among them all. It was not, indeed, until I went to live in India that I at all grasped the colossal ubiquity of Lord Curzon's interest and activity in that vast peninsula. I found it difficult even as Governor of a Presidency to visit all the places of historic and administrative importance in Western India, but practically wherever I went, Lord Curzon had been before me: there was scarcely an ancient monument he had not done something to rescue or to preserve, no great national feature he had not personally observed, no act of vandalism that he had not checked. When one realizes that his spirit of penetration was confined neither to Western India nor to India as a whole, but had run its intellectual riot over a large part of Central Asia beside, one is amazed that anything of that energy was left to carry on the great Imperial tasks that have fallen on his shoulders in the hazardous days that span the close of his great viceroyalty and the present day. (Cheers.)

Some of us members of the Central Asian Society, fired, I think, by his example, have spent the best part and the happiest years of our life in Eastern travel and study. I began my wanderings in Morocco at the age of fifteen, and, with the exception of five or six years in Parliament, have spent all my working life travelling and working in the Middle East. I watched that amazing decade of struggle against the efforts of Germany to throw herself and her power athwart our land and sea communications to India. The days of the Drang nach Osten and of the Mittel Europa and Mittel Asien policies of Germany saw their result in the outbreak of the world war and in the tragedy of the events that drew Turkey—one of our oldest friends and allies—into the war against us without cause of quarrel or difference of purpose.

Throughout the period of my observation, the real basis of all our concern and the mainspring of all our policies and actions, were they in the Balkan legations, in Stamboul, in Persia, Baghdad, or Aden, or the Gulf, was the security of India and its economic welfare, nor without that consideration would British troops have been fighting almost at one and the same time in Macedonia, Gallipoli, Palestine, Sinai, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and East Africa.

The results of the war have secured unimpaired the strategic security of India, but, as Lord Curzon has eloquently shown, have shattered the stability and upset the balance of all those Eastern nations that flank India on its north and north-western approaches; and it seems to me that the tranquillity of these adjacent countries, and the relations between them and ourselves, is to-day the most important question confronting our Eastern policy. (Cheers.)

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In view of the changes taking place in India itself, it is of prime importance to us that India should not be an island in a sea of disturbed states round her, and it falls to our lot now as before to be the main factor in the pacification and resettlement of those adjacent territories. (Cheers.)

But the task is not easy: in Russia we have a Government who, up to the present time, have done all they could by virulent anti-British propaganda to stir up and foment discord between those we govern and ourselves. That this propaganda has not already had more serious effect is a great tribute, not only to the loyalty of Indians themselves, but to the loyalty and watchfulness of those great administrative Services for whom nowadays we seem content to do so little, and who have done and are doing so much for us.

In Turkey all has changed so rapidly that, as we have been reminded to-night, we can scarcely realize the immensity of the events or their bearing upon Eastern mentality. The old mainspring of Turkey's religious and secular life has recently been broken in the abolition by the Turks of their age-long Caliphate—and it would appear that the present Turkish leaders have decided to attempt to rebuild their country's fortunes upon a basis of secular nationalism. Of such stuff have most revolutions been made; but I am inclined to think that to that action there will be a reaction in due course, and that the river of popular thought and inclination will some day return to its old bed, leaving behind it, perhaps, some new and fertilizing silt where it has receded, but returning to the old allegiance. However this may be, one thing, at any rate, would seem to be clear—namely, that Turkey is not likely, unless all her past history has no meaning, long to be content with a purely Anatolian future. Her period of southward and Arabian penetration may or may not be terminated, but her amazing capacity for the absorption of other civilizations, from Byzantium to Chinese Turkistan and beyond, convinces me that the Turkish people, if for a few years they can keep the peace at home and repopulate their borders, will still attempt to play a large part in Asiatic and probably Central Asiatic affairs—this, too, in a manner which we would do well not to ignore in the early stages.

While, however, the present mood of Turkey's rulers remains unchanged, while her public debt remains repudiated, and while British traders are harassed in their most ordinary commercial dealings in Turkish territory, there is, perhaps, little to be done in that country. But I for one, who have a long and happy remembrance of the qualities of the Turkish people, do not believe that their exaggerated secularism or their ostracizing nationalism is more than a passing phase, and trust that when prudence and moderation return, England will, in accordance with a friendship that England, at any rate, never broke, be the first to assist Turkey in the formation of her

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new future. (Cheers.) That such relations between England and Turkey are necessary as a first step in the pacification of the areas that surround and influence India is, I think, clear.

But if we are interested critics of other nations in the East, is it not about time that we paused to consider how far we are at the present moment showing prudence and statesmanship in our own policy in the East? I confess to having returned from India a good deal exercised, not so much in regard to the particular structure of this policy or that (for where there is goodwill and accord in a mutual purpose almost any structure will serve), but more in regard to the uncertain touch with which we seem often to be handling the delicate position in India to-day.

Lord Curzon has demolished the theories of so-called advances in the constitution of Asiatic countries which have been made. There can be no question that even in India the ideas of democracy are alien to the people, being based on the fallacious belief in the existence of a national united Indian feeling, which has not yet come to birth. But we have to maintain our policy of constitutional development and to steadily carry on. I am one of those who believe that the reforms in India can still be made workable, and in a sense successful, given three things: the *first* is that the authority and power of the Central Government is not allowed to be impaired; the *second*, that the maximum rate of progress in constitutional development is laid down rigidly, adhered to, and not made subject to sporadic and intermediate revisions; and the *third*, that the Indianization of the administrative services is made more slowly than, and always subsequent in each stage to, any added transfer of political power.

My anxiety to-day is lest the reforms should risk a breakdown for lack of the observation of these essential conditions. In the first place, I think there is some evidence that the power of the central authority, its sureness of touch, and its power of decision has, to some extent, already been impaired under the reforms. (Cheers.) That in itself is a bad feature, for I think that progress in provincial self-government risks being retarded if the central authority is weakened, while, *per contra*, if it is maintained, the possibilities of orderly advance in the provinces is increased. In the second place, we seem to be on the eve of considering further constitutional changes (by one process or another) before we are halfway through the first experimental decade. That is unsettling to the minds of all concerned; it prevents those who are trying to work these reforms from settling down to their task; it hampers the formation of those bodies of constitutional opposition in the Chambers on which the success of the whole democratic system depends, and it adds to the unrest, not only of the politicians, but of the services, who never know from one day to the other what new changes are in store for them; and, lastly, we are failing, I fear, and this is the gravest matter of all, to arrest the break-up of these services

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through whose agency alone, in my view, have the reforms a real chance of success. (Cheers.)

In a word, therefore, I believe that most of the surface unrest in India is due to a belief in India that we do not know our own mind, and that our policy can be made alterable according as the gusts of newspaper or partisan demands indicate. As important in the East as the keeping of law and order is to make the public sure that you will keep it, and what is true in this domain is equally true in the domain of constitutional change. (Cheers.) Much of the distrust with which the politician of extreme views regards us in India to-day is, I believe, due to a lack of candour on our part towards their aspirations. They are not blind to the immense strategic and material importance which the position of India and its markets has for us; they believe, unnecessarily I think, that every step in the reforms must be a menace to our interests, and they are perhaps naturally reluctant to believe that, without constant agitation and pressure, we shall really honestly give effect to the policy to which we have pledged ourselves.

I believe it is essential to do all we can to dissipate this distrust, and I believe that much of it, at any rate, could be dissipated if we had the courage to speak more frankly on what does and does not conflict with British interests in India. (Cheers.) After all, there is nothing to be ashamed of in our desire and our duty to defend our own purely British interests in India, provided that we can do so without any detriment to the welfare of the peoples of India, and without standing in the way of the fair and reasonable aspirations of the various races and communities in India. I believe that if we were, in our relations with India, more frank in saying what can be done and what we will do to meet their aspirations, and equally frank in pointing out the limits of what can be done at any particular stage because of conflict with our legitimate interests in India, the next and most desirable process of thought in the minds of sane Indian politicians would be the perception that what is not in British interests in India may also not be in Indian interests, and that anything which risks the constitutional development of India under the sympathy and protection of Great Britain must, in the end, be more fatal to India than even to England. (Cheers.)

That a policy of courtesy, candour, courage, and consistency will bring better feeling and greater content may to some seem unduly optimistic, but five years—not very peaceful ones either—in India have convinced me so fully of the wealth of real loyalty and warm feeling that permeates the vast mass of the peoples of India, that I believe that it is the uncertainty of our policy that leads more than anything to the doubt and distrust of our intentions towards India's future. (Loud applause.)

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AN AUTUMN TOUR IN DAYLAM

I

THE ancient province of Daylam first comes to notice in post-Muhammadan times as the home of the independent Ziyarid dynasty, patrons of learning and letters from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh centuries. It is still more famous as the homeland of the contemporary but greater Buyid kings, who extended their conquests over Western Persia and remained the *de facto* rulers of the Moslem Empire (the degenerate Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad being mere puppets in their hands) until they went down before the Seljuqs in 1055.

Daylam is properly the name of the mountainous country at the south-west corner of the Caspian Sea, and the name survives to-day in the village and upland district of Daylaman, south-south-east of Resht in Persia. The coastal plain was called Gil or Gilan, but the name Daylam came to denote the whole province. To-day the process has been reversed, and the name Gilan is applied to the whole administrative area.

Geographically the district falls into three distinct zones: first, the coastal plain, with the sea-shore backed by a wellnigh impenetrable jungle and ordinarily referred to by the natives as Gilan in the primary restricted sense; second, the forest-covered spurs running out from the massif of the Elburz range northwards to the sea, and called in the local idiom *kulhat;* and third, the bare mountains, snow-clad in winter, and referred to simply as "the mountains" or *yailaq*, "summer quarters."

The name of Kuchik Khan Jangali was in the early post-war period familiar to all newspaper readers. His family is said to have belonged to a curious sect called the *kalleh buzi*, or "goat skulls," from the object of their peculiar cult, which is still alleged to survive in Rudbar. Kuchik's father migrated from Rudbar to Baghdasht in Siyahkalehrud, a district of Eastern Gilan, and here the future revolutionary ruler was born. The boy was sent to Resht to read theology. In the early days of the constitutional revolution Kuchik joined the Resht army, under Sardar Muhi, in the fight against Muhammad Ali Shah. Later he remained in Tehran without fixed employment until the Great War, when he fell into the hands of the pro-German party, and was sent with funds to the Kasma jungle west of Resht to organize attacks on the Russians. The Russian revolution supervened, the armies drifted away, and in 1917 we find Kuchik con-

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trolling Resht as the head of an organization called the Ittihad-i-Islam or Islamic Alliance, and in close agreement with German and Bolshevik agents. After a series of vicissitudes his band was broken up in March, 1919, by Persian Government troops, with British assistance. Kuchik himself remained at large in the protection of the impenetrable forest, and a succession of unjust governors of Resht soon drove his former followers back to the woods and to their outlaw chief, who thus again became a power to be reckoned with. This state of affairs continued till May, 1920, when the Bolsheviks from Baku landed at Enzeli, and were welcomed by Kuchik, who proclaimed himself Chief Commissar of the Persian Soviet Republic, with his capital at Resht.

On October 11, 1920, when we left Kazvin on our tour, the position was that Kuchik and some of his followers had quarrelled with the Bolsheviks and retired to the Kasma jungle, without, however, having come to any accommodation with the Persian Government. The Government troops had retaken Resht, but not Enzeli, which was still in enemy hands. A part of the British force based on Kazvin held the Kazvin-Enzeli road as far forward as Jubin, some thirty-five miles south of Resht.

II

Such was the country we proposed to tour. Our party consisted of the following: N——, whose first experience of Persian travel this was to be; myself, who flatter myself that I am an old hand; my servant Habib, a native of Zanjan, tireless and resourceful and a treasure on the road; Masim, an Indian trooper, to look after the horses; three *sowars*, or horsemen, hailing from the province of Khamseh, who happened to be in my employ. The chief of these *sowars* bore the pretentious title of Sharaf-al-Ashair, or Honour of the Tribes, but we christened him "Ole Bill," from a ludicrous resemblance to Bairnsfather's hero which we discovered the first day out; so Ole Bill he shall be to the reader. We hired four mules at nine krans each a day, with a muleteer, Qasim of Sulaimani, but Qasim never made himself an intimate member of the party, as muleteers sometimes do, nor did he make himself a nuisance, as muleteers also do at times: he was a neuter, and so will not appear much in the story.

Long experience of caravan travel has taught the Persian that it is useless to hope to make a long stage on the first day of a journey. The mules are sure to arrive late; some packing always remains to be done at the last minute; loading the animals takes an age until the packages have become familiar and the best distribution fixed; halters are forgotten, and a thousand other little delays will inevitably occur. He has therefore invented a process called *naql-i-makan*, or shifting of quarters—*i.e.*, he moves out a mile or two on the first day, only making a serious stage on the second. We compromised with this dilatory custom by sending out our caravan one afternoon to the village of

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Ismailabad, some four miles out of Kazvin, motoring out ourselves the following morning, and mounting at once for a full stage.

At Ismailabad we were joined by two Persian travelling companions, Mirza Nusratullah Khan, the son of a wealthy landowner of the district, and Shaikh Abu Nasr, of Lahijan, a learned scholar, who held the appointment of examiner in Persian at the University of Calcutta, and was about to revisit his native town for the first time after an absence in India of twenty-seven years.

III

The weather for the last week had been magnificent, but a sharp shower as we mounted at Ismailabad warned us that Providence is not always kind. Indeed, by the time we reached Alulak, a village of some forty houses, eleven miles from Kazvin, the rain was falling in torrents. As we ascended the Kamasar Pass a violent gale came to batter us with hail and drive the cold rain through our clothes to the skin. My "waterproof" might have been a sponge, my saddle seemed a receptacle specially made for the collection of cold water, my feet and hands were numbed till I could ride no longer, and was obliged to tramp through the slush to keep up my circulation. The pony, too, would plant himself firmly on all fours, hindquarters to the wind, refusing to budge. Terrifying peals of thunder crashed around us, the sound being bandied from hill to hill, while lightning zigzagged below us through the valley. So cold was it that three muleteers, fresh from the warmer climate of Gilan, collapsed just after passing us, and were picked up by our servants, who took them to a coffee-shop and succeeded in restoring two; the third, however, perished.

As we approached the end of the Kamasar ridge there was a sudden rift in the clouds, and we looked down into the deep Shahrud valley, with line after line of immense mountain ridges towering over it on the far side. Then the most perfect rainbow I have ever seen came out, with the comforting assurance of a limit set to what the deluge might do. Below to our right lay the little village of Dastgird, among groves of walnut and mulberry, a little blue dome relieving the monotony of flat mud roofs.

Dastgird belonged to the father of our travelling companion, Mirza Nusratullah Khan, so we were not grudged the hospitality which every traveller in Persia claims as a right. The *kadkhuda*, or village headman, hurried out and we were soon installed in a cosy little upper room, our eyes streaming with tears from the smoke as we sat over a blazing fire of thorns, drying our saturated garments one by one. The *kadkhuda* and his relations set tea, bread, cheese, and shelled walnuts before us, and then stood respectfully with hands crossed till invited to sit down, when they helped to dry our clothes.

The weather had cleared a little when we mounted the next

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morning. An hour and a half brought us to the river Shahrud, spanned by the one-arched brick bridge of Anbuh. The Shahrud is a broad river, varying in volume with the seasons and formed by the junction of streams from two valleys, Taliqan and Alamut. Alamut is, of course, the stronghold of the famous sect of the Assassins, the chief of an off-shoot of whom was known to the Crusaders in Palestine as the Old Man of the Mountain. The Shahrud runs through a narrow valley between the two immense ranges of Kamasar and Ammarlu, both part of the Elburz chain, and flows west to Menjil, where it joins the Kizil Uzun, or Red River. Their combined waters are then known as the Safid Rud, or White River, the ancient Amidus, whose alluvial deposits have formed the Gilan plain.

On leaving the bridge we passed along a rocky path through the lower gardens of Anbuh, and then commenced the formidable ascent of Safid Pushteh. Riding and walking alternately with a short change to a most precarious seat on the pack-saddle of a mule, we completed the steepest part of the ascent in a little over an hour to the gentler slope of Ispandchal. Thence the road runs up to the Layeh valley, through the little cultivated amphitheatre of Kangachal, up another slope, where there begin to appear blue-berried junipers (unaccustomed sight to eyes from the barren plateau), to the coffee-shop and small clear spring at Navakhan.

We halted here for an hour to lunch on rancid cheese and tea. Ten minutes' ride brought us to the cross roads, where a bridle path leading to Pir-i-Kuh takes off from the main path to Kalishum, the regular stage. A bitterly cold wind was coming over the hill, and three hours remained to sunset. A donkey driver came down the hill. "Content yourselves," said he, "with Kalishum; it is but one *farsakh* on and is a town where you will find every comfort. There lack three *farsakhs* to Pir-i-Kuh: the mountain is bleak and the wind bitterly cold. I myself left Pir-i-Kuh at dawn and am just arrived here. Attempt not to make Pir-i-Kuh to-night." Mirza Nusratullah, who was our cicerone, refused, however, to hear of it. He had sent word to Pir-i-Kuh and his relatives expected him. So on we went, rising ever higher till the mist that covered the mountain turned to drenching rain. For three hours we tramped—for it was again too cold to ride—over the bleakest of mountains, bare but for the round tufts of thorn so prized as fuel. The surface grew more and more slippery. Often we had to choose between diverging paths with nothing to guide us, till finally the one we had chosen seemed to come to an end. I was just looking round with that awful feeling of being lost when an *Imamzadeh*, one of those tombs of saints that are scattered with bewildering profusion all over Persia, loomed up through the mist. A small boy assured us we were on the right road, and the map showed the Imamzadeh Ibrahim on the direct road over the Turar mountain to Pir-i-Kuh. Thus doubly

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reassured, we pushed on for another hour, when night overtook us. We caught up some muleteers who bade us be of good cheer—Pir-i-Kuh was not far away. How we negotiated the slippery descent in the pitch darkness I know not. We were beginning to despair when two villagers, sent by Ole Bill, who had gone on ahead to announce our arrival, met us just in time to conduct us round a series of precipices to the village, soaked to the skin, cold and miserable. We then repeated the clothes-drying process of the previous day.

The caravan only arrived an hour later. All agreed that the muleteer had defaulted, but each of the Persians, Mirza Nusratullah, Habib, and Ole Bill (on behalf of his men, who, being tribesmen and *sowars*, must be superior to everyone else) claimed for himself the credit for bringing the ship to port.

Pir-i-Kuh is situated in the district of Ammarlu, and our host, another Nusratullah Khan, is chief of the Qubbehquranlu section of the Ammarlu tribe, which is said to have been brought here from Khurasan by Nadir Shah, the other sections being Shamqanlu, Bahadurlu, Shahqulanlu, and Baishanlu. The tribe supplies seventy horsemen to the Government for military service. The language, our host said, was just Ammarlui, neither Persian nor Turkish nor Tati (village patois). I asked him a few common words, which were enough to show, from the smattering of Sulaimani Kurdish I had picked up the previous year, that Ammarlui was a dialect of Kurdish.

Our animals were so tired that we decided to make a short stage the following day to Umam in the *yailaq* district of Sumam, some seven or eight miles away. We mounted an hour before noon and made our way down the valley to the Chakarud river, which we reached in an hour. It was now only eighteen inches deep, but the river is liable to spate. There is a beautiful green meadow and a grove of mulberry and walnut trees round the village that gives this section of the river its name. It is a curious and frequently puzzling circumstance in Persia that rivers, except the largest, seldom have one name throughout their course, but are called "the water of so-and-so," from the name of the nearest village. The Chakarud flows westwards in a wide valley, dividing the two immense bare ranges of Turar, our friend of the previous day, to the south and Natishkuh to the north. Snow had fallen on them during the night, a full month earlier than usual, and occasional rifts in the clouds showed them to be sprinkled with white. Pushing up the further slope, we passed the hamlets of Lalehjar and Siyahqulaq, and reached Umam in less than three hours from the time of starting. Behind the ridge we came up lies the village of Buyeh, the reputed home of the famous Buyid dynasty already mentioned. At Lalehjar I saw the most curious haystack I have seen, up in a tree.

Umam is the first village with distinctly Gilani architecture, though

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Pir-i-Kuh had one or two houses with sloping roofs. Here the houses are mostly in the form of a thick L, the ground-floor containing the wood store, stables, etc., while the upper story is built over rather less than half the lower story, the rest of its roof space forming an open verandah, generally railed in, or boarded up to two feet. Upper room and verandah are covered by a sloping roof, with the apex over the middle of the room. Walls are of stone and mud, or of bricks covered with mud, or of poles laid horizontally one above the other, with the interstices filled with mud. The roofs are curious, consisting of short lengths of plank laid tile-wise, and held in place by nails and stones. The houses of the *khans* or gentry are more pretentious, square, with windows looking out on all sides under projecting eaves. The village of Umam boasts a smithy, two butchers' shops, and a grocer.

Mirza Nusratullah welcomed us into his house, apologizing for the lack of comfort; the Bolsheviks had been through recently. Lunch consisted of boiled rice or *chilau*, surmounted by the burnt outer crust known as *tah-i-dig*, and a savoury *kebab* of small pieces of meat roasted on skewers.

Our march the following day was to be five and a half measured *farsakhs*, or about twenty-two miles, to Amlish, the home of Mirza Nusratullah. The road to the top of the Latakuh pass, also called Qulqumarz, is steep and exhausting, and the ascent was not rendered easier by the freshly fallen snow. But the morning was magnificent. South-eastwards the immense peaks of Jurdasht, Sumam, and Firuzkuh, their mantles of fresh snow glittering like diamonds, detached themselves from the bright blue of a cloudless sky. As we reached the summit of the pass we both exclaimed of one accord, "Thalassa! thalassa!" for there through a gap in the hills we could look down on the dark Gilan plain, and beyond the thin line of greenish-grey that was the Caspian.

Holly bushes begin to appear almost directly we commence the descent. The rushing burn of Chak Dasht and some rough ground to cross, and then at Sharam Dasht Dorah, about the third mile from the summit, we come to a few isolated beeches, sorry specimens, sorely buffeted for venturing to grow above their proper zone. Five miles further on the road forks to descend on each side of the spur, eastwards to Tabistan Mahall or Summertown, and westwards to Haludasht and Bulurdukkan. We follow the westerly branch, from this point trampled into a broad highway, though slippery with recent rain and the many springs that discharge on to it from the mountain side.

From Haludasht you get a delightful view on to the densely wooded spurs that run down from the great range towards the Gilan plain, stretching out in dark and light patches of forest or rice cultivation to the grey-blue sea. The Enzeli Murdab (literally "dead water"), far to the west, and other coast lagoons are clearly visible, and the

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shape of the shore line, as it suddenly sweeps south from the mouth of the Safid Rud, is as clearly defined as on a map. Behind us ever looms the great height of Sumam, covered with snow. The sky is still cloudless except out to sea, where float a few flakes no larger than a man's hand.

A stoutish, frock-coated gentleman and two black bundles rode up on donkeys. "We are going to the *yailaq*," he explained to Nusratullah Khan, "by the doctor's order, for my daughter has been indisposed." "The truth is," explained our companion in my ear, "that Master Arfa-ul-mulk has been too intimate with the Bolsheviks, and now that by God's grace Persian Government authority is about to be restored, he finds it prudent to migrate to the hills when honest folk are descending from the hills to the plain." And as they rode away amid the folds of the second bundle of black I espied the blooming cheeks of a beautiful girl.

The descent from Haludasht to Bulurdukkan runs through forest, with countless varieties of fern growing round the springs. It is extremely steep, and bears the eloquent name of Sineh Giryehkunan, or the "Scarp of the Weepers." Bulurdukkan, or the Crystal Shop, is simply a rest-house built by Nusratullah Khan's father as a half-way halting place between Umam and Amlish. We dismounted here for tea and a short rest.

"Master Shaikh Abu Nasr," said I, as we sat on the verandah, "you tie your turban like a Sheriat-Mudar" (propagator of the sacred law).

"I have never," he replied, "acquired the art of tying a turban. In Calcutta I used to pay a man a yearly fee to tie it whenever required. It got soaked in the rain yesterday, and I could only find a cleric to re-tie it; hence the style, for which I apologize."

"The fact is," remarked Nusratullah, looking at his ne'er-do-well young brother, who had joined us at Umam, and who at that moment was re-tying his turban on his knee—"the fact is that it is all the rascals of Persia that wear the turban, and it is they who have brought our country to its present pass."

The Bulurdukkan bridge of red brick collapsed in 1919, and the stream is spanned by a rough cantilever bridge beside it. A Gilak, whom I had not before noticed, came forward to lead my horse, and addressed me in a whisper:

"Sir, intercede for me with my master."

"What for?"

"I am culpable."

"But what is your fault?"

"Well, I am his servant, as my father was before me, but now I am culpable. For the sake of Allah intercede for me."

"But if I am to do that I must know what you have done wrong."

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"He is my master. My guilt is the usual fault of a servant towards his master. I have no one but God and your lordship. Intercede for me."

"And your name?"

"Musa."

"All right, Musa, I will, at any rate, make inquiries."

"May God grant your lordship long life."

The bridge crossed, we enter a typical jungle road, but it might be one of the glades of Arcady. It runs for several miles along the side of the gorge at varying heights above the Shalman river, rushing over a boulder-strewn bed. Beech, ash, sycamore, wild fig, box, feathery acacia on every side, here and there a tuft of hops, moss-grown rocks, ferns galore. Sometimes the road is well marked and easy, sometimes we scramble up precipitous rockeries, while every few yards tributary cascades come leaping down the mountain side, splashing from ledge to ledge and across the road down to the river. There are hamlets every few miles. The precise area of forest appertaining to each, though undelimited, is well known, and any encroachment frequently leads to bloodshed.

It was nearly sunset when we reached the plain. A little lady with her skirts hardily tucked up to her thighs warned us not to cross the river at the usual place, so we pushed on in the deepening gloom, along an appalling path, deep in mud, slippery, steep, with branches and brambles sticking out across it to catch the unwary.

Finally, we forded the river at Kuhlistan, and a few minutes later we were enjoying the luxury of tables and chairs under the hospitable roof of Nusratullah Khan.

"Welcome," said he; "whatever there is, is an offering to your Excellencies. Yet I must apologize for the poor reception you are receiving. Since the rise of the Jangali power the whole countryside has been ruined, and I myself have been driven from pillar to post. Once I was taken prisoner and fined three thousand *tumans;* my grain and rice stores have been looted on several occasions. My tea gardens, which, please God, I will show you to-morrow, have remained untended, and the bushes are choked with weeds. My relations, who have been fugitives from the Bolsheviks, only returned three days ago. I therefore crave your pardon for my very inadequate reception."

I mentioned Musa, my suppliant of the morning.

"Musa," he replied, "is the very servant I was telling you about at Umam, who suddenly turned Bolshevik, guided a band of miscreants to attack this house where you now sit, and forced me to flee to Tehran. Yet I wish him no ill—his family has been in our employ for generations and has received every kindness."

"There is no limit," interposed Ole Bill philosophically, "to the rascality of mankind. Why, only this afternoon, as we were riding

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through the forest, I met a notorious criminal from my native province of Khamseh. He had put on a black Saiyid's turban and is now living on charity, highly respected as a son of the Prophet. When I recognized him he implored me not to unmask him."

Hearing the facts, I withdrew any recommendation for Musa implied in my inquiry, but I heard later that Nusratullah Khan, out of respect for his guest, had taken no action whatever to punish his treacherous servant.

Amlish is a most attractive village, reminding one at every turn of England. It has about one hundred houses, lodging some two hundred families of the Sufi clan, that owns the district of Ranikuh, so it is above the average in prosperity. The houses scattered among the trees are of red brick, with overhanging wooden eaves, and roofed with the typical red tiling of Gilan. There are numerous greens where cattle browse, and chief among which is the *sabzimaidan*, a great meadow of common land, with the mosque under a great walnut-tree at the near end. There is a small bazaar with a score of shops: butchers; grocers, whose stock consists of bags of spices, half a dozen bottles of drugs, a packet or two of matches, and some eggs; two or three tailors working the ubiquitous Singer sewing-machine. Only such as have been condemned to spend years in the deserts of Mesopotamia or the arid tableland of the Persian plateau can imagine our delight at the sight of the emerald turf, and the fences, and even blackberry hedges and stiles.

We stayed the whole day to rest our animals, and from early morning we could hear the guns booming intermittently from the direction of Enzeli.

IV

Fording the Shalman river at Kalishtum we followed the jungle path, over the green carpet spread in the fretted shade of airy acacias, to Divshal, where the Munajjim Bashi, or Astronomer Royal of Persia, has a fine but neglected garden, and where we joined the main chaussée road that runs from Langarud to Lahijan. The road is raised well above the level of the ground and passes many villages, hidden for the most part, but marked by broad reservoirs and wide open spaces yellow with the aftermath of rice already harvested.

Our march this day was only twelve miles, and we reached Lahijan in four and a half hours. We had provided ourselves with a letter from Saiyid Ahmad Khan, a large landowner of the district, to his agent, and we were soon installed in a large house overlooking the *sabzimaidan*. The town was under martial law, and the Military Governor, Major Iqtidar-i-Nizam of the Gendarmerie, called on us, in accordance with Persian custom, in the afternoon. He was followed by the Chief of Police and other townsmen brought by politeness or curiosity. All day

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we could hear the guns at Enzeli. Cossack headquarters at Resht replied to our telephone message that all was well.

Lahijan is said to have over fifteen hundred houses, with a population of twelve thousand. It is an attractive, old-world little place. Very picturesque are its red-brick houses, with roofs of red tile and overhanging eaves. The walls are green with delicate maidenhair and daffodils grow along their tops. The moss-grown caravansarais seem strangely quiet, the backwaters rather than the busy centres of human activity. Many of the lanes are cobbled or roughly paved. The bazaar is not covered like its counterpart of the plateau, but the shops on each side of the street have overhanging roofs, and the paved road slopes inwards to a trough down the middle. Everywhere there are trees, and even in the centre of the cobbled market square stands a great walnut.

They will tell you that the Akbariyeh mosque is the finest in Lahijan, but it has been done up like a cheap Russian church, except for the minaret, which is still in red brick and nice enough. More attractive by far is the Sharbafan, or hair-weaver's mosque, as you see it through an arched gateway, or the Friday mosque in mid-bazaar, pointing its blue-tiled minaret to heaven. You must see, too, the tomb of the four kings, with magnificently carved wooden doors (early seventeenth century), though the best were taken by some vandal years ago. But the real pride of every Lahijani is the *sabzimaidan*, an immense green to the east of the town, with the *istalkh*, or reservoir, above. By the water of an evening the Lahijani will sit smoking his *qalyan*, while flighty little ladies, I fear, are not above meeting their favourite swains on the bank beneath the trees. Around the town stretch green meadows, such as you only see in England, and, beyond, tea and orange gardens dotted with country villas. Begirdling them is the darker green of the wooded spurs, and towering over all, like a diamond suspended over a design in ruby and emerald, snow-clad, luminous Sumam.

Lahijan, formerly the seat of petty dynasties, had, in recent times, been important as a centre of the Gilan silk trade, and a number of Greek firms were established there. But the industry had been killed by the war, and given no chance to revive owing to the internal troubles that continue to this day. The business premises stand deserted and ruinous. Of more recent origin is tea-planting. A certain Kashif-as-Saltaneh introduced the first bushes from India some seventeen years ago by order of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. Lahijan tea has a pleasant flavour, something between those of China and Indian teas. It sells in the Kazvin bazaar at twice the price of the imported article, though whether it fetches this price on account of its quality or only as a curiosity I cannot pretend to determine.

Two nights in Lahijan and then we fell on the road again, as the Persians say. Two hours sufficed to bring us to Langarud, a

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small town of 5,000 inhabitants, but of some importance as the port of Lahijan, and a commercial emporium for Eastern Gilan, for the Langarud river is navigable for small sailing craft. The town itself is perhaps a dull edition of Lahijan, but go down to the river and you see a different world—a two-arched bridge of red brick, another of one arch in cement, a coffee-shop, a bath, a mosque and a tomb of almost Chinese architecture, a rough timber viaduct, sailing vessels, called *karaji*, and light canoes, styled *nav*, moored to the bank.

After lunch, as the guests of the gendarmerie officer, we hired two *navs*, N—— and I taking the first and Habib and Ole Bill (who had to sing to keep up his courage on the unaccustomed element) the second. We paddled down the stream, through the jungle, where the alders grow right down to the river bank. Other *navs*, loaded down to the gunwale with reeds, pass laboriously up to Langarud; a *karaji* in full sail flaunts proudly past. An hour's paddling brings us out of the jungle to grassy flats. As we near the sea the river suddenly turns eastwards, and runs for two miles parallel to the sea, divided from it by a thin strip of land.

Chamkhaleh consists of a group of bungalows on the right bank, mostly belonging to the Russian Armenian firm of Liazonov, formerly the Persian Government's concessionaire for the Caspian fisheries. On the foreshore are oil tanks erected by Russian importers. Chamkhaleh is a *plage*, much frequented in summer by people from Rud-i-Sar and Langarud, where the air is notoriously bad and relaxing. At the mouth of the river were several Turkoman sailing ships, one wrecked during the recent storm. Turkoman sailors in their great round lamb-skin hats loitered about the shore, arguing in their guttural dialect of Turki with the unscrupulous Persian vendors of the shore.

Chamkhaleh belonging to his family, our friend Nusratullah Khan had come down specially from Amlish to entertain us in his caravan-sarai, and gave us a right royal welcome. Neither Habib nor Ole Bill had ever seen the sea before, and the following morning at sunrise I found the simple tribesman gazing meditatively out over the Caspian.

"Yes, indeed," said he, in reply to my question, "yes, I had seen the sea once before at Baghdad, but this sea is a far greater one than that."

We were only due at Rud-i-Sar that night, so paddled in the morning to the Chap marshes to shoot. We returned at noon in time for a delightful bathe in the sea before lunch and our short march through the now familiar jungle. An hour and a half's riding brought us to Shalman, where we had arranged for our animals, marching direct from Langarud, to meet us. A friendly crowd gathered during our brief halt, and a tall figure in white turban, the village school-master, begged that the distinguished strangers would inspect his school.

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Rud-i-Sar, a small town of 5,000 inhabitants, was the headquarters of the gendarmerie column garrisoning Eastern Gilan, under the command of an old Kazvin friend, Major Mahmud Khan Pouladine. A fortnight before our visit Rud-i-Sar had been bombarded from the sea by the Bolshevik cruiser *Trotsky*, and one old woman had been killed.

The commandant sent a troop two miles out to meet us, and greeted us himself on the outskirts of the town. It consists of thatched cottages, with a few more substantial houses, but the few weeks of military rule had already made their mark: the streets were clean, traffic controlled, and signboards fixed to guide the stranger through the town. We stayed the night with the officers, among whom was Sultan Ahmad Khan, who has the distinction of being the only Persian officer entitled to wear the British Military Cross. He had previously been in the Persian Cossack Brigade, and accompanied the detachment of Russian Cossacks who, in 1916, made a remarkable march through the Pusht-i-Kuh to Ali Gharbi on the Tigris. The men were entertained at Ali Gharbi, and the three officers presented at Basrah to the Commander-in-Chief, who decorated each of them.

Our friends rode out with us a short way the next morning, a compliment known in Persian as *badraqeh*. We crossed a curious wooden bridge, with a thatched roof, and a short canter over park-like country brought us to the sea. The sand was firm, and we could have made good time but for the countless streams and rivers that debouch along the coast. All these rivers have this in common—that like the Langarud river at Chamkhaleh they turn sharply eastwards as they reach the beach, and run parallel to the sea for a short distance, roughly proportionate to the volume of the river, from a few yards to several hundreds.

We had been riding some three hours when a terrific rainstorm came on and soaked us to the skin in a few minutes. Just beyond Chabuksar the mountains slope right down to the coast, and the jungle extends to within five yards of high-water mark. At 2.15 p.m. we reached the Safarud, a largish river, which was already in spate from the few hours' rain. The ford was impassable, and the almost empty village of Akhund Mahalleh, the population being still up in the hills at Javadih, could offer us no better shelter than an ordinary coffee-shop, kept by an alert, friendly little *qahvehchi* with henna-dyed beard, named Kerbelai Husain. The coffee-shop consists of two unequal platforms of beaten earth running the whole width of the room, and divided by a passage, some three feet wide, on ground-level. The platforms are matted, a carpet decorates the top end of the larger, at the lower end is a pile of pillows and *lihafs* or quilts. A dado of matting runs round the walls, which are further enlivened with strings of dried onions. At the top of the passage, opposite the door, stands the *qahvehchi's* altar—a dresser-like erection ascending in narrowing

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tiers. On the lowest is a heap of embers, warming two teapots and a *samovar*, on the others a broken clock, a lamp or two, a number of empty bottles, and broken lamp-glasses. Two or three wooden boxes containing a selection of opium pipes, some books (I picked up a volume of charm formulæ that apparently has a great vogue among the *habitués* of coffee-shops), a pair of scales, a cauldron, a suspended dish for melons, two or three chipped earthenware pitchers, kerosene oil tins for rice and spices, complete the furniture.

There was another guest already living in the shop, a decayed-looking individual in a suit of black and white check, an overcoat of rough local material, and a little felt hat of "townee" shape, sadly dented and cracked. He was dirty and unshaven, and in his glassy eye I detected the symptoms of the chronic opium-smoker. He was, he said, a trader in a small way at Resht; he had come to Akhund Mahalleh to collect debts, but had made little progress. I shall call him Mirza Ali.

We sat over the brazier and took off all our clothes in turn to dry them, for our caravan with all our changes of raiment had been held up by floods some miles back and did not arrive that night. Kerbelai Husain and Mirza Ali helped us to hold the garments over the fire, moralizing the while on the decay of Persia, the corruptness of its rulers, and its undeveloped wealth. The conversation was varied, for the encouragement of Mirza Ali, with anecdotes illustrating the awful fate of those who attempt to evade payment of their debts. We then all dined together, eating with our fingers off a tray containing two plates of boiled rice, some fried eggs, and a herb omelette. After dinner, sure enough, Mirza Ali selected an opium pipe from the box. "I am presuming," he said. "It is my misfortune. If God grants me a safe return, I propose to take medicine which, please God, will cure me."

Then the quilts were produced and we lay down side by side, myself, N——, and Mirza Ali. I slept the sleep of the just. N—— was kept awake by visitors, which he fondly imagined to be fleas, but proved, on closer examination next morning, to be something very different.

The river was fordable next day, and half an hour's ride brought us to the well-known sulphur springs of Ab-i-Garm in Tunakabun, bubbling up in a large pool of chalky-looking water, about as hot as one can bear it. We had scarcely mounted after our bathe when the rain came on again, and we repeated our experience of the previous day, though we managed to reach our intended destination, Shahsuvar, at 4 p.m., and received a hearty welcome from the gendarmerie officers stationed there.

The following day was beautifully fine, and our caravan, from which we had been separated for two days, arrived in good time. "Praise be to God," said Habib, "we have arrived without hurt, but your

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Excellency was near suffering a double loss. For as we attempted to cross the torrent of Chabuksar one mule was carried away, and I, your servant, was nearly drowned in hauling him back to shore. But Allah had mercy and we have reached your presence in safety."

The river at Shahsuvar was rushing down to the sea in a tremendous torrent, and the whole of the local population seemed to have turned out with drag-nets for the salmon which swim up in especially large numbers on such occasions. A few hundred yards up-stream there are salmon traps which are let out on hire annually for a large sum.

A bathe in the sea, followed by a dip in one of the smaller fresh-water rivers flowing parallel to the sea, a delightful laze on the shore, and then, after lunch, a short ride to Khurramabad, three or four miles inland.

Khurramabad, or Smilingtown, is the chief town of the district of Tunakabun, which, with Kalaristaq and Kujur, forms an independent administrative area called Mahal-i-Salas, generally independent of the Governors of both Gilan and Mazandaran. Most of Tunakabun belongs to Sipah Salar, the hero of the constitutional revolution and veteran Persian statesman. The district is particularly rich—producing cotton, rice, tea, oranges, limes, and lemons in large quantities. There is excellent trout as well as salmon fishing. Akram-ul-Mulk, grandson of Sipah Salar, had come from Khurramabad to Shahsuvar to meet us, and entertained us that night in his orange garden.

Our march the next, a beautiful cloudless, day took us again along the sea through delightful park-like country, with soft, springy turf underfoot. Autumn crocuses peeped up everywhere, and luscious black-berries tempted us to risk the thorns as we rode by. To our left the green crisping sea broke with a gentle murmur on the shore, and the soft air, neither too warm nor too cool, invited us to laze and bathe and bathe and laze for ever. Down on the coast you get a matchless panorama of the western end of the Elburz, with Sumam, Pish Kuh, Dagh Kuh, Siyalan, Takht-i-Sulaiman, frowning down on the dark spurs that slope to the sea.

During this march I saw the only beautiful cemetery I have ever seen in Persia, for here they bury their dead in this open park, under the turf, and mark the grave with daffodils and lines of white stones.

At Abbasabad a lunch of *pilau* (savoury rice), omelette, and chicken awaited us. Disregarding all warnings that we could not reach Nur-i-Sar that night, we pushed on, but we soon found ourselves in difficulties in tracing the fords of many rivers that crossed our path. Our guide, a queer little man, with an iron-grey beard and a gentle smile, who kept up with us somehow on his saddleless nag, finally confessed that he was a perfect stranger (*balad niyam*), and that he had been forced to come by the headman of Abbasabad. His ineptitude and

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habit of constantly stopping to expectorate worked Ole Bill up to a frenzy. "Come on," said he, "get done with thy spitting. Verily this journey thou hast produced nothing but spittle. God is witness that even if thou knowest not the way to Nur-i-Sar, thou knowest well enough the way to spit."

We reached the neighbourhood of Nur-i-Sar soon after sunset, but it took us forty minutes to find a way through the thicket to the house of Kadkhuda Iskandar, the village headman. He was not in, nor had our letter announcing our arrival reached him. However, Ole Bill, his felt cap rakishly set on one side of his head, started ordering the ladies about, and the principal room was quickly emptied and carpeted. Even after we were settled in Ole Bill continued his vociferations. "I know," replied he to my order to desist, "that this is not your Excellency's way, but if one doesn't shout at them one can get nothing done. It is we who have the task of settling you and ourselves and the animals in, and procuring food and fodder, so I have to shout at them to make them pliant and ready to do things."

Kadkhuda Iskandar's house was a typical example of forest village architecture. The floor, made of beaten earth, is raised a foot or two above ground-level. There are two rooms, but these do not occupy the whole platform space, being built three or four feet in, and so leaving a verandah on the front and two sides. The whole is surmounted by a steep thatched roof, often more than half the whole height of the house. The roof is further supported by a single, or occasionally a double row of roughly-hewn poles. Between the room walls and the poles, half-way up, a platform may run round part of the building, affording additional space for humble travellers or for stores. If there is a double colonnade, the lower part of the outer one may be used for temporary stabling. In some parts a small high platform is built a few yards away from the house to take the place of the flat roofs of the plateau for sleeping in the hot weather. The rice is also stored in an elevated granary with a heavily-thatched roof.

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The following morning, after another hour and a half along the coast, we regretfully said good-bye to the sea, and turned inland at Sardabrud (cold water river) to follow the road up the Chalus valley due south. The road was made in the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Shah by an Austrian engineer, to facilitate that sporting monarch's hunting trips. The scenery through the forest zones closely resembled that through which we had come at the beginning of our journey, though the autumn tints, for it was now October 24, were beginning to vary the interminable green, and the road crossed and recrossed the river several times by picturesque bridges. You do not ascend 6,000 feet

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without effort, and never have I found the vagueness of Persians on the subject of distance more exasperating.

We stopped the night at Marzanabad, after a march of eleven hours, which brought us clear of the forest zone. The following day we had to negotiate a most terrific ascent, known as Hazar Cham, or the Thousand Turns. For over two hours we struggled up the zigzag path of the almost perpendicular mountain of Kalarak, pausing at frequent intervals to recover our breath, an indulgence the horses required as much as ourselves. Looking down thousands of feet into the deep chasm we could see a little ribbon of white, which was the stream; the gorge was full of floating cloud, rising and sinking, sometimes hiding the whole view, sometimes unveiling the mountain peaks sharply silhouetted against a clear blue sky.

Numerous pedestrians descending to the Gilanat passed us, and as they went by they would greet us kindly with the approved formula, *Khuda quvvat bidihad*—"God give you strength." *Salamat bashid*—"May you be preserved," we would pant back, and press on upwards, encouraged in no small measure by the good wishes of these humble folk. They were mostly Gilanis, distinguished by their tight trousers, small felt hats, and leather shoes all of a piece, returning to the plains, or poor peasants from the rocky valleys of Taliqan and Alamut, going to the low country to earn a wage as labourers during the winter which would isolate their homes. Stoutly they would trudge, the women copper-faced, with red skirts and shirts and handkerchiefs, always ready, men and women alike, with their greeting, "Peace upon you." The richer Gilanis have, perhaps, their ponies and donkeys or a cow or two. Others carry all their worldly belongings in a sack on the end of a stick or balanced on the women's heads. Few families have not a fowl or two attached somewhere, sometimes in the woman's waist-belt. And now we begin to meet the Persian from the plateau, with his round-topped felt hat, roomy black trousers, *qaba*, or coat, descending to the knee, of butcher's blue, held to by a white woollen waist-band, *givehs*, or shoes, of woven cotton with rag soles. He slouches sulkily by, never by any chance offering the customary greeting, and mumbling an ungracious reply to your *salam* if you offer it first. At the top of the pass we met a gipsy family, wretched outcasts, resting their weary animals, the black tent and household effects thrown on the ground.

An hour's descent and we passed through a short tunnel in the mountain with a carving representing the prowess of Nasir-ud-Din Shah at the chase, and another fifty minutes brought us to our stage, Valiabad, a village of fifteen to twenty houses perched up on the mountain-side about three-quarters of a mile from the road. Here we were soon reminded that we had left the friendly atmosphere of Gilan behind, and that we were now on a main road where courtesy to

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strangers is no longer the rule. Ole Bill, who went ahead as usual, was informed that the headman, Rahmatullah Khan Bulukbashi, was away; the guest-house was available, but the animals must be stabled in an open arch. On arrival, I soon established that Ole Bill's informant was the Bulukbashi himself (I cannot think why he had to lie), and that there was a suitable building for the animals close by. Bulukbashi objected in turn that—(1) the building was only suitable for cows, (2) it belonged to others, (3) the key was not available, (4) the building was full of things, and (5) it was too low for horses. I took him aside and finally, with some difficulty, persuaded him to have the stable opened. A few moments later he was standing on the roof roundly abusing the villagers (our most stubborn enemies being two women, of whom one was distinctly handsome) for their lack of hospitality. "Dogfathers, curses on your mothers. Ye ought to eat shame to show this poor hospitality to such distinguished strangers as these. Yea, ye should be glad to make room for fifty such honourable strangers, and will ye quarrel with me for eight years over opening a stable door?"

Having discharged his duty as host with this bad grace, he took himself off and came neither to talk nor to share our meal as ordinary courtesy would have dictated. Instead, he deputed a sour-visaged little man named Saifullah (who asked for a bottle of whisky, this drug having been prescribed by the doctor for his mother, who suffered from pains in the stomach) to cater for us and charge double the usual rates in the name of the absent Mr. Jorkins.

Our next day's march took us for four hours over a good road, through the mountains grown with shrubs, to the foot of the Kandavan pass, which took us three hours to cross, two up and one down. An uninteresting road, varied only by one waterfall, led past the typical plateau villages of Gachisar and Shah Pul, picturesque with their poplars already turned a particularly bright buttercup yellow, walnuts of a darker hue, and the tender green of the newly-sprouting winter sowing of wheat and barley, to Nisa. Here we hired a small house, and halted the next day to go out stalking with a picturesque *shikarchi*, who showed himself as nimble as a goat in spite of his fifty years, and who usually manages to bag something with his old muzzle-loader. We were not fortunate, but got within 100 yards of a small herd of ibex towards sundown. However, our inexperience caused us to miss the psychological moment, and we saw them no more.

From the map, we decided that the following day we would leave the main road to Tehran at Shahristanak, and cut over the mountains to a place marked as Imamzadeh Daud, leaving only half a day's march to the capital the following day.

Two hours after mounting the next morning we turned east from the main Shahristanak stream (celebrated for its excellent trout fishing).

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We were caught hereabouts in a terrific hailstorm following a tremendous clap of thunder. At noon we passed Shahristanak, a large but ruinous village amid extensive cultivation and poplar and walnut groves, and turned south along a precipitous path over the hill. Then the hail came on again, accompanied by a freezing wind that chilled us to the marrow and cut short our breath as we faced it. We reached the top at 2 p.m., and just as, three weeks earlier, we had cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" we now cried, "The plain! the plain!" as we caught sight of the level *dasht* stretching south to Kuh-i-Jaru, or Broom Hill, and east to the Khamseh mountains. There, at least, we should have no rain or cold or hail or perpendicular hills to make life miserable.

At Imamzadeh Daud, which we reached at five, we found that we had been misinformed and that there was no accommodation. We were obliged to establish ourselves under an archway in the courtyard of the shrine. The guardian was a friendly old man and brought us fuel and two carpets. "Your Excellencies," he said, "will of course remove your shoes before treading on the rugs, for, after all, they are from the sanctuary. The saint who lies buried here is Daud, son of Imad, son of Jafar, son of Nuh, son of Aqil, son of Hadi, son of Zain-ul-Abidin, grand-nephew of the Prophet, may the blessing of God be on him and his family."

With fires and plenty of bedding we passed an unexpectedly comfortable night. We mounted at seven to follow an excellent road up the mountain-side. Three-quarters of an hour later we commenced the final descent, reaching the coffee-shop and poplar-groves of Yunjeh-zar at nine. From here a stream, with many small waterfalls, flows for about three miles through a picturesque gorge green with willows. Then all verdure disappears and the stream is lost in the shingle. At half-past ten we could see Tehran across the stony plain.

By one o'clock we were lunching in the city with our friend M——. "You presumably do not know," said he, when he had penetrated the disguise of our bristling beards, "that the Bolsheviks re-took Resht on October 22, four days after your departure from Lahijan. The Persian army has for the time being ceased to exist as a fighting force, and it is the British troops who are barring the road of the Red Army to the capital."

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AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS IN ALLUVIAL IRAQ

ALLUVIAL Iraq comprises roughly the stretch of territory that at one time constituted the kingdom of Babylonia essentially dependent on a highly complex system of perennial irrigation, in direct contrast to the rolling, rain-fed downs to the north which once formed the ancient kingdom of Assyria.

Many of the problems which the present-day agricultural scientist has now to face in Iraq have their origin in what took place in remote ages, from Babylonian down to Abbaside times.

First and foremost amongst these problems must be placed that of accumulated salt deposits, resulting from perennial irrigation, carried on for centuries and suddenly stopped after the destruction of the essential river barrages by invading Mongol hordes.

The inquiring observer of the relics of these ancient canal systems of Iraq cannot fail to be struck by the fact that whereas ample evidence exists of the canals which brought the irrigating water from the Tigris and Euphrates, there would appear to be no evidence whatever of any system for the disposal of surplus drainage water, without which any modern system of perennial irrigation is generally considered bound to fail.

One is compelled to ask, therefore, which is the more probable: Did the irrigators of ancient times make provision against the accumulation of alkaline deposits, or did they adapt their system of agriculture to deal with a fairly high percentage of alkali in the soil?

The writer inclines to the latter theory, based on the following observations:

We now know that—owing probably to the fact that both Tigris and Euphrates, before emerging on to the alluvial plain of lower Iraq, pass through tracts of country very rich in gypsum—the dreaded black alkali (due to sodium carbonate) occurs little, if at all, in the soil, any salinity present being mainly due to chloride and sulphate of soda.

Like the rivers in the lower parts of their courses, the main perennial canals of ancient times, such as the Nahr Melcha, Nahr Īsa, Nahrwān, and Dujailah gradually came to flow along a "causeway of their own making,"* as a result of continued deposition of silt; this resulted in the creation on either side of these canals of well-defined flanking bands of soil saturated by seepage from the irrigation water flowing along them; by continual seepage and evaporation over long periods of time these flanking belts of soil became so saturated with

* Evelyn Howell, C.I.E., C.S.I., *Quarterly Review*, January, 1922.

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"alkali" that even at the present day and in the height of summer one encounters the extraordinary phenomenon of these broad belts of alkaline soil kept moist, and even wet, by hygroscopic moisture extracted from the atmosphere at a time when the surrounding condition is that of a parched and dust-laden desert.

Present-day agricultural practice in the country, if not actually based on Babylonian tradition, has probably changed very little since the days when perennial irrigation flourished and before the river barrages were destroyed; this present-day agricultural practice has a sovereign remedy against alkali in soils not originally too hopelessly saline in the guise of organic manure. Tradition says: "Es smād yiktil es sabkhar" (Organic manure kills alkali); and several instances have been observed by the writer in which this tradition has been acted on with success. The mode of action of this remedy would appear to be largely, if not entirely, physical; by loosening the texture of the surface soil, organic manure prevents caking and cracking of the surface, and that rapid desiccation, which concentrates dissolved salts in the upper layers of the soil, so characteristic of irrigated soils not so treated; the organic manure thus acts by diffusing and preventing concentration of alkaline and other salts, which are not among those most toxic to plant life, and can thus be borne by a crop with comparative ease if not allowed to become too concentrated.

Another present-day practice that possibly throws light on those of the ancients is that of growing winter crops only on certain lands which show distinct signs of alkali during the summer; it is found that early winter rains will wash down excessive salts sufficiently to allow of the germination of such seeds as wheat and barley, and that these salts can be kept down sufficiently, by further winter rains and a final irrigation or two before evaporation becomes intense, to allow a useful crop to mature. Such lands are, however, rarely cultivated through the summer, as by that time the relentless sun has sucked all moisture back to the surface, and left any dissolved salts again deposited on the soil.

Inasmuch as freedom from alkali concentration under present conditions depends very largely on thorough surface cultivation and a plentiful manuring with organic matter, a heavy handicap to the agriculturist exists in the fact that it is by no means uncommon for soil to contain up to 16 per cent. of lime; one can imagine, therefore, the rapid oxidation and dissipation of organic matter that goes on in a soil containing such an amount of lime, cultivated through a six months' summer from April to October, with a daily maximum temperature rarely under 100° F. and often nearer 110° F. Lucerne and berseem (*Trifolium alexandrinum*) luckily flourish under these conditions, however, and the ploughing in of these crops before a sowing of an important summer crop such as cotton, offers a promising remedy.

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Under Babylonian and other pre-Mongol conditions, when the whole country between the southern marshes and the Median Wall was under perennial irrigation for periods of hundreds of years at a time, it is obvious that the permanent water-table throughout the country was, at any rate, within 15 or 20 feet of the surface, if not closer, and that the phenomenon now showing itself in the Punjab of seepage water from the soil up-country gradually finding its way back to the river channel lower down and reinforcing periods of low-water supply was then operative in the courses of the Tigris and Euphrates. It is probably to this factor of the whole soil water and its dissolved salts being kept circulating by seepage and return to the rivers at lower levels that we must look for an explanation of the apparent ability of the cultivators of ancient times to carry on for lengthy periods a system of irrigation and agriculture that entailed no system of drains as we know them to-day.

The destruction by Mongol invaders of the barrages supplying these ancient canal systems of alluvial Iraq must have caused the whole country to wilt and shrivel like a plucked leaf. The canals ran dry, and in the absence of a continuing supply of seepage water from the beds of the main canals the water-table over the whole country must have fallen rapidly to about present-day levels, which may—as midway between Baghdad and Baquba—be as low as 200 feet below the soil surface in the summer. At the same time evaporation at the soil surface brought up, and concentrated on the surface, quantities of alkaline and other salts.

The problem confronting the modern re-cultivator of these soils is that of the means to get rid of these salts concentrated on the surface without having to wait till the rise of the water-table over the whole country again provides a medium for their subterranean diffusion and gradual removal *via* the river valleys or other natural and artificial depressions.

In drainage, it may be taken as an axiom that "drains fill from beneath"*: while the permanent water-table is anything from 60 to 200 feet below the surface of the soil, therefore it is useless to dig drains 10, 15, or even 20 feet deep, for—having dozens of feet of porous earth beneath them—they will never flow sufficiently to provide a medium for the removal of alkaline drainage water to any distance: diggers of trenches in that country in the unhappy days of war will testify to the effect of one winter's rains in silting up a ditch: this means a yearly silt clearance of any drain dug, and, unless that drain has flowed pretty freely, the yearly silt clearance means a deposition of silt rather more alkaline than usual along the banks of the drain; in other words, the would-be drainer has got no "forrarder."

* *Cf.* G. S. Henderson, "Practical Salt Land Reclamation." 1920. Indian Agricultural Department.

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On the other hand, irrigation water applied to these soils in summer will sink a certain distance, but will not nearly attain connection with the permanent water-table far below; unless the surface soil is kept well and deeply cultivated and pretty well supplied with organic matter, it will soon cake and crack and allow the sun to pull back to the surface any salts that may have been carried down by the irrigation water.

And the moral of all this is what? As the writer sees it, in opening up alluvial Iraq to cultivation once more, while provision should be made for drains against waterlogging that may be required in the future when a general scheme of irrigation has raised the permanent water-table throughout the country high enough to enable it to be tapped by drains not exceeding about 15 feet in depth, nevertheless, until that time has arrived, it is little worse than useless to dig drains that cannot flow, as they cannot "fill from beneath."

Until the permanent water-table has risen sufficiently to enable it to act as a diffusing medium down to which percolating irrigation water can carry dissolved salts beyond possibility of retraction by the sun in any dangerous strength, then these soils, even though not dangerously alkaline at present, want very careful cultivation in summer: extensive cultivation of these soils with inadequate labour, using a large quantity of water to make up for lack of cultivation and manure, can, in the writer's opinion, lead only to disaster: he looks upon them as soils only cultivable with profit in summer by intensive cultivation, very careful irrigation, and a continual and copious supply of organic manure.

C. R. WIMSHURST.

An apology must be offered for the somewhat scanty material published in this copy of the "Journal." After being sent to print a most interesting and complete note on the routes followed by the various invaders of India from the west and the north-west has unfortunately had to be withdrawn, but it is hoped that it may be published in an even more complete form at a future date. Its great value lies in that it seems to clear up some widely held misapprehensions regarding these routes.—R. G. E.

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REVIEWS

FOREIGN BOOKS

STURM ÜBER ASIEN. By H. Filchner. Berlin: Neufeldt u. Henuis.

Herr Filchner has given us a book which not only demands, but deserves consideration from several points of view. Primarily it is a succinct and consecutive description, written in the form of a series of adventures of one Zerempil, of the political history of Mongolia and Tibet, with respect to Russia, Great Britain, and China, between 1899 and 1923. Zerempil, the hero, is a Buriat, a disciple of Aguan Dorji (Dorjieff), and like him a servant of Russia, devoted to Russian interests.

Incidentally the book gives us a clue to an episode in Russian intelligence reconnaissance in Central Asia. A large valley exists in the middle Kuen-Lun, which the present writer had the fortune to traverse, in 1918, with a patrol. The valley appeared to be unexplored hitherto, but inquiries showed that in the late nineties a certain Bogdanovitch had entered its mouth and mapped a portion. Herr Filchner now tells us that Bogdanovitch was Zerempil's very appropriate *nom de guerre*. Zerempil's presence in this valley of Chup can hardly have been other than clandestine and anti-British in its orientation.

This makes us deplore the neglect and decay of the corresponding British organization that was of so much value in the past.

The main theme, then, from the point of view of world politics, that runs through the book is Russia's century-long struggle for a stronger foothold on what the author graphically calls the northern "glacis of the fortress of India." We trace this on from the Russian intrigues and Dorji's gun-runnings that led up to the Tibet Expedition. Here we have Zerempil with his master, and a picture of the campaign and the political moves seen through Lamaistic spectacles.

We see the repercussion of the Treaty of Portsmouth on the upshot of that remote conflict. Then we learn much of the influence of Urga, followed by the long struggle for freedom from the Chinese yoke, on the part of the followers of both the Hutukhtu and of Tobdan Lama.

In the person of Teramoto we encounter a Japanese influence at work in the home of Japanese faith. One chapter gives us a vivid and exciting picture of the siege of Sanpiling monastery and the bloody massacres that followed on General Chao's successes. A hint is given of the ill-feeling between secular and religious leaders in Tibet itself, then the story is brought right up to date by a description of the results

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of the Chinese Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the exploits of that adventurous descendant of the Teutonic knights of the Baltic shore, Von Ungern Sternberg, followed by Kozloff and a picture of the "Red" Mongolia of 1923. So much for wars and policies. Zerempil's adventures tell us more than of Russian progress against England. They tell us of the religious, or rather, to Western Christian (and Moslem) minds, the superstitious, link that binds not only Mongolia to Tibet, but also Japan, China, Siam, Cambodia, Burma, Nepal, and the Kalmuks and Buriats of Red Russia. Perhaps it even influences the probably Shamanistic brain of our friend Trotski, and his recently Judaized Khazar colleagues.

Filchner omits, however, to answer the riddle of the transformation of the essentially simple monotheistic faith, so much akin to Protestant Christianity, to primitive Islam, and to the teaching of the Gurus of the characteristically Nordic Gautama and Asoka, into the demonism, the elemental superstitions, the priestcraft, the artificial rituals, the Feng-Shwei, and the sorcery which to-day grips the Mongoloid world from the Yellow Sea to Finnmark and outlives Tsongkapa. The author does not explicitly allude to the racial point of view of the theme he deals with. His pages, however, support those who see a race consciousness or racial instinct underlying every great upheaval of peoples and the race wars that go to make world history.

His atmosphere breathes the other world, the Laputa, that the Mongoloid peoples live in, the peoples that can never cross the gulf which separates them from the occidental, whether of Western Europe or of the Islamic countries.

The book should most certainly be read and digested by every student of that inner Asia of the Mongoloids that is not really Asia at all, that is if Scythia of the Scandinavians and Goths is Asia, as Kingley's "As-Gard," the Guard or Garth, of Asia would lead us to think.

Excellent maps are provided, which do not, however, open clear of the text. The illustrations are not worthy of the book. The printing is very good, and the type is large and Roman. L. V. S. B.

"Ce Que J'ai Vu en Orient." Mesopotamie—Palestine—Syrie—Égypte—Turquie. Notes de Voyage, 1923-1924. By R. Laurent-Vibert. Paris, 1924.

Mr. Laurent-Vibert is a Frenchman who served at one time with the French detachment included in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force during Lord Allenby's operations in Palestine and Syria. In his book Mr. Laurent-Vibert writes in a strain which cannot but be particularly pleasing to his British Allies, when it is remembered how often since the war Frenchmen who served in the Eastern Mediterranean were at

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loggerheads with their British comrades. At the same time it should not be thought that one is trying to absolve all British officers from similar feelings towards their French colleagues. Such feelings have resulted in books being written in English and French showing unseemly animosity between various individuals of the two allied Powers. It is, therefore, all the more refreshing to read these pages containing opinions based upon a loyal understanding of British as well as French interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The author would appear to be gifted with the faculty of grasping rock-bottom essentials of many of the various complex problems of international politics which abound to-day in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Turkey. The book is not a profound study of these questions, but gives the author's personal opinions on the situation as it has developed in the Middle East since the Great War, and his purely personal ideas for a solution of the problem of establishing a practical working peace in these countries.

In the short preface Mr. Laurent-Vibert states that his travels in the spring of 1923 and that of 1924 in the Levant should be regarded only as fleeting visits to the countries in question, and that "A aucun degré, ce petit livre ne peut s'appeler une enquête. Ce n'est qu'un tour d'horizon, d'un horizon obscurci de rancunes, de haines, de confusion, de désordre, de déraison, à peine traversé çà et là de quelques rayons de sagesse et d'espérance."

He goes on to say that he does not pretend to be impartial in his views, but that he looks upon these questions as a Frenchman, and from the point of view of French interests. In spite of this avowal one cannot help admitting—as an Englishman with some knowledge of these complex questions—the fairness with which the author looks upon British interests in these same countries. The book is naturally written for the information of the French public, particularly for such persons as are interested in the Levant, where French moral, religious, and artistic influences have been predominant for centuries past; but one cannot too strongly recommend the inhabitants of these Islands who are interested in Middle East politics to study these pages. In certain passages the author takes French statesmen and politicians to task for their ignorance of French history as concerned with these countries, and supposes that it is this ignorance which has been the cause of what he considers to be the various political errors committed by French statesmen in dealing with the questions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

In the first chapter Mr. Laurent-Vibert deals with the situation as it is to-day in Egypt, and is of the opinion that although apparently giving emancipated government to the Egyptians, Great Britain is consolidating more than ever her hold on the Suez Canal and on the Sudan. He points out that French interests in Egypt would

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better be served by supporting the British policy there than by intriguing against it, a point of view which is not very often realized by his countrymen.

The second chapter deals with Zionism, while the third is devoted more particularly to French interests in Jerusalem. The author thinks, like most of his countrymen, that the mandate for Palestine should have been entrusted to France, whose claims, moral and spiritual, had been uncontested by almost all the other great Powers up to 1914. Only Russia had endeavoured to increase her influence in the Holy City at the expense of France. He considers that British interests, as regards immunity from attack of the Suez Canal and security of the air route to the East, could be amply safeguarded, while, at the same time, France could be permitted to have the predominant influence amongst the many religious bodies who have always considered her as the protector of Christianity, and to whom Jerusalem is the birthplace of their Faith.

In the next chapter the author deals with the French mandate of Syria, and endeavours to show that both French and Arab interests would be better served were the mandatory system as promulgated by the League of Nations to be abolished, and the normal Protectorate administration adopted in the letter as it already is in the spirit. A fact that he notes is the lack of interest with which all Syrians regard the question of recruiting for a National Army, and he very rightly insists that it would be folly to evacuate Syria at the termination of the mandatory period without first having established a native army capable of defending the frontiers of the newly-formed State against its more powerful and aggressive neighbours. Another point the author wishes to impress on his readers is the necessity for the closest Anglo-French co-operation in these countries if real peace is to be restored. Most Frenchmen are of opinion that it is impossible for British and French interests in the Middle East not to clash, whereas Mr. Laurent-Vibert is of an entirely different opinion, believing, not only that they do not clash, but that they are capable of being developed side by side.

Chapter V. is devoted to his experiences on the new overland desert motor route between the Mediterranean and Baghdad, which he is pleased to call "The French Route to India." The chapter on Irak contains a loyal acknowledgment of the freedom allowed by British administration to French schools, orphanages, etc., established in that country. It also gives the author's views on what he considers the French diplomatic defeat by which, in spite of the conditions laid down in the Sykes-Picot agreement, the Mosul area was excluded from the French mandatory zone of Syria and included in the British mandatory territory of Irak.

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The author then goes on to deal with purely French politics as regards Turkey, and pronounces a further condemnation of the policy which led Mr. Franklin-Bouillon to sign the Angora Accord of 1921, with all its subsequent difficulties for the French in Syria and Turkey.

Mr. Laurent-Vibert closes his book by drawing up a series of suggestions as to how the Allies, and France in particular, might bring some measure of stability and prosperity to these countries, at present suffering from the galaxy of different administrations which have replaced the simple methods of government practised by the Turk in pre-war days. Although the chapters have been written for the benefit of the author's fellow-countrymen, one cannot too strongly recommend their most interesting pages to the study of all those Englishmen concerned, or interested, in the political development of the Middle East. Whether such readers will agree with Mr. Laurent Vibert's opinions and suggestions or not, they will at least find therein much matter for earnest thought.

ENGLISH BOOKS

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN ENGLAND. A Short History by Colonel E. J. King, C.M.G., F.S.A., with a Foreword by Major-General the Earl of Scarbrough, G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., F.S.A., Sub-Prior of the Order. St. John's Gate, London, 1924. Fleetway Press.

The account of the revival of the English *Langue* or "Tongue" (see p. 34 note of the book under review) of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in January, 1831, under the authority of the Capitular Commission which assembled in Paris from time to time from 1814 to 1827, has been clearly told in Bedford and Holbeche's History of the Order, published in 1902. It was in February, 1834, that the Rev. Sir Robert Peat, D.D., took the oath *de fideli administratione* in the Court of King's Bench, before the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Thomas Denman, as Prior of the Tongue of England of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Since then ninety years have gone by, during which the Grand Priory of England, by means of its admirable first aid, ambulance, and hospitaller work in peace and in war, has established itself as one of the great institutions of the British nation throughout the British Empire. Thirty-six years have gone by since Her Majesty Queen Victoria, recognizing the great work that the Grand Priory of England was doing, granted to it a charter, in which she herself was declared to be the Sovereign Head and Patron, and the Prince of Wales the Grand Prior of the Order in England. To Her Majesty, in due course, have succeeded as Sovereign Heads and Patrons King Edward VII. and King George V., and very appropriately this year advantage has been taken of the great Wembley Exhibition,

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in which every part of the British Empire is represented, and to which contingents from every part of that Empire in thousands have repaired, to mark the position which the Grand Priory of England holds as an imperial institution. His Majesty King George V. consented to hold in Buckingham Palace on St. John the Baptist's Day (Juné 24) of 1924 an investiture of the most recently elected members of the Order. This ceremony took place in the Throne Room of the Palace before a very numerous assemblage, mainly composed of members of the Order and of a limited number of their friends. The number of new members "invested" on that occasion was, as near as possible, 150, commencing with H.R.H. the Duke of York, and concluding with two "Donats" bearing names suggestive of the Celestial Empire.

A year of such significance in the history of the Grand Priory of England, being the first occasion on which, during a lapse of more than 800 years, the King of England had so honoured the Order, has been appropriately marked by the publication of this "Short History," to which Colonel King has devoted himself heart and soul, and in which the Sub-Prior of the Order has taken the warmest interest.

The romance of the history of the Knights of St. John possesses such a fascination that it still continues to attract the pens of writers of all or most of the great European nations. Since Whitworth Porter, there has been no *great* English writer on the subject, but the old, old story has been told again and again. Canon Mifsud indeed brought out at Malta in 1914 a book replete with more or less new information, and now Colonel King has given to the British Empire a volume which well merits to be its *vade-mecum* for years to come in all that concerns the grand old history of the Order and the grand work which its British Tongue does to-day. It is indeed a remarkable fact that the Holy City and Holy Land, for the possession of which every Christian nation fought with the Saracen in the crusading era, should, at the close of the Great War, have passed into the hands of that British Power which still cherishes the memory of the one Christian monarch who soundly whipped the Saracen—viz., Richard Cœur de Lion. For more than forty years now the Grand Priory of England has maintained an Ophthalmic Hospital at Jerusalem on a site granted in 1882 by the Sultan's firman. Of the great work done there Colonel King's twelfth chapter tells. Not unnaturally, now that Great Britain holds the mandate for Palestine, the Grand Priory of England entertains the hope that the original headquarters of the Order in Jerusalem may be placed in its charge. That site is now commonly styled "Mūristān." I have noticed that Dr. J. C. Mardrus, in his French translation of the "Arabian Nights," several times uses the word and transliterates it "māristān."*

* The curious spelling of this word in the Johnson-Richardson Persian-Arabic Dictionary (published in 1829) led me to consult Professor E. G. Browne

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Among the new features which Colonel King introduces into his book is the picture of "The Execution of the Grand Prior of England, Sir John Langstrother, on the 6th May, 1471, after the battle of Tewkesbury." This design is taken from a contemporary MS. in the University Library at Ghent. We may be thankful that that library did not share the fate of that of Louvain. Sir John Langstrother was a Knight with a splendid record, and it is to be deplored that he allowed himself to be drawn into the intestine disputes of his native land. Knights Hospitallers were bound by their vows to stand aloof from all such disputes and wars. Had he lived, he might well, Colonel King says, have become Grand Master of the Order. The fact that three of the seven Tongues of the Order were French resulted in making most of the Grand Masters French.

Colonel King has been thoroughly well guided in his selection of his illustrations. He has told the early history of the Order, especially in its relation to the English Tongue, very clearly and well, and his account of the activities of the Grand Priory of England since its resuscitation is at once comprehensive and thorough. It is a book that every centre of the St. John Ambulance Association and every corps of the brigade should have in its library, and every member of the Grand Priory of England would do well to read it and make it known to others.

A. C. YATE.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL SIR O'MOORE CREAGH, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. With an Introduction by Major-General Sir Charles E. Callwell, K.C.B. Hutchinson and Co. 1924.

It is not often that one has the felicity of reviewing the "autobiography" of one's own *quondam* commanding officer. Having that felicity, one might even be suspected of recalling to mind that famous passage in Job (xxxi. 35): "Oh, that one would hear me! behold, my desire is, that the Almighty would answer me, and that mine adversary had written a book." I have no such thought, allow me to say. I am myself somewhat addicted to writing books, and I am just going to do to others as I would be done by. I have never forgotten how, when I wrote and published a memoir of that fine and gallant soldier, John Haughton of the 36th Sikhs (including a remarkable episode in the life of his father, John Colpoys Haughton, at Kabul in 1841), a vulgar news-rag of that Bolshevist city Glasgow scoffed at me and scoffed at the Haughtons. I had my compensation when E. F. Knight, the

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of Cambridge. He writes: "Máristán and múristán are simply corruptions of the Persian 'bimáristán,' meaning generally a sick-house, and more especially a lunatic asylum or mad-house. I know no authority for the extraordinary spelling which you say Johnson-Richardson gives." That dictionary gives: "مرستان (*murstán*), an asylum for idiots."—A. C. Y.

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author of "Where Three Empires Meet," reviewed my book, "John Haughton, a Hero of Tirah," most favourably in the *Morning Post*, and when Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman wrote and most kindly expressed to me his approval of the book. I consider that the memory of John Haughton is an example to all soldiers. When he sacrificed his life for his fellow-soldiers most gallantly with his Adjutant, Turing, he merited the V.C. just as much as O'Moore Creagh, who won it as a recognition of the gallantry, initiative, and capacity for command which he displayed at Kam Dakka. Creagh concludes his account of that affair in these words: "I got a bullet through my hat, one in the heel of my boot, my water-bottle was smashed, my binoculars were hit while I was looking through them, and my horse was shot through the back. But I was unhurt."

However, I am rushing *in medias res* at the outset. I must hark back. O'Moore Creagh's first chapter is a really interesting picture of life in County Clare during his boyhood and before. Knowing, as we mostly do, the part that the Irish Brigade played in French (and, I think, also Spanish) warfare, we are not surprised to be told that when Count Lally surrendered to Sir Eyre Coote at Pondicherri in 1760, "no less than five Creaghs were among the prisoners." I can well remember how, during the long talks which Colonel Creagh and I used to have after mess over a cheroot and a whisky and soda, he told me that he himself had been on the point of taking service in the Austrian cavalry, and that not a few members of his family had so served, on one of whom the title of count had been conferred. We all know the name of "Loudon" as a great Austrian general of the time of Frederick the Great. The Prince de Ligne, in his well-known Memoirs, vigorously contests Loudon's Scottish extraction; but his biographers and Scotch genealogists all state categorically that he was a scion of the Campbells of Loudoun in Ayrshire. For centuries Scotland and Ireland furnished our continental foes with material wherewith to fight "le perfide Albion." We have survived it with the ultimate issue which we witness to-day. Sir O'Moore Creagh might have been another "von Loudon," for whose biography we are indebted to Colonel Malleson among others.

Thoroughly interested as I am in the autobiography which Sir O'Moore has himself left us, I cannot in this review, which must be brief, follow him through each phase of his long military career of forty-eight years' duration. Not unnaturally I am drawn most keenly to the period of his command of the regiment which I afterwards (1902 to 1905) commanded, the 129th Duke of Connaught's Own Baluchis. As I look at the picture of the native officers of that regiment which faces p. 182, I see so many faces that I knew so well, and of whom I have a most kindly, I might almost say, affectionate recollection. I was eighteen years in the regiment, resigning my com-

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mand in 1905; and in August, 1919, I met for the last time at Hampton Court four of those native officers, all having risen to the rank of subedar-major in Baluch battalions or other corps. The four were Zaman Khan, Sardar Khan, Ajaib Ali Shah, and Mir Kambir Khan, the last a relative of the Rind (Baluch) chief, whom (Mir Kambir Khan to wit) in 1903 I introduced with a direct commission into the 129th Baluchis, and of whose capability and gallant conduct in East Africa and Palestine during the Great War I later received evidence from several sources. I spent two hours with these four fine native officers at Hampton Court, and I parted from them with heartfelt regret, feeling that it was the last that I should see of the 129th Baluchis. One of them, Subedar-Major Sardar Khan, ere I left, went into his tent and brought out a little brass dish, marked "A Souvenir from Damascus, 1918," and gave it to me. It lies on my writing-table. While men of that stamp officer our native army, we will keep in their proper place and rate at their proper value mutinous malcontents and agitators of whatever caste and race.

It was a great surprise in 1909 to the army when Sir O'Moore Creagh was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India. At that time he was, and had been for two years, Secretary to the Military Department of the India Office. He was therefore well known to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley. When it was brought to the notice of Lord Morley that General Sir O'Moore Creagh was senior to the two candidates put forward from India for the post of Commander-in-Chief in that Dominion, General Sir Edmund Barrow and General Sir Beauchamp Duff, he promptly nominated Creagh, and we need not now spend either time or space in commenting on what has long been *un fait accompli.* Sir O'Moore held that post from the autumn of 1909 to the spring of 1914, and was therefore holding it at the time when, in 1911, King George V. and Queen Mary visited India and celebrated at Delhi their accession to the throne.

While I was second-in-command to Colonel Creagh in the 129th Baluchis, I spent many an hour listening to his vivid and amusing stories of his experiences of life. One story that I noted carefully at the time and which I have never forgotten is that which he tells on pp. 163 to 165 of his book. I remember how he told me that that telegram from Army Headquarters arrived late at night, when his General had retired and was asleep, and how he (Creagh) sat up all night and prepared his scheme for marching to the relief of Kalat-i-Ghilzai, and he further described his keen disappointment at the General's deciding not to adopt and act on his scheme. I myself was always very interested in Sir John Watson, who had been in the 1st Baluchis before he became one of the *beaux sabreurs* of the Mutiny days, and won his V.C. These talks took place in the Baluch mess-house at Hydrabad, Sind, and, funnily enough, just the other day I met the ex-colonel of a

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British regiment which was about that time quartered at Karachi and Hydrabad. He said to me: "I have just been reading Sir O'Moore Creagh's autobiography, and I am most disappointed at finding that he never says a word of how he broke his leg when he was going home from mess one night. I and others were with him. The Public Works Department had decided to give the mess-house an avenue, and had dug deep pits for the young trees. It was pitch dark, and Creagh walked straight into one of these pits. We took him to his bungalow with a broken leg." And now let us say of the gallant scion of a fine old soldier family of the County of Clare, in which (the county, not the family), as the author says on p. 7, "whisky was the universal panacea for all the ills of life":

"Requiescat in pace."

A. C. YATE.

AMURATH TO AMURATH. By Gertrude Lowthian Bell. Second Edition. Macmillan and Co. 21s. net.

The publication of a second edition of "Amurath to Amurath" is an event which will be welcomed by all those—and they are far from few in number—who latterly have sought vainly in many places to obtain a copy of the first edition of Miss Gertrude Bell's most admirable book. The interest in the affairs of the Turkish Empire which was aroused by the constitutional crisis brought on by the Committee of Union and Progress in 1908 was well served by this graphic story of a remarkable journey from Aleppo to Konia via the Euphrates, Baghdad, the Upper Tigris, Mosul and Cæsarea. Since that time the Great War and the events which have followed it have aroused a far deeper and wider spread interest in Mesopotamia and the homelands of the Turk. Where such interest exists the republication of "Amurath to Amurath" should go far to satisfy the desire for a book both accurate in its facts and stimulating in its fancy.

The second edition of the book appears to be almost identical with the first, and it is with a keen sense of disappointment that it is discovered that Miss Bell has added no new chapters or appendices. Could we have been privileged to share her reflections on the history which has since been made on the lands through which she accomplished this remarkable journey, we should have enjoyed a stirring epilogue to a most fascinating story.

The primary object of Miss Bell's journey was archæological, and the book contains a grand record, made with pen and camera, of the history and beauty of the wonderful ruins which lay in her path, or to which she found her way, often over little known country and with great difficulty. It is, however, when Miss Bell has finished her plan of fortress, palace or mosque, and at the close of the day, sitting in a

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coffee-shop or khan in the village near by, asks those about her of their thoughts on liberty, constitutions, cabbages and kings, or when her graphic pen paints so vividly the picture of one of the many types she meets on the road, that the average reader really reads and enjoys every line upon the page. Archæology and architecture have their charm, but it is the story of the lives and thoughts of their contemporaries in other lands which has the greater appeal to the interests of the mass of men. It would be possible to quote many penetrating and far-seeing passages from "Amurath to Amurath" which now in the time of their fulfilment appear almost prophetic, but to those who are acquainted with Miss Bell's more recent work, the words spoken to her by her cicerone, Fattuh, will probably seem the most remarkable. Approaching the end of her journey, the author bewails the absence of old friends whom political upheaval has scattered abroad. "Your Excellency will meet them in other cities," said Fattuh, "and they will be free men." Is it too much to hope that Miss Bell may soon be persuaded to write the story of the inspiring part which she has played in making these men free, and of how she came to meet them in other cities when yet another Amurath had succeeded?

THE HOME OF AN EASTERN CLAN. By Mrs. Leslie Milne. Clarendon Press. 16s.

The sub-title, "A Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States," is a more accurate description of this exceedingly interesting book, which does far more than describe the home of the clan; it describes the clan itself and the lives of its members, especially the lives of the ladies, most charmingly in very great detail.

Mrs. Milne in her introduction expresses a fear that the general reader may find her account too detailed, even wearisome; this does not seem likely, for it is written in a very readable style, and the descriptions of the daily life of the Palaung from birth to grave are so vivid and sympathetic that it is impossible not to be interested.

For those who are interested in anthropology, ethnology, and folk-lore the book provides a rare treat, while its value to any European who may have dealings with the people, especially those connected with the difficult but delightful task of governing them, cannot be over-estimated.

Mrs. Milne certainly deserves the success which she has won, for she took infinite pains to win the confidence of the people and fit herself for her task. She made great efforts to master the language. This was no simple matter, there being then but little known of the language, of which there are several dialects, and the account the lady gives of how she overcame all the difficulties is well worth reading and also extremely amusing.

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In order to obtain the word for "to jump" she gave a demonstration, jumping over a stick in her verandah; the spectators consulted, and then gave her a word, which later on she found meant "to be mad."

The Palaung tribe is divided into many clans, some of which are widely scattered both in Burma and adjacent parts of China; but Mrs. Milne has confined herself for the most part to describing the people of the Tawngpeng state in the northern Shan states, who mostly belong to the Katur or Samlong clan. But there are references to the other clans, and in the appendix are given the marriage customs of many of them.

Having given a brief account of the history of the ancestors of the Palaungs, showing that they are of the Mon-Khmer race, Mrs. Milne, starting with the Palaung as a baby, gives us a vivid and absorbingly interesting account of his or her life. We get a chapter on the Palaung in each stage, as "Little Children," "Boys and Girls," "Young Men and Maidens," then on "Marriage," which naturally brings us to "The House, Home Life, and Village Life." Then a chapter deals with agriculture as practised in the Palaung country, of which a general description has been given in the introduction. The chief food crop is rice, which is grown in clearings on the hill-sides, the jungle being cleared and burnt, thus cleansing and fertilizing the soil. This is the ancient custom, and there are many ceremonies connected therewith—the spirits of the land must be propitiated, the fire must be lit by flint and steel, and an effigy of a man is made out of the last sheaf, which must be cut by the oldest man living in the house of the owner of the field, a strange parallel to the corn baby of our own land. The most paying crop, however, is tea, though, being of recent introduction, there are few rites connected with the cultivation. Trials by Ordeal have a chapter to themselves. I note with regret that they have been abolished by the Government. This is a mistake. Where we find the people believe sufficiently in God to be willing to leave to Him the settlement of their disputes, it is foolish and wrong to interfere, especially where, as in the case of the Palaungs, the various ordeals were harmless to the parties concerned. The introduction of Western legal methods has always been found, sooner or later, detrimental to the honesty of these simple children of nature. The chapter on Religion is particularly interesting, as Mrs. Milne has most sympathetically and skilfully explained the effect the introduction of Buddhism has had on the Animistic belief, which was the original creed of the Palaungs. As in the similar cases of the Manipuris and Malays (though there the new religions were Hinduism and Muhammadanism), the old faith has not really been supplanted in the heart of the people, and the spirits are feared and worshipped just as they are throughout Burma. There is much of interest regarding the Palaungs' beliefs as

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to the fate of the spirits of the dead, and the sad fate of the wraith of a bad man, which, on account of his ill deeds, cannot obtain rebirth, and must either become a wandering ghost or enter some tree or stone, is graphically described. Cosmogony, Dreams, Proverbs and Riddles, and Folk-tales are the titles of chapters, each of which is worthy of a special review if only space allowed. Perhaps the most delightful chapters are those on Young Men and Maidens and Marriage, in which Mrs. Milne describes the Palaung methods of courtship and marriage. The young folk certainly have a good time; mamma and papa go to bed at ten, while the eldest daughter sits by the fire and entertains any and all young men who choose to come and talk with her. If there are several girls of an age to be courted, lovers of the younger ones must by a suitable present prevail on the eldest to leave the field clear for them. Marriage is generally preceded by an elopement, even when the parents are willing to allow the match, and the proceedings are lengthy and ceremonious. Though I have mentioned these two chapters as of special charm, that on the initiation of the boys and girls comes very near them, and the ceremonious education of the little folk in the arts of polite courtship and conversation and the elaborate language of plants and leaves which every boy and girl must use, is most curious and amusing. Fancy Tommy, aged ten or so, greeting Betty of nine with the query, "What hast thou eaten?" and being answered, "I have eaten mustard leaves," whereby he understands that she has wished to talk to him, or, should she not like him, with, "I have eaten mushrooms" or "I have eaten cucumber." But the last remark is so rude that Betty would never use it; but Tommy might if Betty had been outrageously flirtatious with some other little lad.

If I have exceeded the allowed space, I, like Adam, can plead, the woman tempted me by the excellence of her book and I did write.

J. S.

El Raisuni, the Sultan of the Mountains. By Rosita Forbes. Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. Demy 8vo. 21s.

It is given to few to penetrate the mind of the Moslem. Much sympathy and patience are required, together with knowledge of their religion and literature, and also wide experience. It is owing to the possession of these qualities that Rosita Forbes has produced a brilliant study of El Raisuni, whom she visited last year for the purpose of writing the story of his life. This interesting personage has been the leading figure in Morocco during the last generation, and her book will be carefully read by all who are interested in that interesting country, including the French and Spanish officials, while it will make a deep appeal to the student of Moslem character, who will realize that she

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has grasped the point of view of her hero, and has laid bare the inmost workings of his mind with consummate skill.

El Raisuni is saint, warrior, crafty statesman, cruel tyrant, dreamer, and student. Like many another who has risen to power among Moslems, he started his career as a brigand, and a chapter is devoted to a vivid account of his long imprisonment, which brings out the wonderful endurance inspired by *kismet*. He was finally released, and soon became known in Europe and America for his capture of the American citizen Perdiccaris, of *Kaid* Maclean and of Mr. Harris, *The Times* correspondent. His account of the reasons that impelled him to seize these men, the manner in which he treated them, and the extraordinary success with which he used these pawns, would alone make the book of value.

El Raisuni played a large part in the creation of the Spanish zone in Morocco. He realized that, unless he helped the Spanish, he would have to deal with the far more efficient French, and he foolishly thought that he could control the Spanish. As was inevitable, they found him impracticable, and some of the most interesting chapters deal with his campaigns against them. The weapons of civilization were too strong, and he only just managed to stave off unconditional surrender by inducing the Riffs to rebel.

El Raisuni is a man of many moods. His dominant purpose has been to maintain his own position, and to be regarded by his people as a saint and the champion of Islam, and the reader cannot fail to be struck by the fact that within sight of Gibraltar the twentieth century is exchanged for the Middle Ages.

The photographs are good and appropriate, but the lack of a map constitutes a defect. Probably that is the fault of the publisher, for the daring explorer of Kufra would certainly have asked for a map with which to illustrate her theme. P. M. Sykes.

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LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MARCH 7, 1924

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Acting during Sir Charles Monro's absence abroad:
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. M. THOMSON, K.C.M.G., C.B.

1922. **Hon. Treasurer:** SIR E. PENTON, K.B.E.

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1923. GENERAL SIR E. BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., ETC.
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LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

1910. Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, K.C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.-W.F. India.
1921. Acland, Captain P. Dyke, attd. Aviation Dept., Vickers Ltd., Vickers' House, Broadway, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1922. Acworth, Captain J. P., 28th Cavalry F.F., I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
1921. Ahmed Bey Hassanein, F.R.G.S., Egyptian Legation, Washington, D.C.
1916. Ainscough, Thomas M., O.B.E., H. M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Post Box 683, 11, Clive Street, Calcutta.
1923. Alban, E. H. C., c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank, Baghdad; Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1919. Alexander, Y. Patrick, F.R.G.S., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1920. Allchin, Geoffrey C., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Allen, W. E. D., Commonwood House, Chipperfield, Herts.
1920. Allenby, Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. the Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., Cairo, Egypt.
1921. Altham, Lieut.-General Sir E. A., K.C.B., C.M.G., Prior's Barton, Winchester.
1921. Antonius, George, Department of Education, Jerusalem.
1922. Armitage-Smith, Sidney A., C.B., 29, York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
1923. Armstrong, Captain F. H. C., O.B.E., Leverton, Boston, Lincs.
1924. Arnold, The Right Hon. Lord, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonial Office, S.W. 1.
1920. Austin, Lieut. A. P. M., c/o Ministry of Finance, Baghdad.

B

1908. *Baddeley, J. F., 34, Bruton Street, W. 1.
1910. Bailey, Major F. M., C.I.E., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
1924. Bailey, W. H., M.D., Featherstone Hall, Southall, Middlesex.
1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1923. Balfe, Miss, Ladies' Athenæum Club, 32, Dover Street, W. 1.

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1920. Balfour, Lt.-Col. F. C. C., C.I.E., M.C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Ballard, Mrs. C. R., Hadham Mill, Much Hadham, Herts.
1922. Bampton, Major J. H. H., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Bampton, R. E. Fitz-Symons, Mohammerah, Persian Gulf
1920. Banerjee, Gauranga Nath, M.A., Ph.D., B.L. (Professor of Ancient History, Calcutta University), 107/1, Mechua Bazar Street, Calcutta.
1918. Banks, Mrs. M. M., Hornton Cottage, Hornton Street, W. 8.
1923. Banks, R. Mitchell, K.C., M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1921. Bannister, T. H. C., Stanmore Hall, Stanmore.
1905. *Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 29, Campden House Court, W. 8. Vice-President.
1922. Barnes, Sir George Stapylton, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Foxholm, Cobham, Surrey.
1921. Barnett, Mrs. L., 8, Royal Crescent, W. 11.
1922. Barnham, Henry D., C.M.G., Brooklands, Wray Park Road, Reigate.
1922. Barrett, Field-Marshal Sir A. A., G.C.B., G C.S.I., K.C.V.O., A.D.C.Gen., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, W. 1.
1924. Barrett, Major C. C. J., C.S.I., C.I.E., Assistant Resident, Aden.
1921. Barrington-Ward, F. T., K.C., 8, Green Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1913. Barrow, General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Artillery Mansions, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1922. Barrow, Lieut.-General Sir George, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Commander of the Legion of Honour, c/o Mrs. Cleghorn, Hawthorndene, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
1920. Barstow, Captain A. E., M.C., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Bartlett, P. E., Indo-European Telegraph Department, Persian Section, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
1923. Barton, Honourable Mr. W. P., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Resident, Mysore, India.
1920. Base, Edward H., 5, Station Road, Lowestoft.
1919. Bateman, H. G., F.R.G.S., Osaka, Japan.
1922. Bax-Ironside, Sir Henry, K.C.M.G., C.B., 23, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.
1923. Bayley, Lieut.-Colonel E. C., C.I.E., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Beale, Captain C. T., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.; Imperial Ottoman Bank, Hamadan, Persia.
1921. Beattie, Dr. J. Hamilton, United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Beatty, Colonel Commandant G. A. H., 1st Cavalry Brigade, Risalpur, N.-W. F. P., India.

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1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Beckley, Major P. A., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Belgrave, C. Dalrymple, Iringa, Tanganyika Territory, East Africa.
1920. Bell, B. H., Law Courts, Khartoum, Sudan.
1922. Bell, H. T. Montague, Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1; "Near East," 167, Strand, W.C. 2.
1921. Bell, Sir Charles, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Bell, Miss Gertrude, C.B.E., c/o Secretariat of the High Commissioner, Baghdad, Iraq.
1923. Bell, Major A. H., D.S.O., O.B.E., R.E., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Residency, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.
*†Bennett, Sir T. J., K.C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent.
1921. Bennett, Captain S. G., M.C., 8, St. Albans Crescent, Bournemouth.
60 1922. Bennett, John G., 1, Sloane Avenue, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1921. Bentinck, Major A. W. D., Coldstream Guards, 53, Green Street, Park Lane, W.
1923. Berry, Major E. S., O.B.E., Divisional Adviser, Baqubah, Iraq.
1923. Beveridge, Mrs., 53, Campden House Road, W. 8.
1922. Biggane, P., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1
1910. Bigg-Wither, Lt.-Col. F., I.A., c/o Messrs. N. Scott and Co., Post Box 103, Rangoon.
1921. Bingham, Captain D'Arcy, 109th Infantry, I.A., c/o Lloyd's Bank (King's Branch), Bombay.
1921. Bingley, Lieut.-General Sir A. H., K.C.I.E., C.B., The Old Cottage, Cranleigh, Surrey.
1921. Birch, Lt.-Col. J. M., D.S.O., 20, Bina Gardens, S.W. 5.
1922. Birdwood, General Sir W. R., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O., A.D.C.Gen., G.H.Q. Northern Army, Rawalpindi, India.
1920. Blacker, Major L. V. S., O.B.E., Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides, Junior Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1922. Blackett, Captain A. T., Palestine Gendarmerie, Ludd, Palestine.
1921. Blackwood, J. H., 37, Paternoster Row, E.C. 4.
1923. Blomfield, Captain H. M., Dept. of Overseas Trade, 35, Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1922. Bois, Captain H. E., Iraq Levies, E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1919. Bone, H. Peters, 5, Hamilton Mansions, King's Gardens, Hove, Sussex.
1921. *Bonham-Carter, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., 5, Hyde Park Square, W. 2.

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1923. Booker, Captain William, Royal Fusiliers, 1st Yemen Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.
1922. Borrie, Dr. David, O.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
Bosanquet, Sir O. V., K.C.I.E., 1, Vicarage Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
1921. Bourdillon, B. H., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Bourke, D. R. S., I.F.S., Instructor, Forest College, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.
1922. Bower, Sir Graham, K.C.M.G., Studwell Lodge, Droxford, Hants.
1921. Bowman, H. E., C.B.E., Director of Education, Jerusalem.
1921. Braham, Major G. N., M.C. (Mesopotamian Civil Administration), Baghdad.
1922. Bramley, Colonel P. B., C.I.E., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Brasher, C. G., 23, Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol.
1920. Bray, Major F. E., M.C., 21, Evelyn Gardens, S.W. 7.
1920. Bray, Major N. N. E., O.B.E., M.C., Political Dept., Govt. of India, c/o Political Secretary, India Office, S.W. 1.
1921. Bridcut, Lieut.-Col. S. H., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St, James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Bridges, Lieut.-Colonel E. J. (late 14th Hussars), Great-bridge House, Romsey, Hants.
1921. Bright, Captain L. L., Junior Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1; Equatorial Batt., Egyptian Army, c/o Postmaster, Khartoum.
1922. Brock, Wing-Commander H. Le M., Royal Air Force, Staff College, Andover, Hants.
1923. Brockman, Brig.-General W. H. Drake, C.M.G., Newington, Littleton, near Winchester.
1920. Bros, Major H. Alwyn (R. of O.) Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1922. Brown, Mrs. Wynyard, Cooper's Hill Farm, Eversley, Surrey.
1920. Browne, Claude M., 10, Queensberry Place, S.W. 7.
1921. Browne, Lt.-Col. H. H. Gordon, D.S.O., 17, Bardwell Road, Oxford.
†Bruce, Brig.-Gen. C. D., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Brunskill, Major G. S., M.C., 18, Talbot Square, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1922. Brunskill, Captain B. A. S., M.C., 39th Larwhal Rifles, Lansdowne, India.
1920 Buchanan, Sir G. C., K.C.I.E., Kt., 16, Victoria Street, S.W.
†Buchanan, W. A., The Cottage, Knebworth, Herts.
1921. Buchanan, Mrs, 32, Elsworthy Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1923. Buist, Captain T. P., R.A.M.C, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Bunbury, Captain N. L. St. P., 106th Hazara Pioneers, Fort Sandeman, Baluchistan, India.

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1919. Burdwan, The Hon. Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., T.O.M., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of, The Palace, Bardwan, Bengal, India.
1921. Burn, Major A. H., O.B.E., 59th Scind Rifles, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Burn-Murdoch, Major I., O.B.E., Umbala, U.P., India.
1914. Bury, Colonel C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1920. Busk, H. Gould, F.G.S., Old Vicarage House, Milford, Hants.
1922. Buss, Squadron Leader K. C., R.A.F., Air Headquarters, British Forces in Iraq, Baghdad.
1921. Butler, F. H. C., South End, St. Cross, Winchester.
1920. Buxton, Leland W. W., 45, Kensington Park Gardens, W. 11.
1921. Buxton, Dr. P. Alfred, c/o Govt. Hospital, Apia, Western Samoa.

C

1922. Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N. (ret.), Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Glos.
1922. Calder, N., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Cameron, Major G. S., M.C., Dy. Director of Agriculture, Lower Baghdad, Mesopotamia.
1922. Campbell, Captain W. F. C., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
120 †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., Hotel National, Montreux.
1920. Carey, Lieut.-Col. A. B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., c/o Director of Public Works, Baghdad; 52, The Close, Norwich.
1919. *Carnock, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3. Vice-President.
1922. Carnock, The Lady, 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1922. Carroll, Colonel F. Fitzgerald, D.S.O., A.M.S., Dy. Director of Medical Services, Northern Command, York.
1923. Carson, T. Simpson, Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W.
1924. Carter, Lieut.-Colonel J. H. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Carver, Captain F. E., O.B.E., c/o Messrs. Carver Bros., Alexandria, Egypt.
1921. Castells, Captain E., 6th Gurkha Rifles, Highcliffe, Miskin Road, Dartford.
1920. Chakravati, Professor Nilmani, M.A., 18, Sitaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
1921. Chamier, Captain A., O.B E., c/o Eastern Rubber Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1921. Champain, Brig.-Gen. H. B., C.B., Oak Lodge, Ham Common, Surrey.
1922. Channer, Captain G. O. de R., 7th Gurkha Rifles, c/o National Bank of India, Bombay.

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1921. Chapman, Captain A. J. B., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 72, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1921. Chardin, F. W., 20, Empress Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex.
1920. Charge, H. L., Mayfair, Upper Terrace Road, Bournemouth.
1922. Charlesworth, Martin, Jesus College, Cambridge.
1921. Chelmsford, The Rt. Hon. Viscount, G.M.S.I, G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.B.E., etc., 116, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Chesney, G. M., 69, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Childs, W. J., The Quadrangle, Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1903. *Chirol, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Chitty, Captain C., 24, East Heath Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1918. Christie, Miss A., 7, Stewart's House, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Christie, Miss E. R., F.R.G.S., Cowden Castle, Dollar, N.B.
1923. Christie, Captain L. D., Durie, Leven, Fifeshire.
1921. Churchill, The Rt. Hon. Winston Spencer, 2, Sussex Square, W. 2.
1920. Clayton, Brig.-Gen. Sir Gilbert F., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., Government House, Jerusalem; United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Clayton, Captain J. N., R.G.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1923. Clegg, S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1919. Coales, Oliver R., H.B.M. Consul-General, Shanghai, China; R. Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920 Cobbe, Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. S., V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1; 3, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1923. Coghill, Captain Sir Patrick, Bart., R.F.A., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Cole, Major J. J. B., F.R.G.S., Rifle Brigade, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall.
1923. Collas, Major F. J., O.B.E., M.C., R.F.A. (ret.), St. Heliers, Jersey.
1918. Collis, Mrs., 17, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W. 6.
1921. Colvin, Ian, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1921. Colvin, George, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1921. Colvin, Mrs., 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1920. Connal-Rowan, Major J. F. Meiklewood, Gargunnock, Stirlingshire; Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Cooke, Captain R. S., Dalnottarhill, Old Kilpatrick, N.B.
1922. Cooper, Captain E. S. Storey, M.C., c/o Eastern Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
1922. Cooper, Mrs. Bruce, Overcourt, Bisley, Glos.
1923. Cooper, W. H., 18, Finchley Way, Finchley.
1923. Corbyn, E. N., Governor of Khartoum Province, Khartoum, Sudan; United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W. 1.
1923. Cornwall, Lieut.-Colonel, C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., R.A., c/o British Embassy, Constantinople.

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1920. Cornwallis, Col. Kinahan, C.B.E., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., Adviser to the Ministry of Interior, Baghdad; Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Coryndon, Sir Robert Thorne, K.C.M.G., Government House, Nairobi, Kenya Colony, Africa.
1920. Costello, Colonel E. W., V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., 4, Rose Crescent, Cambridge.
1919. Cowell, Mrs. M., 14, Billiter Street, E.C.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Percy Z., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Whitehall Court, S.W.
1923. Crane, Charles R., Century Club, New York, U.S.A.
1920. Craufurd, Lt.-Commander C., R.N., c/o National Bank of India, Aden.
1921. Cree, Thomas D., O.B.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 65, Cornhill, E.C.
1914. Crewdson, Major W. T. O., R.F.A., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W. 1.
1923. Croft, William Dawson, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Cronyn, Sub-Lieutenant St. John, R.N., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1907. Cuningham, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Cunliffe-Owen, Lieut.-Colonel F., C.M.G., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1907. *Curzon of Kedleston, The Most Hon. the Marquis, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants; 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. 1. Hon. President.
1923. Cust, Captain L. G. A., R.A., The Governate, Jerusalem.

D

180 1921. Daly, Captain T. Denis, Royal Welch Fusiliers, Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1908. Daukes, Major C. T., C.I.E., Political Department, Government of India, Loralai, Baluchistan, India.
1923. Davidson, Miss Flora M., C.E.Z. Mission, Peshawar City, India.
1923. Davidson, N. G., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1921. Davies, J. Fisher, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Davies, Miss E. B., 29, Francis Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1906. Davis, W. S., Coglan House, Longhope, Glos.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1920. Deedes, Sir Wyndham H., Bart., C.M.G., D.S.O., 8, Victoria Park, Dover.
1922. Devonshire, The Duke of, K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
1922. Dew, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1919. Digby, Bassett, F.R.G.S., The Old Tannery House, Rickmansworth, Herts.

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1922. Ditchburn, Major A. H., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1906. Dobbs, Sir H. R. C., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1910. Douglas, Lieut.-Colonel H. A., The Vicarage, Langton Green, near Tunbridge Wells.
1920. Douglas, Major-Gen. J A., C.M.G., C.I.E., Ashmore Lodge, Cold Ash, near Newbury, Berks.
1922. Dowson, V. H. W., Department of Agriculture, Baghdad.
1921. Drower, Mrs. E. M., Credit Lyonnais Bank, 14, Cockspur Street, S.W. 1.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
200 1921. Duggan, C. E., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Karachi, India.
1921. Duncan, J. A. L., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1920. Dunsterville, Col. K. S., C.B., Artillery House, Knaresborough Place, S.W. 5.
1920. Dunsterville, Major-Gen. L. C., C.B., The Cronk, Port St. Mary, Isle of Man.
1907. *Durand, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmayne House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall.
1923. Durnford, Lieut.-Commander John, R.N., Hartley Wespall House, Basingstoke, Hants.
1920. Dyer, Brig.-General R. E. H., C.B., Elmsleigh, Bassett, Hants.

E

1922. Eadie, Major J. I., D.S.O., 97th Infantry, I.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1921. Edmonds, Major C. J., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.; c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. Egerton, Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. G., K.C.B., K.C.I.E., 43, Cheyne Court, S.W. 3. Hon. Secretary.
1923. Ellis, Captain C. H., O.B.E., British High Commission, Constantinople.
†Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Elsmie, Major-General A. M. S., 27, Woodville Gardens, Ealing, W. 5.
1922. Emmerson, Captain C. A., R.A.M.C., 59, Oakley Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Empson, C., The White House, Fulford, York.
1911. Etherton, Lieut.-Colonel P., Junior Army and Navy Club, Horse Guards Avenue, S. W.

F

1923. Faber, George, 1-3, Mortimer Street, W. 1.
1920. Fardell, Mrs. H. A., 16, Brechin Place, S.W. 7.

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1922. Farrell, W. Jerome, M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Farrer, Hon. C. C., 100, Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W. 8.
220 1919. FitzHugh, Capt. J. C., D.S.O., M.V.O., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross.
1921. Flaxman, H. T. M., O.B.E., Assistant Divisional Adviser, Mosul, Mesopotamia.
1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Forbes, Mrs. Muriel, Campbellpur, Punjab, India.
1920. Fowle, Major T. C., I.A., H.B.M. Consul, Seistan and Kain, East Persia.
1921. Fraser, Captain D. de M. S., Political Dept. Govt. of India, The Residency, Indore.
1920. Fraser, E., 14, Chester Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Fraser, M. F. A., F.R.G.S., Beaufort, Knaphill, Nr. Woking.
1922. Fraser, Major W. A. K., D.S.O., M.C., British Legation, Kabul, Afghanistan.
1916. Fraser, Sir Stuart M., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Fraser, W. M., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E. C.
1923. Fraser, Donald S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Fremantle, Lieut.-Colonel F. E., T.D., O.B.E., M.P., Bedwell Park, Hatfield.
1923. French, Bt.-Major B. R., D.S.O., 1st Yemen Infantry, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W 1.
1922. French, J. C., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. French, Lieut.-Colonel W., Caledonian Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Frew, Rev. Dr. Robert, D.D., National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.
1921. Frost, Lieut.-Colonel F. D., C.B.E., M.C., I.A., 46, Napier Road, Allahabad, U.P., India.
1920. Fuller, Captain N. B., M.B.E., Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1923. Furse, Major R. D., D.S.O., 18, Hanover Terrace, W. 11.

G

240 1908. Gabriel, Lieut.-Colonel Vivian, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.V.O., T.D., Marlborough Club, 52, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Gaisford St. Lawrence, Captain C., Scots Greys, Risalpur, N.-W.F.P., India.
1919. Garbett, C. C., C.M.G., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1913. Garrard, Major S. H., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly; Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.

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1919. Gaulter, Mrs., 152, Earl's Court Road, S.W. 5.
1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1921. Geary, Mrs., c/o National, Provincial and Union Bank of England, Ltd., 67, Bishop's Road, W. 2.
1920. Geden, Rev. A. S., Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.
1922. Gilkes, Captain G., R.F.A.
1922. Gillman, Major-General Sir Webb, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., R.F.A., Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.
1922. Goldie, Major Henry, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Alexandria.
1919. Goold-Adams, Col. Sir H. E. F., K.B.E., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Gorbold, Captain Roland, F.R.G.S., 168, Hollis Avenue, Braintree, Mass., U.S.A.
1920. Gordon, Lieut.-Col. P. J., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Gore, Major F. L., 113th Infantry, I.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1923. Gough, Major The Viscount, M.C., 9, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Gourlay, W. R., C.I.E., 23, Old Court Mansions, W. 8.
1922. Govan, Mrs. D. M., 6°, Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
1920. Gowan, Captain C. H., M.C., 13th Hussars, Cavalry Club, Piccadilly.
1920. Graham, Colonel R. J. D., Dunalastair, North Inch, Perth.
260 1923. Graham, Captain Alan Crosland, Clwyd Hall, Ruthin, N. Wales; Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W.
1923. Graham, Lieut.-Colonel, R. J. D., C.I.E., I.M.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Grant, Sir A. Hamilton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Brooks's Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Gray, Lawrence, c/o Irrigation Directorate, Baghdad.
1922. Greatwood, H. E., 123rd Outram Rifles, I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
1923. Greenhouse, Major F. S., Pikes' Hill Avenue, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1920. Gregson, Lieut.-Col. E. G., C.M.G., C.I.E., Buncrana, Rake, Liss, Hants.
1920. Grey, Lieut.-Col. W. George, Solars, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
1923. Gribbon, Colonel W. H., C.B., C.M.G., 2nd Battalion King's Own Royal Regt., Rangoon.
1920. Grieve, Captain A. McLeod, 3rd Black Watch, 21, Queen's Crescent, Edinburgh.
1920. Griffin, Captain A. C., O.B.E., R.E., Deputy Director of Railways, Iraq Railway Directorate, Baghdad.
1921. Grove White, Major M. FitzG., D.S.O., O.B.E, R.E., R.E. Office, Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow.
1923. Groves, J. P. K., East Hoathley Rectory, Halland, Sussex.
1921. Gumbley, Douglas W., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

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H

1920. Hadow, Major H. R., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Hadow, D. S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Haig, Lieut.-Colonel Sir T. W., K.C.I.E., C.B., 37, Trinity College, Dublin.
1920. Hall, Captain A. H., O.B.E., Annfield, Rothesay, Scotland.
1922. Hall, H. R., D.Litt., F.S.A., British Museum, Bloomsbury, W.C.
1922. Hallinan, Captain T. J., R.A.M.C., 77, Southside, Clapham Common, S.W.
1923. Hamdi Bey Baban, Baghdad, Iraq.
1923. Hamilton, Captain John Claude, R.N., c/o Admiralty, S.W. 1.
1923. Hamilton, J. A. de C., M.C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Harapvasad, Mahamohopadhyaya, Shastri, C.I.E., F.A.S.B., 44, Nilket Road, Dacca.
1920. Hardinge, The Rt. Hon. Sir A., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Coldharbour, West Hoathley, Sussex. M. of C.
1918. Harford, Frederic Dundas, C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens, S.W. 3.
1921. Harker, O. Allan, Indian Police, 18, Portsea Place, W. 2.
1921. Harris, F. J., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Harris, Captain L. J., O.B.E., c/o Director of Works, Jerusalem.
1922. Harrison, Captain Cyril, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Haughton, Lieut.-Colonel H. L., 36th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Hauser, Captain S. B., "Gleniffer," Weston-super-Mare, Somerset.
1923. Hawker, Brig.-General C. J., C.M.G., C.B.E., 8, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1920. Hay, Captain W. R., Assistant Commissioner, Bannu, N.-W.F.P., India.
1922. Haycraft, Sir Thomas Wagstaffe, Chief Justice, Jerusalem, Palestine.
1920. Headley, R. H., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1923. Headley, The Lord, M.I.C.E.I., Ivy Lodge, St. Margaret's, Twickenham.
1923. Heath, Miss I. V., Bailey's Hotel, Gloucester Road, S.W. 7.
1922. Henderson, Lady, D.B.E., 17, West Eaton Place, S.W.
1920. Hendley, Major-Gen. H., C.S.I., Hon. Surgeon to H.M. the King, Caxton, near Cambridge.
1922. Henry, Colonel Sir W. D., C.I.E., V.D., 6°, Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
1923. Henty, Miss, 62, Inverness Terrace, W. 2.
1921. Hiles, Major M., O.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

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1919. Hill, Lt. H. Brian, F.R.G.S., c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton and Co., Calcutta, India.
1923. Hill, Sir Claude H. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Hilleary, Mrs., 2, Tregunter Road, S.W. 10.
1923. Hindmarsh, Captain J. H. L., 119th Infantry, I.A., Junior Army and Navy Club, Horse Guards Avenue, S.W.
1923. Hitchcock, F. C., East Surrey Regt., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1922. Hogarth, D. G., C.M.G., D.Litt., 20, St. Giles, Oxford.
*†Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., Parklands, Merrow, Surrey.
1924. Holland, Colonel L., D.S.O., Seaforth and Cameron Brigade, Inverness.
1922. Holt, Captain V., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1921. Holt, Major A. L., M.B.E., M.C., R.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Holt, Mrs. A. L., New Victorian Club, 30A, Sackville Street, W. 1.
1923. Hooper, H. G. V., c/o Messrs. Hill Bros. Co., Basrah, Iraq.
1919. Hope, Miss T. M., Crix, Hatfield Peverel, Witham, Essex.
1921. Horridge, J., Haverholme, Bramhall, Cheshire.
1921. Hotson, J. E. B., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Post Box, 93, Bombay.
1920. Houstoun, G. L., The Farm, Kyrenia, Cyprus.
1908. Howell, E. B., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1; Foreign Office, Delhi-Simla, India.
320 1923. Howell, A. B. B., M.B.E, Sudan Political Service, Khartoum, Sudan.
1921. Hughes, J. A., M.C., 67, Castletown Road, W. 14.
1923. Hume, Mrs. E. A., 9, St. Leonard's Terrace, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1922. Humphrys, Major Francis H., C.I.E., H.B.M. Minister, Kabul, Afghanistan.
1921. Hunt, Captain J. M., 87th Punjabis, I.A., The Red Cottage, Baschurch, Shrewsbury.
1921. Hunt, Captain W. E., Old Rectory Cottage, Bathampton, Bath.
1920. Hunter-Weston, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Aylmer, K.C.B., D.S.O., D.L., M.P., 2, Culford Gardens, S.W. 3; Hunterston, West Kilbride, Ayrshire.
1918. Hunter, Mrs., 81, Holland Park, W. 11.

I

1922. Inchcape of Strathnaver, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
1924. India, Army Headquarters, Simla.
1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1915. Ingram, Captain M. B., Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.

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1922. Ingrams, W. H., Chake Chake, Pembu, Zanzibar.
1922. Ironside, Major-General Sir Edmund, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., The Staff College, Camberley.

J

1923. Jacks, T. L., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Jackson, R. J., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Jacob, General Sir Claud W., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Chief of the General Staff in India, Simla, India.
1922. James, Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Cuthbert, C.B.E., M.P., 3, Ormonde Gate, Chelsea, S.W.
†Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
340 1921. Jardine, R. F., Assistant Political Officer, Dohuk, Mosul.
*†Jardine, W. E., C.I.E., I.C.S., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
1920. Jeffreys, Major J. F. D., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Jelf, Arthur, Malayan C.S., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Jhalawar, H. H. Maharaj Rana Sri Bhawani Singh, Sahib Bahadur of, K.C.I.E., Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
1923. Joy, Lieut. G. A., 1st Yemen Infantry, Sheikh Othman, Arabia; Junior Army and Navy Club, Horse Guards Avenue, S.W.
1921. Joyce, Lieut.-Col. P. C., C.B.E., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

K

1920. Kay, Professor D. M., "Kildonan," St. Andrew's, Fife, N.B.
1920. Keeling, E. H., M.C., United University Club, 1, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
1923. Kemp, Miss Amy, 38, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1921. Kennett, Mrs. Barrington, Remenham, Wraysbury, Bucks.
1921. Kerr, Captain E. Teviott, I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Kettlewell, Captain L., D.S.O., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W.
†King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.
1922. Kirk, Captain F. C. de L., 5th Batt. K.A.R., Northern Frontier, Kenya Colony, Africa.
1922. Kirkpatrick, Lieut.-General Sir George M., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1., G.O.C.-in-C., Western Command, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1923. Kitching, G. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Knapton, A. G. H., Rope Hill, Lymington.
1923. Knight, Charles, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

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1923. Knight, G. E. O., F.R.G.S., 6, Porteus Road, Paddington, W. 2.
1922. Knollys, Major Denis E., 19th Punjabis, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.

L

1921. Ladd, W. E., Post Box 39, Baghdad.
1921. Laidlaw, Lieut. R. F. E., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Laithwaite, John G., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1922. Lake, Lieut.-Colonel M. C., 1st Yemen Infantry, Aden.
1923. Lake, Lieut.-General Sir Percy H. N., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.
1904.†*Lamington, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.
1923. Lammie, G., M.C., Royal Scots Fusiliers, 21, Queen's Crescent, Edinburgh.
1924. Lampson, Commander G. Locker, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1920. Lane, D. A., R.R. No. 1, St. Anne's, Ontario, Canada.
1921. Lane, Lieut.-Colonel W. B., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.M.S., 35, Westholm, Addison Way, Golders Green, N.W. 11.
1920. Lang, Commander G. H., D.S.O., R.N., 13, Abbey Court, Abbey Road, N.W.
1921. Lee, W. H., Wymondham, Hythe, Kent; Railways, Shuaibah, Iraq.
1920. Lees, Captain G. Martin, M.C., D.F.C., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Lee-Warner, Captain W. Hamilton, S.S.C.S., Singapore.
1920. Léon, M. Henri M., Ph.D., LL.D., 8, Taviton Street, Gordon Square, W.C.
1921. Leslie, Lieut. L., Shropshire L.I., The Barracks, Shrewsbury.
1922. Lester, G. A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co. (F), 16, Charing Cross, S.W.
1920. Leveson-Gower, Col. C., C.M.G., C.B.E., 13, Cottesmore Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
1922. List, J. N., M.C., A.M.I.C.E., c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Sons, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1921. Lloyd, Captain H. I., M.C., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Lloyd, Major C. G., C.I.E., M.C., Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1; The Abbey, Penally, Pem.
1908. *Lloyd, Sir George A., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.
1912. Loch, Major P. G., I.A., Political Dept., Government of India.
1921. Loch, Lieut.-Colonel G. H., C.I.E., I.A. (retd.), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1908. Lockhart, Lady, 187, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1920. Longrigg, Major S. H., Political Officer, Mesopotamia.

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1918. Lovett, Major-General Beresford, C.B., C.S.I., Hillside, Harvey Road, Guildford.
1921. Lovett, Sir H. Verney, K.C.S.I., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Lowis, H. R., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
1921. Lubbock, Brig.-General G., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., Furze Hill, Marguretting, Essex.
1923. Luke, H. C., Assistant Governor, Jerusalem.
1922. Lumby, Major A. F. Rawson, O.B.E., 69th Punjabis, Army Headquarters, Delhi, India.
1909. Lyall, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A., I.A., 3rd Kashmir Rifles, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Lyell, T. R. G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Lynch, Stephen, c/o Euphrates and Tigris S.N. Co., 3, Salter's Hall Court, E.C.
1922. Lynden-Bell, Captain L. A., M.C., 2nd Seaforth Highlanders, Meerut, U.P., India.
1922. Lytton, H.E. the Earl of, Calcutta.

M

1909. *Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Les Vaux, St. Saviour's, Jersey, Channel Isles.
400 1922. Macdonald, Lieut.-Colonel F., I.A. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. McCallum, Major Duncan, British Liaison Officer with G.H.Q., French Army of the Levant, Beyrout, Syria.
1923. McCann, Captain A. G. H., I.A., 10/188 Madras Pioneers, Bangalore, S. India.
1922. M'Cleverty, Major P. H., 2/14 Punjab Regiment, I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1923. McDonell, A. R., Royal Auto Club, Pall Mall, S.W, 1.
1923. McGovern, W. M., Ph.D., c/o British Exploration Syndicate, 1-18, Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, E.C. 4.
1921. McGrath, Lieut.-Colonel A. T., 43, South Audley Street, W. 1.
1920. McGrath, Mrs. (Rosita Forbes), 43, South Audley Street W. 1.
1920. MacGregor, Lady, Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court.
1922. Machray, Robert, 78, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
1921. McIntyre, Captain H. M. J., I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Charing Cross, S.W.
1921. Mackarness, H. J. C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Mackenzie, Lady M. M. Owen, 6, Chesham Street, S.W. 1. Brantham Court, Suffolk.
1923. Mackenzie, J. M., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

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1923. Mackenzie, Miss K., Lucknow, India.
1923. Mackenzie, K., Government Bookshop, Dept. of Education, Baghdad.
1920. Mackie, J. B., Castle Cary, Somerset.
1921. Mackintosh, C. A. G., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.; Gezira Gardens, Cairo.
1906. *McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59, Pont Street, S.W. 1.
1922. MacMichael, H. A., c/o Civil Secretary, Khartoum.
1920. McNearnie, Captain H. D., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Maconochie, R. R., I.C.S., British Legation, Kabul.
1920. Macpherson, C. F., c/o Messrs. Gray, Mackenzie and Co., Basra.
1923. Macquoid, Brig.-General C. E. K., C.I.E., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1924. McRoberts, B. A. K., Zanzibar, E. Africa.
1923. Makant, Mrs., Gilnow Lodge, Bolton, Lancs.
1903. *Malcolm, Major-General Sir Neill, K.C.B., D.S.O., Singapore, S.S.
1921. Malleson, Major-General Sir Wilfrid, K.C.I.E., C.B., Foxhurst, Ashvale, Surrey.
1922. Mann, Alexander, 64, Lancaster Gate, W. 2.
1922. Mann, J. S., Hazeldene, South Hill, Bromley.
1921. Marklew, E. G., 23, Richmond Road, W. 2.
1920. Marling, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., British Embassy, The Hague.
1920. Marrs, Major R., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Marshall, Justice J. E., Egyptian National Court of Appeal, Zamaleh, Gezira, Cairo.
1923. Martin, Lieut. R., 1st Yemen Infantry, Sheikh Othman, Arabia.
1922. Martin, Miss F., Valnino, Sedalia, California.
1920. Massy, Col. P. H. Hamon, C.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall.
1923. Mather, Norman, F. H., Malay C. S., Singapore.
1920. Mathieson, Wilfred, Minchinhampton, Glos.
1920. May, Major W. R. S., C.I.E., Twyford House, Alnmouth.
1923. Medlicott, J. H., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1912. Medlicott, Lieut.-Colonel H., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Mellor, Donald, 25, Dault Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W. 18.
1920. Michell, Roland, C.M.G., 22, Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11. Hon. Librarian.
1923. Millar, Captain A. B., 2nd Frontier Force Rifles, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Bombay, India.
1920. Millard, W. S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
1922. Mills, E., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, S.W.

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1922. Milne, J. L., c/o Messrs. Shaw, Wallace and Co., Post Box 70, Calcutta.
1922. Milnes-Gaskell, The Lady Constance, 47, Pont Street, S.W.
1920. Minchin, Captain H. C. Stephens, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Charing Cross, S.W.
1921. Moberly, Brig.-General F. J., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., P.C.S., Historical Section, Committee of Imperial Defence, 2, Cavendish Square, W.
1920. Mocatta, Major V. E., O.B.E., 14th Hussars, 31, Great Cumberland Place, W.
1922. Moens, Colonel A. M., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., c/o India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1920. Molony, Wm. O'Sullivan, c/o League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
1923. Monckton, Captain A. W., 12, The Beach, Walmer, Kent.
1921. MONRO, General Sir C. C., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.Gen., Gibraltar. Vice-President.
1924. Montagu of Beaulieu, The Lord, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Beaulieu, Hants.
1920. Monteath, D. Taylor, O.B.E., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1921. Monteath, G., I.C.S., Buckerell Lodge, Honiton, Devon.
460 1922. Montgomery, Major-General Sir A. A., K.C.B., Pitchford Hall, Shropshire.
1903. *MOON, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. M. of C.
1921. Moore, Captain J. H., Walton Grange, Swindon, Wilts.
1922. Moore, Major Arthur, 9, Chester Terrace, Eaton Square, S.W.
1920. More, Major J. C., D.S.O., 51st Sikhs (F.F.), Political Agency, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.
1921. Morgan, C. Stuart, National Arts Club, 15, Grammercy Park, New York.
1920. Morison, Sir Theodor, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Overdale, Lindisfarne Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1922. Morland, Major W. E. T., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.
1922. Morrison, A. B., c/o Messrs. Shaw, Wallace and Co., Bombay.
1923. Morshead, Major H. T., D.S.O., R.E., Survey of India, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.
1921. Mousley, Captain E. O., R.F.A., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Muir, Mrs., Whipp's Cross Hospital, Leytonstone, E. 11.
1920. Mules, Sir Chas., K.C.S.I., M.V.O., O.B.E., 29, Bramham Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Mumm, Arnold L., F.R.G.S., 112, Gloucester Terrace, W. 2.
1921. Murphy, Lieut.-Colonel C. C. R., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; 14, Norfolk Road, Littlehampton.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Murray, Major S. G. C., C.I.E., I.A., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.

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1921. Muspratt, Colonel S. F., C.S.I., D.S.O., A.D.C., 12th Cavalry, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, Blenheim Cottage, Nuffield, Henley-on-Thames.
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

N

1923. Nairn, Norman, Nairn Transport Co., Box 262, Beyrout.
1922. Nalder, L. F., C.B.E., C.I.E., Savile Club, 107, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Napier, Major A. Harper, I.M.S., c/o Marshall, Terne, N. Queensferry, N.B.
1921. Nariman, R. K., M.I.C.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Newton, Mrs. Frances E., 156, Sloane Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Nicolson, Major the Hon. F. A., M.C., 15th Hussars, 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1922. Nightingale, Colonel M. R. W., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Nightingale, Major G. W., M.C., 1st Yemen Infantry, Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Noble, Mrs., 49, Palace Gardens Terrace, W. 8.
1920. Noel, Major E., C.I.E., D.S.O. (Political Dept. Govt. of India), Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Noel, Major J. B. L., c/o Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W. 1.
1920. Noone, H. V. V., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E.C. 3.
1921. Norbury, Major P. F., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Norris, Captain David, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., c/o Admiralty, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Northcote, D. S.

O

1922. Oatway, Captain S. H., 93rd Burma Infantry, c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1923. O'Callaghan, T. P. M., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Ockelford, C. E., 162, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
1921. O'Connor, Captain R. L., c/o Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1906. O'Connor, Lieut.-Colonel W. F. T., C.S.I., C.I.E., R.A., British Legation, Nepal, India.
1922. Oddie, Philip, M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. O'Dwyer, Sir Michael F., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., 26, Brechin Place, S.W. 7. M. of C.
1923. O'Leary, Rev. de L., Christ Church Vicarage, Redfield, Bristol.

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1924. Olivier, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.M.G., C.B., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Olver, Lieut.-Colonel A., C.B., C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Holt and Co., Whitehall Place, S.W.
1923. Ormond, Charles, 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.4.
1920. *Ormsby-Gore, Major the Hon. W. G. A., J.P., D.L., F.R.G.S., 5, Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1.
1922. Osmond, Captain W. R. Fiddes, R.A., United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Outlaw, Captain W. H., 40, Charles Street, Berkhamsted.
1923. Owen, Captain Fenwick, 16, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 1.

P

1923. Palmer, C. E. S., D.S.C., F.R.G.S., H.B.M.Consul, Port Said.
1920. Parker, Lieut.-Col. A. C., D.S.O., Governor of Sinai Peninsula, Arîsh, Sinai.
1920. Parr, E. Robert, Black Birches, Hadnall, Shrewsbury.
1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1921. Pead, T. D., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Peake Bey, Inspector-General of Gendarmerie, Amman, Transjordan.
1920. Pearce, Captain M. Channing, Cintra, Swanage, Dorset; c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1921. Pedder, Captain G. R., 13th Hussars, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Peek, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., D.S.O., 5, Eastcheap, E.C. 3.
1922. Peel, E. G. B., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
520 †Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1907. Pemberton, Col. E. St. Clair, R.E. (ret.), Pyrland Hall, Taunton.
*†Penton, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1. Vice-President and Hon. Treasurer.
1920. Peralta, Miss Louise, 45, Powis Square, W. 11.
†Perowne, Lieut.-Col. J. T. Woolrych, 32, Lowndes Square, S.W.
1924. Perry, Dr. Lionel B., 35, Devon Road, Bedford.
1919. Philby, H. St. John, C.I.E., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Phillips, Miss L. B., 9, Rosslyn Mansions, S. Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1923. Phillips, Major W. A., O.B.E., 22, Hans Crescent, S.W. 1.
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, C. M., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, Mrs. W. M., c/o Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.

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*†Picot, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., Indian Army (ret.), 22, Rosary Gardens, S.W., Junior United Service Club, S.W.

1921. Pitcairn, G. D., White Cottage, Amport, Andover.

1923. Pitkeathly, J. S., C.V.O., C.I.E., C.B.E., D.S.O., Simla, India.

1920. Platt, Sir T. Comyn, 47, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.

1920. Popham, Lieut.-Colonel E. Leyborne, D.S.O., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Bombay.

1923. Postance, Captain J. F. A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1922. Price, Brig.-Gen. C. H. Uvedale, C.B., D.S.O., I.A. (ret.), The Mount, Winterbourne, Nr. Bristol.

1921. Prichard, J., Judicial Department, Baghdad; Wick, Glamorganshire, Wales.

540 1921. Prior, Mrs. Upton, Eaton Grange, Cobham.

1921. Pulley, Major H. C., O.B.E., I.A., c/o Eastern Bank, 4, Crosby Square, E.C.

R

1923. Rae, Major M. E., I.A., 9, Drummond Place, Edinburgh.

1923. Raglan, The Lord, Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.

1921. Ralston, Lieut.-Colonel W. H., 47th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.

1920. Rawlinson, General The Lord, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., Commander-in-Chief, India.

1922. Rawlinson, Colonel Alfred, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., The Cottage, Oxgate Lane, Cricklewood, N.W.

1923. Raynor, M. R., Tingewick Rectory, Buckingham.

1923. Read, A., M.B.E., 101, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.

1921. Ready, Major-General F. F., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., Lynch House, Winchester.

1921. Redl, Lieut.-Colonel E. A. F., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Sycamores, Newick, Sussex; Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.

1923. Reilly, Major B. R., Bombay Political Service, c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1923. Relton, T. L., Southernhay, Warlingham, Surrey.

1924. Rennie, E. A., M.V.O., British Legation, Helsingfors, Finland.

1920. Reynardson, Capt. H. Birch, 1st Oxford and Bucks L.I., 2, Devonshire Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2.

1922. Richards, Captain E. I. G., Army Educational Corps, School of Education, Wellington, S. India.

1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.

1923. Ridding, Miss, 15, Vicarage Gate, W. 8.

1922. Ridge-Jones, I., M.C., Health Directorate, Ministry of Interior, Baghdad.

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1919. Ridgeway, Col. R. Kirby, V.C., C.B., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1904. Ridgeway, Rt. Hon. Sir West, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., LL.D., etc., 37, Threadneedle Street, E.C.

1921. Rivett-Carnac, Captain H. G., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1923. Robert, Captain V. G., M.B.E., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1922. Roberts, Captain A. H., Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

1921. Robertson, Field-Marshal Sir William R., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., etc., 88, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2.

1923. Robertson, Sir Benjamin, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

1920. Robinson, Major F. A., M.C., R.A.M.C., The Vicarage, Holme on Spalding Moor, Yorks.

1922. Roche, Lady, Stoneleigh House, Buckingham.

1920. Rodd, Lieut.-Colonel W. J. P., D.S.O., R.A.O.C., Union Club, Malta.

1924. Rogers, Sidney H., The Red Cottage, Laleham, Middlesex.

*†Ronaldshay, The Earl of, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Snelsmore House, Newbury. Vice-President.

1920. Rooker, S. K., M.C., Le Mailly, Versoix, Geneva.

1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W. 8.

1922. Royds, Rear-Admiral Percy, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., 20, Chelsea Park Gardens, S.W. 3.

1921. Rundle, Captain C. A. Grant, M.C., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W.

1922. Ruthven, Colonel Hon. A. G. Hore, V.C., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W.

1920. Rynd, Major F. F., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

S

1924. Salvesen, Captain H. K., I.A., New College, Oxford.

1923. Samuel, Miss M. Sylvester, 19, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.

†Sandbach, Major-General A. E., C.B., D.S.O., R.E. (ret.), Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.

1923. Sandeman Major D., Q. V. O. Corps of Guides, Peshawar, India.

1923. Sandison, Lieut.-Colonel J. F. W., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1923. Saunders, G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1923. Scarlett, Major Hon. P. G., M.C., War Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.

1923. Schofield, Mrs. W. H., East Hill, Peterborough, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

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1922. Scott, Lieut.-Colonel Norman, C.I.E., I.M.S. (ret.), c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
1922. Scott-Moncrieff, Major-General Sir G. K., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., R.E., 31, Ladbroke Square, W. 11.
1922. Seton, Sir Malcolm, K.C.B., 26, Upper Park Road, N.W. 3.
1920. Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel J., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., 414, Clive Court, W. 9.
1920. Shakespear, Col. L. Waterfield, C.B., C.I.E., Sutton Cottage, Sutton Valence, Kent.
1923. Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel W. F., I.A. (ret.), Auckland, New Zealand.
1921. Shepherd, Miss E., 122, Oakwood Court, W. 14.
1922. Sheppard, Sir William D., K.C.I.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Shuttleworth, Colonel Commandant D. I., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1919. Silberrad, C. A., I.C.S., Park House, Combe Martin, N. Devon.
1920. Simpson, J. Alexr., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1921. Simpson, B. Lenox, c/o British Legation, Peking, China.
1923. Sinderson, Dr. H. C., New General Hospital, Baghdad.
1920. Sircar, Ganapati, 69, Beliaghatta Main Rd., Calcutta.
600 1923. Skinner, Major-General Sir P. Cyriac., K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., "Thornton," Burke's Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
1922. Skrine, Clarmont Perceval, I.C.S., c/o Messrs. King, King and Co., Bombay.
1920. Skrine, F. H., C.S.I., 147, Victoria Street, S.W.
1920. Slater, Captain A., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Charing Cross.
1920. Slater, Mrs. E. M., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, W. 1.
1924. Smart, Miss D., Naval and Military Hotel, Harrington Road, S.W. 7.
1920. Smith, A. L. F., M.V.O., Balliol College, Oxford.
1920. Smith, Captain Godwin, Royal Auto Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Smith, W. Donald, 10, Buchanan Terrace, Paisley, Scotland.
1922. Snelling, Captain C. G., I.A., Indian Political Dept., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Spencer, Dr. Gordon, St. James's Vicarage, Preston, Lancs.
1922. Spencer, Hugh, C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), 5, Clifton Gardens, W. 9.
1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele, Florence, Italy.
1922. Stack, Major-General Sir Lee O. Fitz M., K.B.E., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Stanham, Major H. F., R.A., Chieveley, Newbury.
1922. Stanley, Lieut.-Colonel J. H., C.B.E., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.

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1923. Stanley, Captain Douglas Richard, 3/2 Bombay Pioneers, I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
1921. Starkie, Mrs. Maud, 3, Aldford Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1923. STAVELEY, Captain C. M., A.D.C., C.M.G., R.N., 58, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1923. Steel, Colonel R. A., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Red House, Wateringbury, Maidstone.
1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.-W.F. Province, India.
1921. Stephen, Major F. W., M.C., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920. STEPHENSON, G. C., 99, Inverness Terrace, W. 2. M. of C. Hon. Sec.
1921. Stevenson, Lieut.-Colonel K. L., R.A.O.C., G.H.Q., Ordnance Depôt, York.
1920. Stewart, C. W., 3, Newburgh Road, Acton.
1923. Stewart, F. W., M.C., Koraput, Vizapatam, Madras.
1923. Stewart, S. F., C.I.E., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1923. Stilwell, J. G., Hilfield, Yateley, Hants.
1907. STOKES, Colonel C. B., C.I.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1923. Stone, Sir J. H., C.I.E., 39, Roland Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Storrs, Mrs. F. E., 65, Chester Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Strong, Kenneth, Royal Scots Fusiliers, Gledhow Hall, Roundhay, Leeds.
1921. Sutton, Major-General H. C., C.B., C.M.G., Royal Hospital, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1923. Sutton, Eric, Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Swan, L. M., c/o Ministry of Finance, Baghdad.
1920. Swettenham, Sir F. A., G.C.M.G., C.B., 43, Seymour Street, W. 1.
1920. Sydenham, The Rt. Hon. Lord, of Combe, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., etc., The Priory, Lamberhurst, Kent.
1920. Sykes, Lady, Sledmere, Malton.
†Sykes, Miss Ella, 26, St. George's Court, S.W. 7.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., 29, Trevor Square, Knightsbridge, S.W. 7.
1904. Sykes, H. R., Lydham Manor, Bishop's Castle, Shropshire.
1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy M., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

T

1921. Tainsh, Lieut.-Col. J. R., Railway Directorate, Baghdad.
1922. Talbot, Colonel F., 40, Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W. 7.
1920. Talbot, Colonel the Hon. G. Milo, C.B., Bifrons, Canterbury.
1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
1920. Tatton, R. Grey, 2, Somers Place, Hyde Park, W. 2.

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1919. Teichman, Eric, C.I.E., Sitka, Chislehurst, Kent; British Legation, Peking, China.
1920. Temple, Lt.-Col. Sir Richard, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1922. Tennant, Hon. Mrs., St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.
1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Thomas, Captain H. Prichard, 126th Baluchistan Regt., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Charing Cross.
1921. Thomas, Major E. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Thomas, Captain B. S., O.B.E., Amman, Transjordan.
1921. Thomas, Roger, Agricultural Directorate, Baghdad.
1924. Thomas, The Right Hon. H. J., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Thompson, Captain David, 15th Lancers, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Thomson, J. S., I.C.S., Greenham Common, Newbury.
1921. Thomson, Major-General Sir W. M., K.C.M.G., C.B., M.C., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. Acting Vice-President.
1924. Thomson, The Right Hon. Lord, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
660 1919. Thorburn, Major H. Hay, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
1921. Thornton, Lieut.-Col. C. E., C.M.G., 16th Cavalry, I.A., The Heath, Hindhead, Surrey.
1922. Thorpe, Miss M., 25, Pembridge Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, W. 11.
1922. Thuillier, Major L. C., I.A. (Survey of India), c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., C.M.G., Standlynch, Four Marks, Hants.
1921. Todd, Captain H. I., Imperial Police, 45, Lee Road, Blackheath, S.E. 3.
1921. Tomlinson, A. G., c/o Messrs. Hills Bros. Co., Basra, Persian Gulf.
1921. Tozer, P. H. S., Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly.
1920. Trench, Rev. A. C., M.C., Chaplain's Office, Bolarun, Deccan, India.
1920. Trott, Captain A. C., 5th Devon Regt., St. John's College, Cambridge.
1919. Trotter, Lady, 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1922. Trotter, Miss Angela, 18, Eaton Place, S.W.
1922. Trotter, Miss Jacqueline, 18, Eaton Place, S.W.
1908. *Tucker, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex.
1923. Turner, Colonel A. J., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.A., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
1921. Tweedie, Mrs. Alec, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1923. Twining, Lady, 48, Prince's Gate, S.W. 1.
1920. Tyler, H. H. F., C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o Imperial Bank of India, Madras.

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V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1
1920. Varma, Raj Kumar N. Chandra Deb, Comilla, Tipperah, India.
680 1911. Vaughan, Mrs., The Marches, Willowbrook, Eton.
1922. Venning, E. G., Liskeard, Cornwall.
1922. Vickery, Lieut.-Colonel C. E., C.M.G., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Vincent, Sir William, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Vivian, Major V., C.B.E., c/o Lloyds Bank (King's Branch), 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

W

1923. Wakely, L. D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Waley, A., Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1922. Waley, R. P. S., Royal West Kents, Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1921. Waley, Captain E. G. S., 14, Oxford Square, W. 2.
1923. Walker, Colonel Sir James, C.I.E., V.D., 7, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1924. Walker, W. Seymour, c/o Anglo-Persian Oil Co., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
1921. Wallace, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Willoughby, 209, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Wallace, Mrs. E. F., c/o Messrs. Smythe and Co., 40, Queen Street, E.C.
1920. Waller, Major A. G., I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Indian Dept., Charing Cross.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
1923. Wallis, Captain C., I.A., Guides Cavalry (F.F.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Walpole, C. A., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Wanklyn, Mrs., 3, Grosuenor Street, W. 1.
1922. Wapshare, Lieut.-General Sir Richard, K.C.B., C.S.I., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Warburton, H. G., I.C.S. (ret.), Holmesdale, Fleet, Hants.
700 1920. Ward, Captain F. Kingdon, F.R.G.S., c/o Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W. 7.
1921. Ward, Colonel J. S., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.B.E., Port Director, Basra.
1920. Ward, W. R., O.B.E., c/o Imperial Bank of Persia, 25, Abchurch Lane, E.C.
1905. Watson, Lt.-Col. John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
1920. Watson, Sir Logie P., c/o Messrs. Cooper, Allen and Co., Cawnpore, India.

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1921. Watson-Armstrong, Captain W. J. M., Post Office, Irvine's Landing, Pender Harbour, B.C.
1921. Webb, Captain W. F., attd. Indian Political Dept., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Webb-Ware, Lieut.-Col. F., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., West Hill, Castletown, Isle of Man.
1921. Weir, Major J. L. R., Indian Political Dept., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Weldon, Captain S. W., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Wellcome, Henry S., 6, Gloucester Gate, Regent's Park, N.W., and Khartoum.
1923. Wells, Lieut.-Colonel R. P. Collings, D.S.O., O.B.E., 20, Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1920. Wheatley, H., Government Quinine Factory, Naduvatam, India.
1923. Wheeler, Captain G. E., I.A., General Staff, Castille, Malta.
†Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.
1920. Whitehorne, Captain Cecil, M.C., The Welch Regiment, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
1922. Whittal, Major G., M.C., 52nd L.I., Rawalpindi, India.
1923. Whittal, F. E., c/o Messrs. T. W. Whittal and Co., Constantinople.
1923. Whitwell, Mrs., 18, Harford Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1922. Wickham, Captain E. T. R., c/o Lloyds Bank 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.
720 1922. Wightwick, Major H. M., Bombay Political Service, Aden, Arabia.
1921. Wigley, Captain P. J. R., M.C., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Wigram, Rev. Dr. W. A., Watling House, St. Albans.
1923. Wilberforce-Bell, Major H., I.A., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Wilkinson, Captain L. C. R., R.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co. (R.A. Branch), Charing Cross, S.W.
1921. Willcox, Colonel Sir W. H., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.C.P., 40, Welbeck Street, W. 1.
1921. Williams, Robert, 35, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 7; Park House, Drumoak, Aberdeenshire.
1921. Williams, Captain L., O.B.E., Ardua, Denbridge Road Bickley, Kent.
1922. Williams, Dr. H., 9, Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1921. Williamson, Captain H., I.M.S., 1, Church Road, Rangoon, Burma.
1924. Williamson, Major H. N. Hedworth, D.S.O., M.C., R.F.A., Neemuch, Central India.
1923. Williamson, R. H., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Willoughby, Brig.-Gen. M. E., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

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1920. Wilson, Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold T., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.; Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
1920. Wilson, Major W. C. F., I.A., Mesopotamian C. S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament St., S.W. 1.
1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Alban, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, Galloway House, West Burton, Aysgarth.
1921. Wilson, W., New Oxford and Cambridge Club, Stratton Street, W. 1.
1923. Wilson, Lieut-Colonel The Right Hon. Leslie, C.M.G., D.S.O., Government House, Bombay.
1919. Wilson-Johnston, Lieut.-Colonel W. E., C.I.E., D.S.O., c/o India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1923. Wimshurst, C. R., Tibbs Court, Brenchley, Kent.
740 1920. *Wingate, General Sir Reginald, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., etc., Knockenhair, Dunbar. Vice-President.
1922. Winterton, The Earl, 4, Wilton Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.
1921. Wishart, G., Muirbrow, Hamilton, N.B.
1923. Wood, Lieut.-Colonel H., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co. (R.E. Branch), 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.
1923. Woodman, G. S., Gresham House, Darlington.
1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Worth, Captain J. G., 1st Yemen Infantry, Sheikh Othman, Arabia.
1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Town Thorns, Rugby.
1923. Wratislaw, A. C., C.B., C.M.G., C B E., 13, York House, Kensington, W. 8.
1921. Wright, Captain S. A., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Wright, Colonel G., C.B.E., D.S.O., R.A. (ret.), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Wright, John Laird, c/o Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
1923. Wright, Miss N., Willingham, Market Rasen, Lincolnshire.
1922. Wynn, Wing-Commander W. E., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

Y

*†Yate, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. Vice-President.
1905. *Yate, Colonel Sir Charles E., Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.L., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8. Vice-President.
1923. Yerbrugh, Captain Guy, O.B.E., Irish Guards, 27, Prince's Gate, S.W. 7.
1923. Yetts, L. M., M.C., James House, Hadlow, Kent.
1916. Yorke, Mrs. R. F., F.R.G.S., M.R.I., F.R.S.A., Ladies' Carlton Club, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.

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1922. Younan, Lieut.-Colonel A. C., I.M.S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

760 *†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Currant Hill, Westerham. M. of C.

1918. Young, General H. G., C.I.E., D.S.O., etc., Tobercooran, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim, Ireland.

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N.B.—Members are requested to send changes of address to the Society's offices, 74, Grosvenor Street, W.

Members home on leave are asked to apply for lecture cards if they have not already received them.

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RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. The Central Asian Society was founded in 1901 for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his

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membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Honorary President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) eight Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, and (5) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be an Assistant Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election as such until after the expiration of one year. They are eligible on retirement for re-election on the Council.

13*a*. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Assistant Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence by any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman,

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exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of the Vice-Presidents and twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the

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sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the second Thursday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Thursday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION.

_____

_____

being desirous of becoming a Member of the CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby recommend to the Society as a Candidate.*

Proposer _____

Seconder _____

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1924

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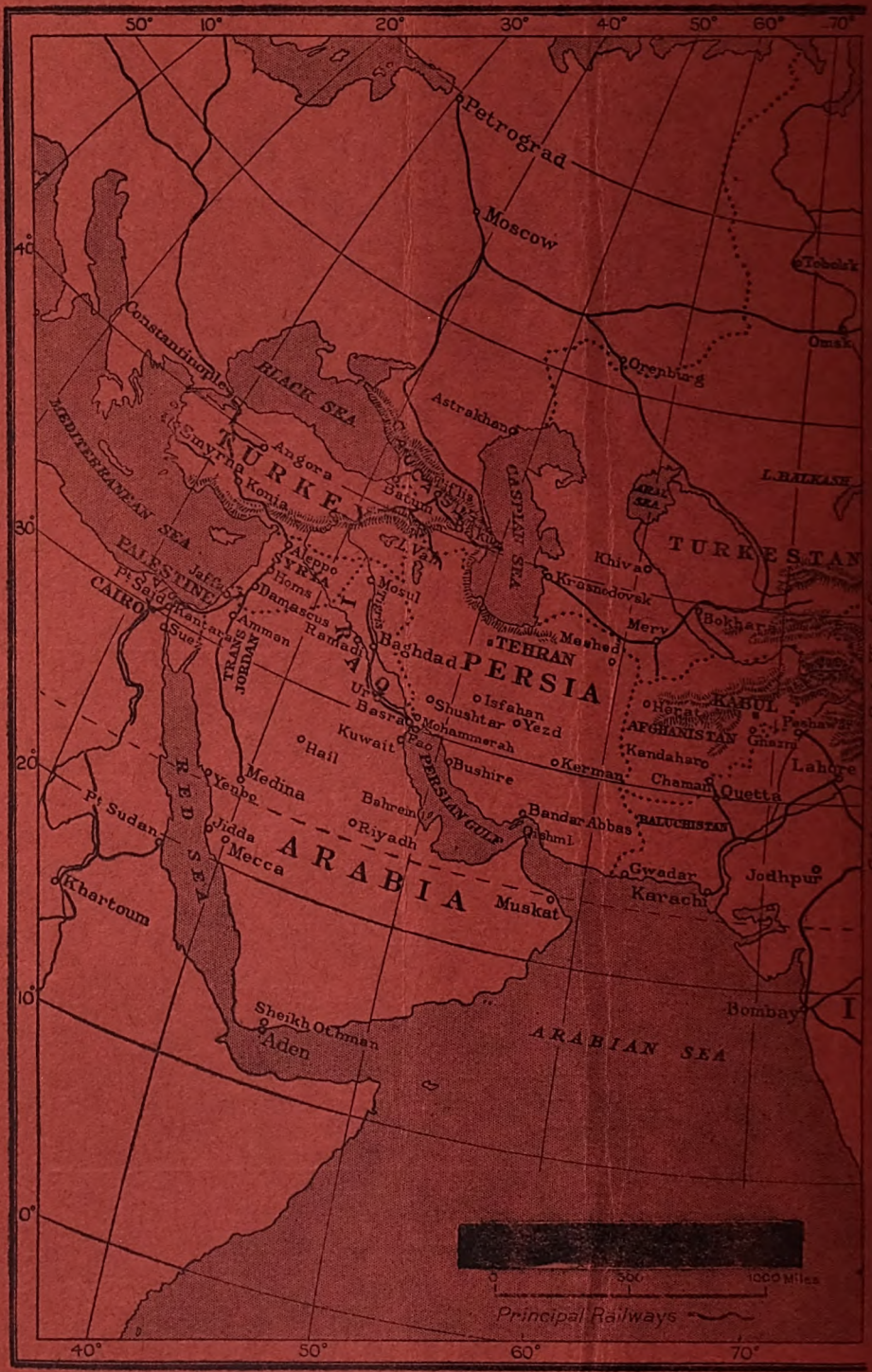

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